



The Psalms

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The Psalms

CHRONOLOGICALLY TREATED

WITH A NEW TRANSLATION

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
Æ. C. B.

Preface

The present study is in plan and scope more than a commentary. The realization that the Psalms are a mirror of the spiritual growth of Israel suggested that their chronological study would afford a truer insight into the evolutionary process of Israel's religious life and thought than all the other biblical writings. They reflect a continuous development extending from the time of Joshua, when the oldest datable psalm was composed, down to about the middle of the third century B.C., when the Psalter was completed. A scrutiny of these documents in their chronological sequence sheds light on many questions relative to Israel's religious history and indicates that not a few of the prevailing views must be revised. Of prime interest are the questions: how were the Psalms influenced by the rise of spiritual prophecy; what was the seat of the spiritual life of the Exile, and what its character; and what was the dominant trend of the religious life and thought of the early post-Exilic centuries.

The desirability of a chronological treatment was enhanced by the recognition that the Psalms are an equally valuable source of information concerning the political history of Israel from the earliest pre-Exilic times down to 300 B.C. What they reveal with regard to events and conditions often differs widely, if not altogether, from the current presentation. Especially is this true in the case of the post-Exilic psalms. These are indeed the most important source for post-Exilic history, and the data they present enable us to emend the sketchy and inaccurate account of the pre-Maccabaeon post-Exilic centuries which has hitherto been based solely upon the scanty source material supplied by historical records, in the narrower sense of the term, and which has utterly ignored the testimony of the Psalms.

Proper identification of actual events which are reflected in

the psalms now looked upon as of the Maccabaeian period controverts the prevailing belief in Maccabaeian psalms, as does the further circumstance that by 200 B.C. Hebrew had ceased to be a living, spoken language. Under these conditions, as the writings of Ben Sira show, original compositions in classical Hebrew or even in idiomatic Hebrew could no longer be produced.

While treating the religious significance of the Psalms, I have devoted due attention also to their literary side, mindful of the fact that the spiritual content of every work of art—and most of the psalms are great poems—is so closely dependent upon its artistic expression that it is well-nigh impossible to dissociate the two. The customary neglect of this essential aspect on the part of commentators who are preoccupied with the theological doctrines of the Psalms has often impeded their adequate interpretation.

My translations, in cases where they deviate from the customary interpretation, will, I trust, be found by biblical students to be well substantiated. In addition to other evidence, abundant discussion of syntactical points is included, in particular of minutiae and subtleties of syntax whose inadequate treatment in Hebrew grammars has misled many exegetes into emending perfect texts. Important among these discussions is the proof that Hebrew, presenting no exception to the rule, has, in common with all other Semitic languages, a precativ perfect. The refusal of grammarians and exegetes to reckon with this usage not only has led to amazing emendations but has obscured the meaning of many psalms, making the different parts of one and the same poem inconsistent, or even contradictory, and causing fervid prayers for help to be rendered as hymns of thanksgiving.

As to the translation, it has been my aim here as elsewhere to supply not only an accurate but also an idiomatic version: Hebrew idioms I have rendered by English equivalents, cognizant of the fact that especially in the case of idiomatic expressions a literal translation is by no means a true translation.

Finally, I have sought to demonstrate by numerous examples

how important it is that sound textual criticism and sound interpretation should reckon with the factors of text disorder and fusion of texts which, in the course of centuries of manuscript transmission, the Psalms, in common with all ancient texts, have suffered to a considerable degree. The usual cause has operated here: words or lines which in the copying were omitted by one scribe and appended in the margin, were by a succeeding scribe taken into the text at random, even when their proper place was indicated by cue words or other devices. Many confused and meaningless portions have inevitably resulted, and much of the ingenuity of exegetes has been expended upon an effort to supply a reasonable interpretation for these "difficult" passages. It has been my object to disentangle, where I could, the original text, thus laying bare its proper and obvious meaning.

I should like to express my profound gratitude to those who have been in some particular manner associated with this work: first of all, to my friend and former student, Louis L. Mann, whose devotion, zealous interest, and cordial generosity have made the publication of these studies on the Psalms possible; to another devoted friend and former student, Samuel H. Goldenson, whose enthusiasm, encouragement, and frequent counsel have been a constant stimulus throughout the years in which these studies have been in preparation; and to all my friends in the Alumni Association of the Hebrew Union College for their loyal assistance in the publishing of this volume.

Last, I take great pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of the members of the University of Chicago Press in all the stages of the publication of this book. I am especially indebted to Professor William C. Graham for helpful criticism and to Miss Mary D. Alexander for handling the book with unusual care and interest.

M. B.

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PERIODICALS AND VERSIONS

- AJSL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
 AOT *Altorientalische Texte*, ed. GRESSMANN
 A.V. Authorized Version
 BWAT *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*
 HKAT *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*
 ICC *International Critical Commentary*
 KANT *Kommentar zum Alten und Neuen Testament*
 KAT *Kommentar zum Alten Testament*

<i>KB</i>	<i>Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek</i>
<i>KHCAT</i>	<i>Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>PEFQS</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i>
<i>PJB</i>	<i>Palästina Jahrbuch</i>
<i>R.V.</i>	Revised Version
<i>SBOT</i>	Sacred Books of the Old Testament
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZATW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZATWB</i>	Beiheft zu <i>ZATW</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins</i>

SIGNATURES FOR THE GREEK VERSIONS

<i>A</i>	Codex Alexandrinus
<i>B</i>	Codex Vaticanus
<i>He</i>	Hesychius of Jerusalem, <i>Psalter-Kommentar</i>
<i>Ga, Gall</i>	<i>Psalterium Gallicanum</i>
<i>R</i>	Codex Veronensis
<i>S</i>	Codex Sinaiticus
<i>S^h</i>	Syro-Hexaplar
<i>Su</i>	St. Jerome's <i>Epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam</i>
<i>T</i>	Codex Turicensis
<i>Tht</i>	Theodoret, <i>Psalter-Kommentar</i>
<i>U</i>	Papyrus Fragmenta Londinensia
<i>Z</i>	Codex Zuquiniensis rescriptus

Introduction

I. HISTORY OF THE PSALMS

The criticism of the Psalms has in recent years undergone a radical change. Forty years ago, Wellhausen, reiterating more emphatically what he had asserted twenty years before,¹ could maintain unchallenged that "it was not a question whether there were any postexilic Psalms, but rather whether the Psalms contained any poems written before the Exile";² and some of his followers could venture to be still more positive in denying the pre-Exilic date of any psalm. Thus, for example, Giesebrecht argued that even Psalm 45—which is, in fact, a nuptial ode—was a post-Exilic song glorifying Solomon's reign of old, composed by a singer who was so ignorant of history that he mistook the royal wife of Solomon for a Tyrian princess;³ and Duhm declared that "not a single psalm would to an unbiased reader suggest the idea that it must or might be pre-Exilic."⁴ In the last two decades, however, not only has the view of Wellhausen and his school been generally discarded, but some critics have even ventured to suggest that psalmody may be assumed to be as old as the religion of Israel, although they still hold that the bulk of the Davidic Psalter is the product of the post-Exilic centuries down to the time of the Maccabees, and they base their surmise mainly upon what outside sources rather than the Psalms themselves reveal with regard to their history.⁵

¹ In Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (4th ed.; Berlin, 1878), p. 507.

² *The Book of Psalms* (SBOT [New York, 1898]), p. 163.

³ "Über die Abfassungszeit der Psalmen," *ZATW*, I (1881), 317 f.

⁴ *Die Psalmen* (KHCAT [Freiburg, 1899]), p. xix; the view is restated unchanged in 2d ed. (1922), pp. xx f.

⁵ R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen* (KAT, 1st and 2d ed. [Leipzig, 1914]; 5th and 6th ed., 1929), pp. xxx-xxxv, xli f.; *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (4th ed.; Gotha, 1921-22), II, 257 f.; III, Part II (1st and 2d ed.; Stuttgart, 1929), 697, 704 ff.; Gressman, "The

What these critics have conjectured is indeed the case. Twenty-six psalms can be positively identified as pre-Exilic. Of these, Psalm 68B is a companion piece to the Song of Deborah and was written by the same author for the celebration of the nation's overwhelming victory over the united forces of the Canaanites. It is, moreover, one of the ancient Songs of the Wars of Yahweh—the only one that has been preserved—and it gives us a good idea of the literary character of these songs as well as of their peculiar content, from which their name is taken. This ancient song is an extremely valuable source of information not only for the political history of the time of Deborah and the period which followed but also for certain phases of Israel's religious history, throwing new light on the one as well as on the other. The description it gives of Deborah's famous victory is so manifestly the work of an eyewitness that the song, I am sure, would long ago have been recognized as dating from the time of Deborah had it not been for the circumstance that it has come down to us fused with an Exilic psalm. To disentangle texts such as these may seem to some critics a hazardous and subjective undertaking, though it is actually far from that; for methodical literary analysis shows that what stands at present as Psalm 68 consists of two distinct poems which differ radically in content and tone as well as in language and style and reveals, furthermore, that Psalm 68B is of the same literary texture as the Song of Deborah.

However incredible, in the light of the meticulous care with which books are edited today, such fusion of texts may seem, it is, in fact, a frequent phenomenon not only in the Psalms and other biblical writings but in all ancient texts which in the course of centuries of manuscript transmission were copied over and over. And it must be remembered that the books of the Bible, and especially the Psalms, were copied far oftener than any other ancient writing. Other remarkable instances of fusion of texts in the Psalter are the following: (1) Psalm 107,

Development of Hebrew Psalmody," in *The Psalmists*, ed. Simpson (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 4-12, 15 f. Gressman differs from Kittel in that he is "convinced that there are no Maccabaeal Psalms," but he has not substantiated his view.

in which an ode celebrating Israel's redemption from the Babylonian captivity is found fused with a poem describing a storm at sea; (2) Psalm 55, in which three separate pieces have been fused with one another: (*a*) a complete psalm representing the cry of the nation in distress, (*b*) a fragment of the complaint of an individual over the treachery of a trusted friend, and (*c*) the original conclusion of Psalm 57A; (3) Psalm 57B in its turn originally formed a constituent of Psalm 60B—the opening part—as may be seen from Psalm 108, where both parts have been preserved complete a second time, and where, besides, the second part is transmitted, as in Psalm 60, fused with the concluding verses of Psalm 60A; (4) Psalm 36, in which two distinct psalms have been combined into one, and two verses omitted from Psalm 35 have been placed at the end of the second psalm; (5) Psalm 81, in which the first five verses are not related to the following portion (vss. 6–17) but are all that remains of an otherwise lost psalm, while, of verses 6–17 (i.e., Psalm 81B), the original beginning is missing. The treatment of these psalms and others of the kind will show how the fusion of texts which they have suffered in the long process of their transmission occurred.

Another, still older document than Psalm 68B is Psalm 81B, which dates from the time of Joshua. It is, in truth, a record whose importance has hitherto been overlooked, bearing upon the earliest history of Israel; for it expressly states that it was the tribes of Joseph which, delivered from their serfdom, marched forth from Egypt, received Yahweh's law, and were proved by him at the waters of Meribath Kadesh. Thus the psalm corroborates what the research of the last forty years has brought to light from extra-biblical sources with regard to the history of Israel's settlement in Canaan and the real facts concerning the bondage in Egypt. Further, it is significant for the solution of the problem which the ancient record, Joshua, chapter 24, presents. In fact, the literary relationship existing between the two documents points to the conclusion that Psalm 81B was written to promote the great religious enterprise with which, as the record, Joshua, chapter 24, tells us, Joshua

crowned his achievements as conqueror. Finally, this ancient psalm throws light upon the question of the age and history of the Decalogue.

Psalms 60A and 57B/60B arrest our interest as two genuine psalms of David. In the first, the desperate situation is reflected which prevailed in Israel after the disastrous battle on Mount Gilboa, when the Philistines were again masters of the country, occupying it from Gezer and the plain of the Kishon in the West to Bethshean and the cities of the Jordan Valley around Succoth in the East, and compelling Eshbaal to move the seat of government to the frontier of East Jordanland. The second has for its historical background David's marvelous achievements some years later, his wars fought to free the country from Philistine rule, and the wars of conquest which he then waged against Israel's neighbors. It was composed when his ambitions with one exception—the conquest of Edom—had all been realized. This psalm is noteworthy in connection with the religious evolution of Israel, for in it we see that the conception of Yahweh as a God of love was a familiar idea in Israel as early as the time of David, and we learn from it, as from Psalm 68B, that the tendency to proselytize, which centuries later acquired great prominence in spiritual prophecy, was germinant in Israelitish religion from the very beginning.

Psalm 24B is in all probability another genuine composition by David. It is a liturgical hymn, celebrating the entry of the Ark into the sanctuary, as various contemporary accounts of the Ark, to which it is closely related, show. This hymn was composed either upon the occasion of David's conveying the Ark from the house of Obed-Edom to his capital, Zion,⁶ or upon its later entry into the Temple of Solomon.⁷

Another still more ancient psalm, rooted in the cult of early times, is Psalm 65B. It is an incantation for rain and is primitive in the extreme. There is nothing so primitive as this incantation anywhere else in the Psalter. External evidence shows that in the course of its transmission two of its verses were misplaced into Psalm 68.

⁶ II Sam. 6:12-18.

⁷ I Kings 8:1-7.

Psalm 20 is another interesting psalm connected with the cult. It was written after Psalm 21, and it forms a companion piece to it. Psalm 21 is not, as it is invariably interpreted, a hymn of thanksgiving for a victory won but a prayer for victory. Proof of this is seen in the fervid supplication with which the psalm ends and in the perfects of verses 3 and 5b, which function as precativè perfects.⁸ This public prayer was offered on the occasion of the coronation of a new king which took place at a time when the country was under enemy rule. Psalm 20 was written—probably by the same author—some time later, when at last the king went to war against the enemy. It is an antiphonal psalm, the invocation with which the army and priesthood, followed by a solo singer, accompanied the customary sacrifice which the king offered for the success of his arms before starting battle. Twice in the history of the Northern Kingdom did the country present a situation such as is reflected in Psalm 21—at the time of Ahab's succession to the throne and again later when Joash, and following him Jeroboam II, ascended the throne. Which of these occasions provided the background for these two psalms, it is impossible to know. The situation which existed at the beginning of Ahab's reign forms the setting for Psalm 45, the nuptial ode composed by a court poet for Ahab's marriage with Jezebel.

Only five liturgical hymns, in addition to Psalm 24B, have come down to us from pre-Exilic times: Psalms 100, 95, 114, 136, and 105. Of these, Psalm 100 appeared to have been sung on the great festivals of the year in the sanctuaries of the country, whither the people had come from all parts of the land. Psalms 114 and 136 were doubtless parts of the Passover liturgy. Psalm 105 is a lengthy recital, in the framework of a hymn, of the wonderful deeds wrought by God for Israel from the day of the patriarchs down to the people's entry into Canaan. Although it may be considered certain that all of these four psalms are pre-Exilic, none of them contains a clue to a more definite date. Psalm 95, however, gives evidence of having been oc-

⁸ See below, pp. 21-25.

casioned by a distinct historical occurrence—possibly the reform measures carried out by King Asa of Judah.

Of the psalms which are directly connected with great events in the history of Israel, Psalms 48 and 76 rank high both as poems and as historical records. Following Giesebrecht, who approached the question of their date with the conviction that there were no pre-Exilic psalms,⁹ not a few present-day critics have denied that these two psalms were occasioned by the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 B.C. and have maintained that they are post-Exilic hymns telling of the past glory of Jerusalem, or that they are eschatological hymns of post-Exilic date. These critics, strange to say, have overlooked the all-essential fact that, aside from their tone, the tense-picture of both psalms leaves no room for such an argument but shows that the singer tells of what with his own eyes he has just seen happening. They have ignored, too, the fact that both psalms expressly state that they were composed for the celebration in the Temple of the nation's wonderful escape. The two psalms are of common authorship, as their close similarity in style and language, coupled with their literary excellence, shows. The fact that they were written under the immediate impression of this momentous event, when there had not yet been time for the myth-creating imagination to come to the fore, makes them a source of supreme value both for the true story of what happened and for the answer to the further question, "How did the people react to their deliverance?"

Another source of information about this event—in particular, the people's reaction to it and the interpretation they put upon it and upon the fall of the sister-kingdom, which had gone before—is furnished by Psalm 78. Because of the text disorder it has suffered in the process of its transmission, this psalm has generally been misunderstood. But as soon as the original order, which is ascertained from external evidence, is restored and the prime cause of its misinterpretation is removed, we can see almost at a glance what the psalm really deals with. Further analysis reveals that it is another composition by the author of

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 310, 311 f., 314, 318, 319 f.

Psalms 48 and 76, with which it is on a par in literary excellence; and also that it is an epic rather than a didactic poem. It was written some short time after the country's rescue, with the purpose of promoting the reform of the Yahweh cult which was carried out by Hezekiah; and it is of great value as a contemporary source of information concerning this reform, for it conveys a clear idea of its incentive and its object. The psalm is significant in another respect, affording as it does an insight into the question, "How did the belief in Zion as the inviolate abode of Yahweh arise?" Finally, it is an important link in the chain of other evidence bearing on the question, "When did the sagas of the Yahwistic and Elohist sources receive the fixed literary form in which they have come down to us?"

When Psalms 48, 76, and 78 were written, the literary prophets had been on the scene for more than fifty years and had inaugurated the great religious movement which directed the life and thought of Israel into new ways and gave to both their unique character. As a result of their activity a new era now begins for the Psalms. They undergo a transformation and are ever increasingly infused with that prophetic passion and that religious inwardness which have made the Psalms live in the hearts of men down to the present day. Psalms 29, 104, 19A, 8, 51, 50, 15, and 24A are all permeated with the spirit of the prophetic preaching and deal with one or the other of its vital truths: the majesty of God; the dignity of man, God's presence in man; what God demands of man, how man can worship him. And there is positive proof that they are all pre-Exilic. This conclusion in its turn projects into prominence an important side of the prophetic movement to which little, if any, attention is usually paid. It shows that the disciples of the prophets were not what they have hitherto been taken for—men of no literary fame or accomplishments. Out of their former obscurity they now emerge as distinct personalities of no mean achievements, as the peers and co-workers of the prophets. We now see the real significance of Isaiah's declaration in one of the prophecies which he delivered at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic alliance (8:16-17) that all he can do in the

face of the manifest indifference of his age to his preaching is to intrust his message to his disciples that it may live; and of his declaration some years later:

Behold, the Lord has laid a proven stone,
A precious cornerstone, as a foundation in Zion.
He that hath faith will not be in haste [28:16]—

by which he means to say that the nucleus of the future regenerated Israel, which will arise out of the ruins of the present decadent nation, exists already in the disciples who are gathered around him and are filled with his spirit and his faith.

In this connection it is interesting to note that though the pre-Exilic Psalm 89A also contains a hint of the prophetic spirit, its author has not penetrated to the real essence of the prophets' teaching and hence cannot be included among their true disciples.

The faith and vision of the prophets continue to dominate the psalms of the following periods, of the Exile as well as of post-Exilic times, down to the beginning of the third century B.C., or until the fourth or fifth decade before the Psalms were completed. And if some of the post-Exilic psalms of uncertain date could be dated more definitely, it might be found that the prophetic spirit remained dominant down to the very completion of the Psalter. It is to be detected, at any rate, in Psalm 145, which appears to be a product of the literary decadence which set in about the second quarter of the third century B.C. I do not suggest that the influence of the priestly or official religion is no longer in evidence in the Psalms but that it steps into the background, overshadowed by the more potent influence of prophetic religion.

Of the Exilic psalms, slightly more than half—four out of seven—are imbued with the prophetic spirit, and, of the post-Exilic psalms, a much larger proportion—seventy-seven out of one hundred and fifteen. As a matter of fact, the authors of most of these psalms—among whom is included the illustrious author of the Job drama, who himself wrote psalms—were the spiritual heirs of the prophets, animated by the same broad vision and unconquerable faith as their masters. The period

from the last quarter of the fifth to the close of the fourth century B.C., during which most of these psalms, and the profoundest of them, were written, is not a barren, "obscure century," as it is commonly styled;¹⁰ rather it belongs to the spiritually great ages of history, ranking second to the age of pre-Exilic spiritual prophecy. Thus the Exilic and post-Exilic psalms furnish abundant evidence that the unique religious movement inaugurated by Amos was continued without a break down to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., through the Exile and through the post-Exilic centuries from the Restoration in 538 down to 300 B.C., and that it was a prominent trend of the earlier post-Exilic centuries. Further evidence of this movement is seen in the Job drama—the ripest fruit of prophetic religion—dating from around 400 B.C.; in the books of Ruth and Jonah, with their broad humanitarian spirit, written, indeed, as a protest against the intolerance and narrow-mindedness of Ezra and Nehemiah; in the post-Exilic prophecies, Isa. 57:14-21; 58:1-12;¹¹ 59:1-15—three classics of the true prophetic spirit; and, lastly, in the zeal and success with which missionary activity was carried on in these post-Exilic centuries.¹² In the light of these facts it is incomprehensible how the current sketches of post-Exilic history can persistently have ignored, or only casually mentioned, the outstanding tendency of the period down to 300 B.C., and how they can have treated the spiritual life of these centuries as if legalism and ritualism had been their dominant trend. The religious temper of these centuries is commonly contrasted with that of the preceding period by the use of the term Judaism, denoting legalism and ritualism—that rigid, soulless piety which in departure from prophetic religion Ezekiel sought to promote. Such a distinction is unwarranted if we comprehend the true spirit of the

¹⁰ Cf. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (6th ed.; Berlin, 1907), pp. 187 and 190; Sellin, *Geschichte des Israelitisch-Jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig, 1932), II, 164, 168, 169; W. O. E. Oesterly, *A History of Israel* (Oxford, 1932), II, 139, 168 f.; Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, Part II, 675; Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (HKAT [Göttingen, 1926]), p. 322.

¹¹ Vss. 13-14, present-day critics are agreed, are clearly a later addition.

¹² See the excursus, "Post-Exilic Judaism as a Missionary Religion," below, pp. 698-702.

religious evolution of post-Exilic times. For in very truth the light of the prophetic teachings illumined the utterances of five centuries, from the day when Amos arose in Bethel to exhort men to "seek good and not evil, hate evil and love good."

II. THE "MACCABAEAN" PSALMS

When twenty years ago I wrote the article, "Are There Any Maccabaeen Psalms?"¹³ I did not realize that the Psalms themselves are the most valuable source of post-Exilic history that we have and that the prevailing belief in Maccabaeen psalms is refuted by the actual occurrences which are reflected in the very psalms in question. Although the problem can now be approached with a new understanding, yet the angle from which I then considered it is still crucial. I deem it imperative, therefore, to repeat here—with a few additions—the substance of the argument I then presented.

On the question of Maccabaeen psalms there has been a wide divergence of opinion, some critics going so far as to claim that fully half the Psalter is Maccabaeen, while others find only four or five Maccabaeen psalms, and a few even none at all.

Strange to say, the question has been thought to hinge on the date of the conclusion of the Canon, the close of the various collections that make up the Psalter, and the date and final redaction of Chronicles—all points which are of deep interest to the biblical scholar, but which are comparatively irrelevant to our question. It seems to me that the one really important point in the discussion of this question—the only one that has a distinct bearing on it—has been lost sight of, and that is the passing of Hebrew as a spoken language in post-Exilic times and its gradual replacement by Aramaic.

The dying-out of Hebrew is so frequently ignored in the historical surveys of those times, or mentioned only cursorily, as if it were a fact of little consequence, that I feel justified here in drawing attention to it as an event of extraordinary importance—one which must be carefully borne in mind not only in deciding whether or not certain psalms are Maccabaeen but in

¹³ *JBL*, XXXVI (1917), 225-48.

determining the date of many other post-Exilic writings. The fact that the importance of this event has been overlooked has interfered seriously with our understanding of post-Exilic Jewish history from the second half of the Persian period down to the Maccabaeen period.

The real problem connected with the prevailing belief in Maccabaeen psalms is not, as Gesenius over a century ago formulated it, whether the close or final redaction of the various collections making up the Psalter and the conclusion of the Old Testament Canon in general can be placed as late as the Maccabaeen period,¹⁴ but whether a Maccabaeen date for any of the Psalms is reconcilable with the fact that during the second quarter of the third century B.C. the Hebrew language entered on a stage of rapid decadence, which ended in its dying-out altogether as a spoken language.

When did Hebrew cease to be a spoken language? Can it be ascertained when Aramaic took the place of Hebrew as the language of the people? I believe this can be ascertained, or deduced with a certain degree of positiveness, from the linguistic character of two sources, the Hebrew original of the Wisdom of Ben Sira and the Book of Daniel.

The linguistic character of Ben Sira at first presents something of a puzzle. The language is apparently choice, but somehow the effect is missing. One is conscious of a certain disturbing element interfering with one's aesthetic enjoyment. A closer examination shows what the trouble is. Everyone grants that for literary effectiveness elegant diction alone is not sufficient. There must be a fitness of the language used to the thought expressed. And it is just this quality that is lacking in the writings of Jesus ben Sira. There is no vital relation of form to thought. Nor could there be in writings which, like his, not merely show no originality but abound in phrases and sentences taken piecemeal from other writers and strung together, often regardless of the context. As Schechter and Taylor have pointed out, Ben Sira exploited the biblical writers to an almost

¹⁴ See *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, Ergänzungsblätter (Halle, 1816), No. 81.

incredible extent.¹⁵ Taylor's remark is to the point: "The words which Ben Sira uses are not all his own, his book being more or less a tissue of old classical phrases like a modern school composition in a dead language."¹⁶ If other editors and critics have failed to see this and have even claimed that "the language of Ben Sira is classical" and that his "style stands throughout on an altogether higher level than that for example of Chronicles and Ecclesiastes,"¹⁷ it can only be attributed to the fact that they were misled by the favorable impression produced at first glance by the large amount of biblical phraseology in the book.

As a matter of fact, Ben Sira's style, or I should rather say his writing of Hebrew, is exceedingly faulty. In the first place, his grammar is poor, but I shall defer this point until later in order to consider first his faulty style, his wrong use of words or phrases (especially biblical phrases), and his incorrect combination of them. A few examples of the many that might be cited will suffice to illustrate this:

The phrase *henîph yad* is used wrongly (12:18) for *taqa' kaph 'al*, "Clap the hand over" (a person), and (47:4) it is incorrectly used with the meaning "He reached out his hand for" (the sling). *Ten libbek* is wrongly used (12:11) with the meaning "Pay heed," instead of *shîth libbek*. The verb *bînû* is used (16:23) with the meaning "They think." Still worse is the absurd *tēyassed shoresh* (3:9). Of other such faulty combinations—they are very numerous—note that *me'areš* of *shaphalta me'areš tēdabberî*, "Thou shalt speak humbly from the ground" (Isa. 29:4), used as an equivalent of *me'aphar*, "out of the dust," of the parallel stich, is coupled (51:9) with *'arîm qōlî*, which invariably means "raise one's voice" or "shout" (cf. Gen. 39:18; Isa. 40:9; 58:1). Further, *gibbōr yish'î*, "the hero of my help" (51:10); in this case the stumbling block for Ben Sira was

¹⁵ Cf. the list of quotations given in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, ed. Schechter and Taylor (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 13–28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

¹⁷ Of these, cf. Cowley and Neubauer, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus* (Oxford, 1899), p. xiii; Peters, *Hebräischer Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (Freiburg, 1902), p. 85*; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), p. xliii; Nöldeke, "Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Ben Sira," *ZATW*, XX (1900), 92.

doubtless Zeph. 3:17, 'ădōnai 'ēlōhēka bēqirbēka gibbōr yōshi'a, "The Lord thy God is in thy midst, who helps thee like a hero," in which he did not understand the accusative of comparison *gibbōr*.

We may now consider the question of Ben Sira's own Hebrew when he does not copy from biblical writers. A careful analysis of his writings bears out what has already been observed by Schechter—that his language is closely similar to Neo-Hebraic, the language of the Mishna and Talmud.¹⁸ To mention some of the linguistic characteristics which prove this as well as the charge that his Hebrew is exceedingly faulty: he has no longer any feeling for the proper use of the tenses, and, as in Neo-Hebraic and in the younger Aramaic dialects, he often substitutes the participle with the personal pronoun. Very often he omits the possessive pronominal suffix where biblical Hebrew requires it: cf. *hak'eph rō'sh*, "Bow thy head" (4:7), instead of *rō'shēka*; *haneph yad 'al*, "Brandish thy hand against" (33:3), instead of *yadēka*; *ha'ēr 'aph ūshēphok hema*, "Rouse thy anger and pour out thy wrath" (33:8), instead of *'appeka* and *hamathēka*. Some of these cases are probably Grecisms, as, for example, *bēma'āmar ūbēma'āse*, the corresponding Greek phrase of which is ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ.

Further, he does not distinguish between the predicative use of a noun and its use as subject but, in both cases, very frequently construes it without the article: cf. *ūmōsheleth bām kalil lashōn*, "And the tongue decides over them at all time" (37:18); note also that *mōsheleth* and *kalil* are used with a wrong meaning; *bō mō'ed*, "The festivals are regulated by it" (43:7). The last example shows another frequent mistake of Ben Sira, his use of substantives in the singular where the plural is required. Another such example, a strikingly bad one, is "A pleasant palate (*yirbē 'ōheb*) makes many friends" (6:5).

Finally, Ben Sira betrays his deficient knowledge of Hebrew perhaps most by his ungrammatical construing of substantives with their governing verb or noun and by his wrong use of prepositions. Such constructions are by no means isolated but occur with great frequency: cf., for example, *'al gannab nibērā*

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

bosheth (6:14), by which he intends to express "Shame is held in readiness for the thief"—a blunder attributable to the fact that he copied *nibērā* 'al from Isa. 4:5 and used it wrongly; *ten 'ēdūth lēmerō'sh ma'āsēka* (36:20), in which *lēmerō'sh*, meaning "for them who from the beginning," is impossible Hebrew; *'ēn tōba* (12:3) used wrongly to express "Benevolence is not in place"; *pen taseb 'eth naḥālathēka* (9:6) used, without any further complement, to mean "Lest she divert thy heritage from thee." Another blunder, already pointed out by Nöldeke,¹⁹ is that, contrary not only to Hebrew but also to common Semitic usage, Ben Sira construes the objective suffix of the second person with the verb of the same person. There are four such examples: 6:3; 7:7 (two); 7:16.

Ben Sira's inferior Hebrew cannot be ascribed to any lack of ability on his part as a writer, for he was esteemed by his age as a man of great literary fame and attainments and as the best educated man of his day, as his grandson expressly states in the Prologue to his Greek translation of his grandfather's writings. If notwithstanding this he did not succeed in writing idiomatic and grammatically correct Hebrew, there can be only one explanation—that at the time he wrote (between 190 and 170 B.C.) Hebrew had ceased to be a spoken language and was used only as a book language.

The conclusion reached receives corroboration from another side—the peculiar makeup of the Book of Daniel. The problem of the Book of Daniel is its bilingualism—a feature which is the more puzzling because without any apparent reason the Hebrew breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and the continuation follows without interruption in Aramaic. The word *'āramīth* of 2:4, biblical critics are agreed, is not an object of *wayyēdabbērū*, "they spoke," but, as in the parallel case, Ezra 4:7, was primarily an interlinear gloss, which was put in to indicate the beginning of Aramaic, and which subsequently got into the text itself.²⁰ Hardly less perplexing is it when we find

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁰ This was pointed out as early as 1860 by J. Oppert, *Eléments de la grammaire assyrienne* (2d ed.; Paris, 1868), p. 2, n. 1.

the Aramaic break off in its turn at the end of chapter 7, and the Hebrew begin again with chapter 8, for, inasmuch as chapter 8 expatiates on the most essential part of chapter 7, the two chapters are logically inseparable. It is because of this circumstance that the solution of the problem offered by Marti cannot be accepted. He rightly concludes that originally the book was written in Aramaic throughout, but he thinks that the beginning, chapters 1-2:4a, and the close of the book, chapters 8-12, were later translated into Hebrew to make possible its acceptance into the Canon.²¹ In such a case, however, it might reasonably be assumed either that the whole book would have been translated into Hebrew or at least that the transition from Hebrew into Aramaic and vice versa would not have been made so abrupt as it is.

The explanation is, to my mind, to be seen in another direction. With the exception of the prayer, 9:4-19, which was evidently taken over by the author of Daniel from the current liturgy of which it had been a part, the Book of Daniel was originally written in Aramaic; for an analysis of the linguistic character of its Hebrew parts reveals the fact that in syntactical structure and in the use of certain word forms these parts are to a large extent so closely modeled after Aramaic that they must be a translation from an Aramaic original by one for whom Hebrew was no longer a living language. From this and from the further fact that the Book of Daniel, unlike the Wisdom of Ben Sira, was not written for the learned, or for such as were sufficiently educated to have a book knowledge of Hebrew, but was, like all apocalypses, intended for the masses, it may definitely be concluded that the language spoken at the time by the people was Aramaic. Since the object of the Book of Daniel was to fill the hearts of the people with faith and fortitude and to encourage them to steadfastness by pointing out that the gloom and bitter trials of the present were but preliminary to the bliss awaiting them in the future, it would

²¹ Cf. Marti, *Das Buch Daniel* (KHCAT [Leipzig, 1901]), pp. ix f.

have failed in its purpose had it not been written in Aramaic.²² It was translated into Hebrew, either at the time it was written or possibly a few years later, when the Maccabaeen victories had lent it prestige. When still later the inclusion of the Book of Daniel into the Canon was decided upon, there existed, no doubt, several copies of the Aramaic original, which, it may be assumed, had been sent broadcast among the people; while of the Hebrew translation only certain parts still existed, presumably the first sheet, which contained chapters 1-2:4a, and the last sheets, containing chapters 8-12. Had a complete Hebrew copy existed at that time, the Book of Daniel would have been taken in the Canon entirely in Hebrew; for Hebrew, not Aramaic, was the language of Holy Writ: as it was, the parts missing in the Hebrew translation had to be taken from the Aramaic original.

Thus it seems to me that the Book of Daniel furnishes conclusive proof that, at the time of the Maccabees, Aramaic was the spoken language of the Jewish people—which explains not only why idiomatic Hebrew could no longer be written in those days but also why an original production in Hebrew like Ben Sira's should contain so many grammatical blunders.

Is the prevailing belief in Maccabaeen psalms compatible with these findings? The extreme view which holds that half or more of the Psalms are Maccabaeen or post-Maccabaeen may be ignored. With regard to the more moderate views, according to which a considerably smaller number of psalms would come under consideration, the discussion of conflicting opinions regarding any one psalm does not concern us here but must be deferred to the body of the book. All I shall do here is to point out the general principle governing the question. Of the psalms considered by many critics as Maccabaeen, some are of such literary perfection that they can have been produced only while Hebrew literature was still at its height, while others show such a freshness and finish of style that it is obvious that they must

²² Similarly the apocalypse, I Enoch, chaps. 6-36, which antedates the Book of Daniel by but a few years, was originally written in Aramaic (cf. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* [Oxford, 1912], pp. lii, lvii-lxi, 1).

have been written before any decadence of language had set in. And there is still another group of psalms which, though not ranking high poetically, are written, every one, in faultless, idiomatic Hebrew: their language shows no trace of decomposition, which is so markedly in evidence in Ecclesiastes, which was written between 250 and 225 B.C. From the point of view of language, therefore, it is excluded that even any of the third group of psalms could be a product of the Maccabaeian period. To be convinced of this, one has but to compare them with the two hymns of Ben Sira (33:1-13*a*; 36:16*b*-22*c*; and 51:1-12*c*, 1-16), the linguistic character of which has been described above and illustrated by a number of examples, or with Ben Sira's panegyric of the heroes of old (chaps. 44-50). Such a comparison will show that the difference in style and language could not be more radical. To illustrate the point, take, for example, the hymn of Ben Sira 51:1-16. Verses 1-15 of it are in structure and content similar to Psalm 136, but are so palpably inferior in literary merit that there cannot be any doubt that Psalm 136 is the primary product and Ben Sira's hymn the imitation. As to the concluding verse 16,

He has exalted the horn of His people,
Glory has come to His faithful servants,
To Israel, the people near Him,

it is identical word for word with Ps. 148:14, but, while in the piece of Ben Sira the verse is crudely joined to the preceding verses, in Psalm 148, verse 14 is not only a logical continuation of the verses which go before but a necessary part of the whole, being in fact the key to the psalm. It is obvious then that Ben Sira 51:16 is a quotation from Ps. 148:14.

The question is often raised, "Why could good Hebrew not have been written, even after Hebrew had ceased to be a spoken language?" Jehuda ha-Levi's poems are as a rule referred to to show that the question is legitimate. Now Jehuda ha-Levi's poems, considered from the point of view of the rules of style and syntax governing biblical Hebrew, are (when he does not copy from biblical writers) for the greater part unnatural He-

brew. Moreover, they are void of warmth and feeling, being artificial in the extreme; and above all they lack the most essential element of literary creation—spontaneity. There is nothing in the least surprising about this, for language, being organic, is capable of growth and development only so long as it is part and parcel of the life and soul of a people.

These findings, it is of importance to observe, fall in with what has been brought out by the investigation into the history of the Psalms carried on in the body of the book. Of the sixty-six post-Exilic psalms in which is reflected either a distinct historical crisis or a joyous turn in the affairs of the nation, of which fifty-nine can be dated exactly, and seven approximately, none was composed later than the year 312 B.C., when Ptolemy besieged and conquered Jerusalem. (The only other post-Exilic psalm occasioned by a national crisis is Psalm 86, which is of uncertain date.) Startling as this fact may seem on first consideration, there is in reality nothing in the least surprising about it. "The obscure century" of post-Exilic times is not, as generally thought, the century between the time of Ezra and Nehemiah and the rule of Alexander the Great but the third century B.C. It is then that Jewish history lapses into silence. About the century between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great we know a good deal, the Psalms being the chief source of information, but about the third century because of the utter lack of source material we know hardly anything.

III. GRAMMATICAL EXCURSUS: THE PRECATIVE PERFECT²³

For the accurate interpretation of any piece of Semitic literature, it is generally understood that a thorough knowledge of the tenses is of prime importance. Tenses, in our sense of the term, are of course unknown in the Semitic languages. This is seen at once from the very terms "perfect" and "imperfect" used to designate the two so-called tenses. In the first place,

²³ This sketch is republished in abridged form and with some changes and one addition from the *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume* (1925), pp. 89-111.

both the perfect and the imperfect are unlimited as to time. The perfect indicates action that has been perfected—either perfected in reality, as an action that has happened or been concluded, or a state of things that has come to exist; or perfected in thought, as an action that is conceived of as sure to happen (the so-called prophetic perfect), or thought of as inevitable (the perfect of certitude). The imperfect, on the other hand, indicates action that has not been perfected; it is used to depict action as progressing (the imperfect of progressive duration), for example, Isa. 6:4, "The Temple became more and more filled (*yimmālē*) with smoke," in contrast to I Kings 8:10, "The cloud filled (*malē*) the Temple." The imperfect is also used to denote action that is of customary or periodic occurrence; and, finally, it is used to denote prospective or future action.

Compared with the highly developed tense-system of the Aryan languages, the Semitic tense-system must seem most rudimentary. Yet in the hands of the biblical writers this instrument of limited resources becomes a flexible and adequate medium, enabling them to express the nicest shades of meaning and the most subtle distinctions quite as effectively as Greek or Sanskrit authors do with the more varied forms at their disposal. If these distinctions are often lost for us, the fault lies altogether with the translators who have failed to perceive them. An excellent illustration—one of the many that might be cited—is the opening verse of Deutero-Isaiah, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," followed by *yō'mar 'ēlōhēkēm*, which words are rendered by all the translators, old and modern alike, "Says your God," although invariably, when any prophet wishes to say merely that he is speaking in the name of God, he uses not the imperfect but the perfect. This shows that *yō'mar 'ēlōhēkēm* is an imperfect of progressive duration; it means "Speaks ever more clearly your God." Nothing could be more significant, more in harmony with the general drift of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, than this imperfect of progressive duration. By it Deutero-Isaiah, at the very opening of his prophecies, aims to bring out the thought that God is speaking, revealing himself,

through contemporaneous events—through the rise and victories of Cyrus. I deem it advisable to illustrate this function of the imperfect by one or two other examples. In Gen. 2:6, “The mist lifted (*ya’ālē*) from the earth,” the use of the imperfect of progressive duration finds its explanation in the very nature of the phenomenon: mist lifts in layers. (From a mountain top this process can plainly be seen.) Again, in Job 16:13–14, Job in highly poetic language describes how he has been stricken by God with a fatal disease: “His missiles have rained (*yasobbū*) upon me, He has struck (*yēphallah*) my reins mercilessly, has poured (*yishpok*) my gall upon the ground. Blow upon blow He has dealt me (*yiphrēsenī*), He has rushed (*yarūs*) upon me like a warrior.” The customary rendering of the imperfects in these verses with the present is inaccurate: they are imperfects of progressive duration and, as such, are descriptive of the nature of the disease from which Job was suffering. A person stricken with elephantiasis actually dies by inches: the members of the body rot away and drop off one by one.

In the second place, the Semitic finite verb is equivocal as to modality, just as is the nominal sentence, which frequently expresses a wish or an imprecation (cf. Pss. 3:9; 9:7; 45:2c). Now as far as the imperfect is concerned, its further function as subjunctive or optative, as well as its capacity of signifying divers other modalities, which in the Aryan languages are expressed by auxiliaries, is too well known to require further discussion. As far, however, as the perfect is concerned, the fact that it is equivocal as to modality has in Hebrew grammar by no means received the emphasis it deserves. Leaving out of question for the present the precativ perfect, which will occupy us later, I shall, to substantiate my point, refer merely to the use of the perfect in hypothetical sentences and in sentences expressing a wish that is past fulfilment or that has not yet been fulfilled. As to the perfect in hypothetical sentences, see, for example, Judg. 8:19, “If ye had let them live (*haḥayithēm*), I should not slay (*haragti*) you”; Gen. 43:10, “Had we not tarried (*hithmahēmanū*), verily we might now be back (*shabnū*) a second time.” As to the perfect in a wish that is past fulfilment, or the

fulfilment of which seems unduly deferred, see, Num. 14:2, "Would that we might have died (*mathnū*) in the land of Egypt"; Isa. 63:19, "Oh, that thou mightest rend (*qara'ta*) the heavens, that thou mightest come down (*yaradta*), that the mountains might shake (*nazēlū*) at thy presence." Even with *mī yitten* the perfect may be used the same way: cf. Job 23:3, *mī yitten yada'ti*, "Oh, that I might know (how to find Him)." The case is analogous to the use of Arabic *laḥta* with the perfect to express a wish past realization: see, for example, Tab. Ib, 536, 5, *yā laḥtanā kad mitnā*, "Oh, that we had died." Attention should be drawn to the fact that, in the example *mī yitten yada'ti* from Job, the wish that immediately follows, "Oh, that I might get (*'abō*) to his abode" (likewise depending on *mī yitten*), is expressed by the imperfect. The precative perfect proper, we shall see later, is invariably found alternating with the imperfect or the imperative; it is by this outward sign that the precative perfect may unfailingly be identified. A similar alternation of the perfect and imperfect marks the use of the prophetic perfect; it is a sure sign by which true prophecies may be distinguished from *vaticinia ex eventu*.²⁴

As I stated at the beginning of this excursus, in the interpretation of Semitic texts a failure to ascertain the specific force of the tenses employed is likely to lead to serious misunderstanding. As far as biblical literature is concerned, the Psalms more than any other text have suffered from the commentators' negligent attitude toward this most important feature of Semitic syntax. They have suffered especially from the persistent refusal of the exegetes to reckon with the precative perfect. As a consequence, in the case of many psalms, the meaning has been obscured, the different parts of one and the same psalm, as at present translated, being often inconsistent, sometimes downright contradictory.

Indeed, this is far too mild a statement of the case. There are as many as six instances where, in order to uphold the prevailing view, the precative perfect has been arbitrarily emended to the imperfect or imperative by many interpreters, including Buhl

²⁴ See below, p. 295.

(in Kittel-Kahle, *Biblia Hebraica*). These instances are *hir-ḥabta* of Ps. 4:2; *ṣiwwītha* of Ps. 7:7; *ʾānīthanī* of Ps. 22:22; *padā* of Ps. 55:19; and *hiṣṣīlanī* and *ra'ātha* of Ps. 54:9—in all of which there is no getting around the fact that by the perfects a wish or entreaty is expressed. Nor does the confusion caused by the common disregard of the precative perfect end with these emendations. In Ps. 4:2, de Lagarde, Kessler, and Gunkel have emended to past tenses the imperatives following the precative perfect, and many more commentators have so emended the imperatives of Ps. 9:14, thereby eliminating the very mark by which the precative perfect may be identified.

Another less radical way of getting around the precative perfect is the commonly advanced view that the perfects in question have the force of pluperfects. The advocates of this view have argued that in his prayer to God for help the psalmist calls to mind how God has delivered his people in the past. But is it conceivable that any sane writer, when turning from the gloom of the present to the glory of the past, should fail to indicate the change of scene and leave it to the reader to divine what he means to say? We may be sure that the Hebrew writers of old were governed by the same rules of elementary logic and common sense as present-day authors. To be convinced of this, one has but to look, for example, at Psalms 77 and 143. In each of these the psalmist does turn from the dark present to the brighter past. The retrospect of the one reads:

I think of the days of old,
Of the years that are long past:
I will recall the deeds of God,
Yea, the wonders of old will I recall,

and that of the other:

As my spirit droops,
As my heart within me is dead,
I recall the days of old,
I think of all thy deeds.

It will strengthen the argument advanced here to mention that it is supported even by the upholders of the theory just refuted, surprising though this may seem. Thus Baethgen, who

interprets the perfects of Pss. 3:8; 4:2, 8; and 85:2-4 as having the force of pluperfects, says with regard to those of Ps. 61:4, 6, "It is not permissible to interpret them as pluperfects, since for the expression of such a thought *bīmē qedem* 'in days of old' or a similar phrase would be indispensable."²⁵

Why the exegetes and the majority of Hebrew grammarians should have tried to reason the precative perfect out of existence in Hebrew is hard to understand. They have assumed that the precative perfect is limited to Arabic; the fact that it is equally common in Aramaic seems to have escaped their notice. It is found in Syriac as well as in the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, as Nöldeke has shown.²⁶ In these Aramaic dialects the precative perfect is used exactly as in Arabic and in Hebrew to express a wish, a curse, or an urgent request or entreaty, as the following examples from (a) the Syriac and (b) the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud show: (a) *hwaīt ḥlīm*, "Farewell!" with which the Peshitta renders Greek *ἔρωσο* (the usual formula in closing a letter) in Acts 23:30 and 15:29; *hwaītōn 'āhdīn*, "Remember!" Heb. 13:7; *sab ṭa'nā wahwaīt la'eṭ aṇt lī*, "Assume the burden and curse me!" Sim. 316 ult.; *hwāt ḥshibā*, "May she be esteemed," Addai 44 ult.; *lā' hwāt mā'nā lan*, "Let us not flag," with which the Peshitta renders Greek *μη ἐγκακῶμεν* in Gal. 6:9; (b) the curse mentioned in Pesahim, 110a-b, as a charm against witches, where four precative perfects are used in succession: "May your baldness increase (*qērah*), may the wind carry off (*pērah*) your crumbs (?), may your concoctions be spilled (*'ibaddar*), may the wind carry off (*ziqa*) the newly blossomed crocus that you hold in your hand."

It should further be noted that the precative perfect is in no wise limited to classical Arabic but has maintained itself in the Arabic dialects up to the present day. Socin,²⁷ points out as an indisputable example in the Central Arabian dialect: '*glit*,

²⁵ *Die Psalmen* (HKAT [3d ed., 1904]), p. 184; and cf. pp. 8, 9, 264 f.

²⁶ *Syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1880), § 260; *Zur Grammatik des Classischen Arabisch* (Wien, 1896), p. 66, n. 2.

²⁷ *Diwan* aus Central Arabien, III (Leipzig, 1901), 230.

"Live!" or "Farewell!" 63:17, 32, since this example cannot be traced to the classical language. And—still more important—the precative perfect is very common also in old North Arabic. As Lidzbarski has pointed out, in the Safaitic inscriptions published by E. Littman²⁸ and by Dussaud and Macler,²⁹ it occurs much oftener than the editors were aware of, being used to express both wishes and curses. Of the examples quoted by Lidzbarski, I shall mention *uallātti lu'ina du ḥabala*, "Allat! Cursed be he who destroys this"; *uahrudī 'auira du iu'auwuru*, "Ruda! Blind be he who robs this one of his sight"; *hā' ḡadda 'auḡidin rauḡha man sa'ira uasalima*, "Tyche-Awid! May he that remains here find respite and farewell."³⁰

Like the prophetic perfect, the precative perfect is but another variety of the perfect of certitude. Its origin is primarily to be explained in terms of the primitive man's belief in the magic power of the word. The primitive man reasoned that, if he spoke of his wish as already fulfilled, its fulfilment was bound to follow. In the more advanced stage of religious development the precative perfect was doubtless considered especially suitable for professing faith in God and expressing the assurance that one's prayer would be answered. This accounts for the fact that the precative perfect is employed with unusual frequency in the Psalms, occurring in them to a far greater extent than even Ewald³¹ and Böttcher³² realized, who were the first to recognize the existence of the precative perfect in Hebrew.

But although all other biblical scholars have been unanimous in attempting to refute the view of Ewald and Böttcher, it is amusing to note how unsuccessful they have been in this respect. Quite aside from their repeated emendation of the precative perfect to the imperative, or vice versa of the accompany-

²⁸ *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Part IV: *Semitic Inscriptions* (New York and London, 1905), pp. 102-68.

²⁹ *Missions dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne* (Paris, 1903), pp. 80-238.

³⁰ *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, II (1903-7), 347.

³¹ *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache* (8th ed.; Göttingen, 1870), § 223b.

³² *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1866-68), §§ 939g and 947g.

ing imperatives to perfects, they have in not a few instances been compelled to recognize the precative perfect, though under a different name, calling it perfect of certainty or perfect of confidence. Thus Baethgen has so labeled the (precative) perfects of Pss. 31:6, 55:19, 61:6, 102:18, and of 57:7c, which expresses a curse, and others have so labeled some of these and additional cases. It should be added that Briggs correctly interprets Ps. 83:11 as a curse, "Let them perish as at Endor, let them be as the dung on the ground," without explaining, however, how the perfects come to be so used.

A word or two on the precative perfect in the other Old Testament writings and how it has fared in these at the hands of the exegetes. The precative perfect of *wě'ēnai ra'ū*, "That mine eyes may see him," of the famous passage, Job 19:25-27, is most appropriate, lending tone to Job's burst of faith in these verses. Yet Budde, in his commentary, and Beer, in Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, have emended it to *yir'ū*. The other example in Job, "Far be (*rahēqa*) from me the view of the wicked" (21:16), they have, however, left untouched. "Let all the nations assemble (*niqbēšū*)" of Isa. 43:9 has been emended by Gesenius-Kautzsch³³ and many others to *yiqqabēšu* on the ground of *ye'asēphū* of the parallel stich. But, as I have pointed out before, the precative perfect is as a rule found alternating either with the imperfect or the imperative, and it is by this alternation that we are able to identify it.

³³ *Hebräische Grammatik* (28th ed.; Leipzig, 1909), § 106n, n. 2.

PART I

Pre-Exilic Psalms

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Pre-Exilic Psalms

PSALM 68B

ONE OF THE ANCIENT SONGS OF THE WARS OF YAHWEH

- 8 God, when thou didst march before thy people,
 When thou camest across the desert,
9a-b The earth quaked, the skies poured at the presence of
 God,
9cβ The mountains swayed at the presence of the God of
 Israel,
9ca, 16 Even Sinai, the mountain of God,
 And the mountain of the lofty peaks,
 The mountain of Bashan.
17 O lofty peaks, why do you look with envy
 At the mountain God has chosen for his abode?
 Yea, the Lord will dwell there forever.
- 18 With myriads of heavenly chariots,*
 The Lord came in grandeur from Sinai:
12 He† uttered the battle cry—
 Women in hosts spread the glad tidings:
13 “The kings of the armies have fled;
 The fair lady in the home divides the spoil,
14b Wings of a dove, covered with silver,
 Its pinions, with glistening gold.”
15 When there the Almighty scattered kings,
 It was as when snow flies on Mount Zalmon.
19a-b Thou hast come out victorious,

* Gloss: *Thousand times thousand.*

† Heb. *The Lord*, of which 11cβ *God* is a variant. In Codd. Vat. and Sinait. *God* is joined to vs. 12.

- Thou hast carried off captives,
 Thou hast taken tribute of men.
 25 They have seen thy paths,
 The paths trod in grandeur by my God and my King.
- 26 The singers in front, the minstrels in the rear,
 In the center the damsels playing on tambourines.
 27 In chorus praise God, who is the Lord,
 Ye of the fountain of Israel.
- 28 There is Benjamin, the least of them,
 That treads down the enemy;
 The chieftains of Judah in ecstasies;
 The chieftains of Zebulon, the chieftains of Naphtali.
- 14^a If ye lie by the sheepfolds.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PSALM 68

Psalm 68 has always been a *crux interpretum*. As early as eighty years ago Reuss called it "ein Denkmal exegetischer Not und Kunst."¹ Almost every momentous occurrence in the history of Israel from the age of the conquest of Canaan down to the time of the Maccabees has been suggested as the occasion and date of the psalm, while another large group of interpreters, headed by Hupfeld and Reuss, deny that the psalm reflects any particular historical occurrence that might be construed as the immediate occasion of it. These, in order to square the psalm with their theory, maintain that verses 12-19 are a mere historical retrospect and that the whole psalm is purely eschatological, being the poet's dream of the glories of the messianic age. And this is far from stating the case fully. Not a few interpreters have had recourse to all sorts of unwarranted text emendations in order to get around the inherent difficulties and make the psalm fit their interpretation. Haupt² and Gunkel³ have gone farthest in this respect. Their treatment of the psalm

¹ "Der 68. Psalm" in Reuss and Knutz, *Beiträge zu den theologischen Wissenschaften*, III (1851), 3-106.

² "Der 68. Psalm," *AJS*, XXIII (1906-7), 220 ff.

³ *Die Psalmen* (1926), pp. 287-93.

is arbitrary in the extreme, though they disagree radically as to its interpretation. Thus Haupt has thrown out as glosses such essential verses as 14*a*, 15, 16, and 9*b*, as well as the word "Sinai" in verses 9 and 18; he has also discarded the important adjective *ša'ir* in verse 28, describing Benjamin, and the words *sarē zēbulūn sarē naphtālī*. Gunkel has emended beyond recognition the supremely important verses 12, 13, 15, and 28*a*, although except for *rigmathām* of the last verse (the original reading of which has been preserved by the Greek) the text of these verses is perfect; and like Haupt he has expunged verse 14*a*. No less arbitrary is his change of the perfect *rā'ū* of verse 25 to the imperative. I may add that the interpretation which Gunkel and others give of verses 18-19 to the effect that, possessed by his glorious vision, the psalmist describes Yahweh's future victory as ideally perfected, is grammatically untenable, since the exclusive use of the perfect, without any alternation with the imperfect, shows that the writer relates what has happened, and not what he thinks is sure to happen some future day.⁴ Still more amazing is the interpretation of Gunkel and others of verses 8-9. Taking these verses as describing the march through the desert to Mount Sinai, Gunkel asks, "How could the poet have described the march better than by taking over a splendid piece from the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:4 f.)?" Whereupon he goes on to say, "Nur freilich, dass er diese Schilderung, die sich dort auf die jüngste Vergangenheit bezieht, in die Zukunft umdeutet."⁵ To which one can only say in the words of the poet, "Dunkel ist der Rede Sinn"; for how are we to understand that this reinterpretation has been accomplished? There has been absolutely no change in the tenses, nor has there been any other change in the verses of the psalm of such a nature as to affect the use of the tenses and give them a force directly opposite to that which they have in the verses of the Song of Deborah.

It is, however, not to be wondered at that Psalm 68 has perplexed the interpreters and taxed their ingenuity to the utmost, for it is in reality not a single psalm but consists of two

⁴ See "Grammatical Excursus," p. 21.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

psalms, fused with each other, one of which is complete, while the other is fragmentary. The first, Psalm 68A,⁶ comprises verses 1-7, 19*c*, 20-24, 29-36; the second, Psalm 68B, consists of verses 8-9, 16-18, 11*c* β , 12-13, 14*b*, 15, 19*a-b*, 25-28, and 14*a*. There remain, it will be noticed, verses 10-11 (exclusive of the last word God), which are not a part of either psalm but belong in Psalm 65B, from which they were omitted and with which they form a harmonious whole.

The two psalms differ radically in content and tone as well as in language and style. In Psalm 68B a great victory is described, and the poet's elation resounds through every line, from the opening strophes relating Yahweh's march from his abode on Mount Sinai to Canaan for the purpose of leading his people in battle, through the dramatic picture of his lightning-like victory, to the incomplete conclusion, which tells of the peoples' line of march for the celebration of the victory. The exultant tone of the description shows that the writer is not (as is thought) recalling God's wondrous deeds in the days of old, is not reverting to the past for the sake of drawing courage and strength in present trouble, but rather is singing of glorious deeds which with his own eyes he has but now witnessed, and which have filled him with joy.

In Psalm 68A an entirely different situation is reflected. The people are described as languishing in captivity, without home or country, but praying to God that he may yet destroy their enemy and deliver them from national extinction and, by so doing, reveal his power to all the world.

Further, Psalm 68B is marked by a vivid, animated style; it has the raciness of the true folk song, also the rapid, dramatic shifting from scene to scene characteristic of the folk song. With a few bold touches marvelous effects are achieved. As an illustration take verses 12-14*b*. Note how, following the description of Yahweh's march to the battlefield, the poet turns abruptly to the main point, the final outcome of the battle; and in the space of three distichs he gives a graphic picture of the

⁶ See pp. 257 f.

overwhelming defeat of the enemy armies—the rout to which they were put. The description is made more vivid by the elliptical sentence structure which the writer employs: after the words, “The Lord uttered the battle cry,” he does not say, “And won the victory,” but instead abruptly continues, “Women in hosts spread the glad tidings: The kings of the armies have fled,” the Hebrew of the last line being *mal'kē šēba'ōth yiddōdūn yiddōdūn*. Note the picturesqueness of *yiddōdūn yiddōdūn*, this effect being produced by the imperfect of progressive duration and the repetition. So expressive are these two words that reading them one has before one's eyes a picture of the pellmell flight of the kings and their armies. The translation, of course, cannot reproduce their picturesqueness.

These literary characteristics of Psalm 68B are by the nature of the case lacking in Psalm 68A, which is marked by intense gloom and taken up with but one thought—the prayer of the captive nation that God deliver them from extinction.

Finally, notwithstanding the fact that Psalm 68B has the opening lines and two other clauses in common with the Song of Deborah (a very natural coincidence as we shall see later), it has a distinct language of its own, abounding in expressions and word combinations or uses—eleven in all—not found anywhere else in biblical literature. These are:

tēraṣṣēdūn (vs. 17); *gabnūnīm* (vss. 16 f.); *rekeb 'ēlōhīm* (vs. 18); *nēwath bayith*, “the fair lady in the home”—the only possible meaning of the phrase as, indeed, the ancient Versions understood it (vs. 13); *yēraqraq ḥarūs*, “glistening gold” (vs. 14); *tashleg* (vs. 15); *mattanōth ba'adām*, denoting “tribute of men” (vs. 19); *nōgēnīm* and *'ālamōth tōphaphōth* (vs. 26); the feminine plural or abstract substantive formed with the ending *ōth*: *maqhelōth*, meaning “chorus” (vs. 27); *mimmēqōr*, “of the fountain,” said of people (*ibid.*).

Psalm 68A, which is about one and a half times as long as Psalm 68B, has only four words which do not occur anywhere else and one expression used with a connotation not found elsewhere. These are:

kōsharōth, “prosperity” (vs. 7); the feminine substantive *šēḥiḥa*, denoting “barren land,” used figuratively (*ibid.*), *mōsha'ōth*, “deliverance” (vs. 21);

and *ta'āšumōth*, "strength" (vs. 36). To these is to be added the meaning "escape" of *tōša'ōth*, which in other writings denotes "extremity" or "terminal," "outskirts," and "issue."⁷

Another important feature for our purpose is the marked resemblance which Psalm 68A bears in thought and language to Isaiah, chapters 40–55, written at the close of the Exile.

Psalm 68B is markedly different from Psalm 68A also in syntactical respect. It is a model of paratactic sentence structure of such perfection that, with two exceptions, the sentences or coupled parts of sentences are not even joined to one another by the copulative conjunction. The clause *'im tishkebūn bēn shēphattāyīm* is the one and only instance of the use of a subordinating conjunction, and, being only a fragment of a sentence, it is not even certain whether *'im* is a conditional conjunction. There is also only one instance of a relative clause—*hamad 'ēlōhīm lēshibtō*—construed without any relative particle.

INSPIRED BY THE VICTORY OF DEBORAH

From this syntactical structure and the unusually large number of phrases and meanings not found elsewhere it may safely be concluded that Psalm 68B is an ancient product. But there are other, more tangible, data which make this conclusion certain and enable us even to fix its date exactly. Its fragmentary condition notwithstanding, the event commemorated in Psalm 68B is described so vividly that it can readily be identified as the famous victory Israel won under the leadership of Deborah over the united forces of the Canaanites at Taanach by the waters of Megiddo.

The prevailing interpretation of verses 8–9 and 12–19 not only has distorted their meaning but has also conveyed a wrong idea of their literary character. Because of the lines the psalm has in common with the Song of Deborah, verses 13–15 are generally regarded as quotations from the ancient Songs of the Wars of Yahweh, although there is not a vestige of proof for such an assumption. One wonders how the critics could have been blind to the fact that quotations from the Songs of the

⁷ In *tōša'ōth hayyīm*, "the issues of life" (Prov. 4:23).

Wars of Yahweh would, on the face of the matter, be excluded if the entire Psalm 68 were, as they think, a product of Hellenistic or Maccabaeian times, or even of the early post-Exilic period or the close of the Exile. As early as the Exile these songs were, with one exception—the present psalm—irreparably lost. Had they not been lost, their antiquity alone would have secured for them a prominent place in sacred literature, and they would have been preserved forever, even as has been the Song of Songs—a group of erotic love songs without any religious note—for no other reason than that the poems sailed under the name of Solomon.

However, Psalm 68B is anything but a patchwork. Every line of the poem bears evidence to the writer's skill, shows that it is the spontaneous work of genius. Like all true products of creative art, it combines depth of emotion with noble simplicity of form. Instead of being pieced together by quotations from Songs of the Wars of Yahweh, it is in very deed one of these ancient songs, and, though fragmentary, it gives us a good idea of these songs—of their charm and beauty as well as of their peculiar content, which explains their name.

Before substantiating this, I deem it necessary to comment on the prevailing interpretation of verses 18 and 8-9. Verse 18, where instead of *bām sīnai*, the text, with different word division, read originally *bā missīnai*, is generally taken as describing Yahweh's entry from his erstwhile abode on Mount Sinai into the sanctuary at Zion and is, moreover, considered as the kernel of the whole passage (vss. 8-19). But if this were the meaning of the verse, one fails to see the point of Yahweh's making the entry with myriads of chariots. Further, if by *godesh* the sanctuary at Zion were meant, the writer would not have left it to us to guess this but would have mentioned Zion expressly, as is done in every instance where *godesh* is so used.⁸ Least of all would he have failed to do so if the supposed entry of Yahweh in Zion were the climax to which all that precedes leads up. The fact of the matter is that *godesh* of verse 18 and also of verse 25 does not mean "sanctuary" but, as often elsewhere, "sublimity" or "grandeur," which is the primary meaning of the word. Verses 8-9 are generally taken as referring to the Exodus and the march through the desert to Canaan, with Yahweh at the head of his people. The prevalence of this interpretation is most surprising when one

⁸ Cf. Ps. 20:3, where "May he send thee help from the sanctuary" is followed by "Come to thy aid out of Zion"; 74:3, where "The enemy has made havoc of the sanctuary" is preceded by "Direct thy steps . . . to Mount Zion"; also Mal. 2:11, where "Abominable things are done in Jerusalem" precedes "Judah has profaned Yahweh's sanctuary."

considers that a similar interpretation which prevailed in regard to the parallel lines in the Song of Deborah was abandoned fifty years ago. For, aside from everything else, according to this interpretation the author of the verses is made to say that all through the forty years the march was attended with continuous thunderstorms and torrential rains. Those interpreters who have sought to evade this absurdity by arguing that the thunderstorm and rain refer only to the revelation on Mount Sinai merely show how far exegetical ingenuity can go.

Another preliminary remark! The words *zē sīnai*, "Even Sinai," where the present text of verse 9 reads them, do not admit of proper construction. The solution of the difficulty is, however, not found in expunging the words, as a number of interpreters have done, but in transposing them to the end of the verse or rather to the beginning of verse 16. There is external evidence that verses 16-18 originally followed verse 9, as we shall see later. But the final proof—the real vital proof—that *zē sīnai* stood at the beginning of verse 16, and that verses 16-18 are the original continuation of verse 9, is that, when so rearranged, verses 8-19, instead of being disjointed and obscure, as at present, become a coherent, lucid whole.

Verses 8, 9, and 16 tell how in a thunderstorm Yahweh marched from his seat on Mount Sinai to the battleground to bring victory to Israel. Unlike other descriptions of the kind, which are purely figurative, as, for example, that of Ps. 18:8-16, they describe an actual occurrence—a real thunderstorm. For from the Song of Deborah we know that the torrential rain—a usual feature of thunderstorms in Palestine—proved the undoing of the enemy armies and caused the battle to be turned into a rout for them. It deluged the valley of the Kishon, rendering it a morass, which made it impossible for the Canaanites to maneuver their heavy chariots and enabled the light-armed Israelites to put them to flight. They chased them into the Kishon, the swollen waters of which (in the words of the song) "swept them away."⁹ According to the notion of those days, which saw in the thunderstorm a manifestation of the deity, the storm that swept from the desert across Canaan and broke over the battlefield meant to Israel that Yahweh had come to their

⁹ Judg. 5:19-22.

aid—was fighting on their side in person. When this is borne in mind, the object of the poet's repeating,

With myriads of heavenly chariots,
The Lord came in grandeur from Sinai,

becomes very clear, as does also the meaning of his graphic description, in the space of a single distich, of Yahweh's lightning-like victory, broadcast by women all over the country:

He uttered the battle cry—
Women in hosts spread the glad tidings.

The abruptness of these lines greatly heightens their dramatic effect. Such brevity and abruptness are found only in folk songs of the highest type. Typical too of the folk song are the pictures which the women employ to convey the tidings of victory:

"The kings of the armies have fled;
The fair lady in the home divides the spoil,
Wings of a dove, covered with silver,
Its pinions, with glistening gold."

The reflection that Mount Sinai has been singled out as the seat of God—a distinction not enjoyed by the mountain of Bashan, with its lofty peaks—is entirely in place. Since by "the mountain of Bashan" Mount Hermon, with its stately peaks, is meant—which the poet calls the mountain of Bashan because it was the northern boundary of Bashan¹⁰—the reason for his reflection is obvious. First of all, the very name Hermon, meaning "sacred region," shows that from ancient times the mountain was revered as a sacred locality—a veneration which it continued to enjoy down to the early Christian centuries, as is expressly mentioned by Eusebius.¹¹ Further, Mount Hermon surpassed all other mountains of Palestine in grandeur and scenic beauty, and for this reason was at all times held in high regard. Thus the writer of the Exilic Psalm 42/43, describing how in the enemy land his soul longs for God, exclaims, "I think of thee, God of the Jordanland and the majestic Hermon."

The rest of the psalm, though fragmentary, shows the same

¹⁰ Cf. Deut. 3:8.

¹¹ *Onomasticon* 217. 39.

literary excellence as the first part. Note how expressive is the distich,

When there the Almighty scattered kings,
It was as when snow flies on Mount Zalmon.

There is nothing in the simile to suggest *Campique ingentes ossibus albens* of Vergil;¹² hence, the lines cannot be taken as referring to the bones of the enemy bleaching on the battlefield. Rather it is clear that the writer is comparing the pellmell flight of the kings and their armies before Yahweh to the flying of snow on a storm-swept mountain. Mount Zalmon, the locality of which is uncertain, has no further significance than that it was known for its severe snowstorms.

Note, also, how this distich, and the one which immediately follows—

Thou hast come out victorious,
Thou hast carried off captives,
Thou hast taken tribute of men—

harmonize with the previous strophes; like these, they represent the battle as having been fought and won by Yahweh in person.

The singer concludes the description of Yahweh's victory with the words,

They have seen thy paths,
The paths trod in grandeur by my God and my King.

By "they" the routed kings of Canaan and their armies are meant. The distich reminds one of the opening lines of the Song of Deborah,

Listen, O ye kings, give ear, O ye rulers:
I will sing of Yahweh,
Will sing the praise of Yahweh, the God of Israel.

It is as if, having these lines in mind, the writer now declares that the routed kings of Canaan cannot but recognize their defeat as a display of Yahweh's power.

RELATION TO THE SONG OF DEBORAH

This is the logical place for considering the literary relation of Psalm 68B to the Song of Deborah. In the Song of Deborah,

¹² *Aeneid* xii. 36.

it should be noted, there is a certain incongruity between the singer's declaration in the exordium that he will sing of Yahweh and the aspect from which he represents the victory. Following the description of Yahweh's march to the scene of battle (which the song and the psalm have in common), he relates the conditions that preceded and provoked the war. Then he tells how the tribes under their gallant leaders rose to end their intolerable plight and pays due tribute to each and every one of the tribes that distinguished itself through bravery, while he heaps bitter scorn upon those who held aloof from the struggle. In the last part he describes the battle—how it ended in the rout of the enemy armies and the flight of their leader Sisera, and how in his flight Sisera met with his death at the hand of the brave Jael. He concludes the song with a realistic picture of the suspense of Sisera's mother and the efforts of the wise ladies of the court to allay her fears.

Now Psalm 68B supplies what one misses in the Song of Deborah when one recalls the intention of the singer as stated in the exordium. Its distinctive feature is the description of the battle as fought and won by Yahweh in person. So consistently is this description carried through that, except for the opening line, "God, when thou didst march before thy people," warring Israel is not so much as mentioned in the story of the battle: Yahweh and the enemy are the sole and only *dramatis personae*. It will thus be seen that Psalm 68B is indeed one of the Songs of the Wars of Yahweh. In accord with it the supernatural is most conspicuous in the psalm, while in the Song of Deborah it is by the nature of the case very much in the background, being limited, aside from the description of Yahweh's march to the battlefield, to the one couplet,

From heaven the stars fought in their course,
They fought against Sisera.

Psalm 68B supplements the Song of Deborah in still another respect. Unlike other songs which tell of a signal victory, as, for example, Psalms 48 and 76, which were inspired by the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem in the year 701 B.C., the Song of Deborah makes no mention of the celebration of the

victory, but in the psalm the celebration occupies a prominent place, the entire conclusion, as far as it has been preserved, being taken up with it. To my mind it was for this celebration that both Psalm 68B and the Song of Deborah were written. Though there is no evidence of this in the song, there is clear proof of it in the psalm, for the poet not only tells how the line of march was formed for the celebration,

The singers in front, the minstrels in the rear,
In the center the damsels playing on tambourines,

but, as he addresses himself to the tribes one by one for a brief word of praise, he points to them, as, for example, "There is Benjamin." He, moreover, bids the festive assembly as a body

In chorus praise God, who is the Lord,
Ye of the fountain of Israel.

All this shows that the psalm was recited at the celebration of the victory and was written for it. Even so, it may safely be concluded, was the Song of Deborah, which is concerned with the human side of the great struggle—the menacing situation that preceded it and the gallant bravery displayed by the individual tribes and the leaders of the army.

AUTHORSHIP

We may now consider the question which has been repeatedly touched upon—the authorship of the psalm. If there is one thing our analysis has established, it is the all-essential fact that there is in it no trace of patchwork or labored imitation; that, on the contrary, it bears throughout the stamp of poetic genius—even in the lines it has in common with the Song of Deborah. These strike us even as much by what differentiates them from the corresponding lines in the Song of Deborah as by what they have in common with them. Thus, in the Song of Deborah the words "They must be finding, must be dividing the spoil" (*yēḥallēqū shalal*) present an imaginary picture, suggested by the wise ladies of the court for the purpose of quieting the anxiety of Sisera's mother. But in the psalm, the words "divides the spoil" (*tēḥalleq shalal*), with "the fair lady in the home" as subject instead of the colorless "they" of the song,

state a fact—are part of the tidings of victory broadcast by women throughout the land. In color and tone the two could not well be more different. The psalm and the song have also in common that, following the words “divides the spoil” and “must be dividing the spoil,” the author goes on to specify of what the spoil consists. The similarity, however, is only general, as the objects specified are strikingly different, furnishing another good illustration of the point just made. In the Song of Deborah the specification reads,

A wench or two for each man,
 Booty of dyed material for Sisera,
 A piece or two of embroidery for the neck of the queen;¹³

while in the psalm it reads,

“Wings of a dove, covered with silver,
 Its pinions, with glistening gold.”

This particular point of resemblance between the psalm and the Song of Deborah calls for some further remarks, as it is of extreme importance in two other respects. It settles the much-debated meaning of verse 14*b*,

“Wings of a dove, covered with silver,
 Its pinions, with glistening gold,”

and so disposes of the far-fetched interpretations which have been given of these simple lines.¹⁴ It also proves conclusively that this distich and not verse 14*a* must originally have been the immediate continuation of “The fair lady in the home divides the spoil,” with which verse 13 ends.

¹³ Read *shegel* instead of *shalal*, as Ewald has convincingly emended.

¹⁴ To mention some of these interpretations: vs. 14*b* is usually taken as describing, under the figure of a dove basking in the sunshine, an idyllic condition of peace and prosperity. As to the question of what the supposed figure is meant to refer to, some regard the entire vs. 14 as “a description of the peace and prosperity which await Israel after the victories described in vs. 12: everything will gleam and glitter with silver and gold. Israel is God’s turtle dove and, accordingly, the new prosperity is compared to the play of color on the wings of a dove basking in the sunshine.” Others take the verse as “a rebuke to those recreant Israelites, who preferred lying stretched at ease among their flocks and bidding each other admire the glancing plumage of the doves that flitted round them.” And there are still others who consider “the dove as a figure of the enemy fleeing in all his gorgeous splendor, depicted thus as an inducement to Israel to pursue them swiftly as an eagle and win the glittering spoil,” and who render vs. 14*b* accordingly: “Seht sie fliegen—die Tauben silberweiss, im Goldglanz ihrer Schwingen.” (See Delitzsch, Hupfeld, Grill, Baethgen, Kirkpatrick, and MacLaren.)

Likewise the seeming identity of the opening verses of the psalm with verses 4-5 of the Song of Deborah when looked into carefully is found to be not materially different from the case just discussed. Thus the words of the song,

Lord, when thou didst march forth from Seir,
When thou camest from the land of Edom,

are modified in the psalm to

God, when thou didst march before thy people,
When thou camest across the desert.

The first part of the variation is designed to make the verses fit the altered purpose of the psalm, in which the battle is represented as fought and won by Yahweh. Another, still more marked variation consists in the appositions "the mountain of God" and "the mountain of the lofty peaks, the mountain of Bashan," which follow the words, "even Sinai," and serve the purpose of leading up to the remark, dwelt upon with emphasis, that Mount Sinai is the only mountain to enjoy the distinction of having been chosen for the seat of God.

All this confirms what I said above in regard to the poetic character of the psalm—that it bears the stamp of spontaneity. The lines and the pictures the psalm has in common with the Song of Deborah are recast in every instance, adapted to new ends, the aesthetic effect of which is that, with the rest of the psalm, they are knit together in poetic unity. This superior trait rules them out as a case of one writer's copying another, for such mechanical procedure is never productive of poetic harmony. The similarity, then, which the psalm bears to the Song of Deborah in language and subject matter alike, coupled with its literary excellence, leaves room for one conclusion only—that both poems must be the work of one and the same author.

IMPORTANCE AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

Psalm 68B is priceless as another contemporary record of the victory of Deborah and as another document bearing on the spiritual and intellectual life of those early centuries of Israel's history in Canaan. Incidentally, it contains two pieces of in-

formation of extreme historical value. First, the words, "There is Benjamin, the least of them, that treads down the enemy," coupled with the fact that the poet, in bestowing praise on the various tribes, mentions Benjamin first, show that this tribe must have distinguished itself by bravery above all others. This explains how Samuel came to choose Saul for king when some generations later he founded the kingdom. Both Saul and Jonathan, it may be added, proved themselves worthy of the confidence Samuel placed in them and showed that they were true descendants of the old stock that had so signally distinguished itself in the great battle by the waters of Megiddo.

The second piece of information pertains to the tribe of Judah. From the silence of the Song of Deborah about this tribe it has generally been concluded that, at the time of Deborah, Judah either was not yet a constituent of the tribes of Israel or was completely separated from the Joseph tribes by a belt of Canaanite fortresses, the most important of which was Jerusalem. The fact, however, that the middle part of the Song of Deborah is defective and largely unintelligible should have put the critics on their guard, the more so since in the days of Saul and Samuel we find Judah not only united with the northern tribes but rising to leadership, although the Jebusite stronghold, Jerusalem, was as yet unconquered. Now, Psalm 68B shows that the aforementioned conclusion has no basis in fact, for it not only mentions Judah expressly but also ranks this tribe even before Naphtali, Barak's own tribe: from all of which it follows that Judah must even then have enjoyed the prominence it did later.

IMPORTANCE WITH REGARD TO RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION

ANOTHER DATUM BEARING ON THE DATE

The notion which the psalm has in common with the Song of Deborah that Mount Sinai is the abode of Yahweh is not only of extreme importance in itself but has also direct bearing on the date of the psalm. In both literary products Mount Sinai is conceived of not as one among other abodes, but as the only abode of Yahweh, and Psalm 68B makes this even clearer than

the Song of Deborah does: not only does it say expressly that it was from Sinai that Yahweh came with myriads of heavenly chariots but also it emphasizes that the distinction of having been chosen by Yahweh for his abode is not enjoyed even by Mount Hermon, the grandest and most renowned of all mountains of Palestine, and declares in addition that "Yahweh will dwell there forever." This religious notion furnishes additional evidence that Psalm 68B is, like the Song of Deborah, a product of the time of Deborah. In the following generations, which are largely shrouded in darkness, the notion met with in both underwent a radical change, for from the record of I Samuel, chapter 4, we know that in the days of Eli and Samuel, at the time of the disastrous battle with the Philistines at Ebenezer, the abode of Yahweh was associated with the Ark at Shiloh. This record relates that, after the first repulse which the ranks of Israel had suffered, the people ordered the Ark to be brought from Shiloh to the battlefield, hoping that Yahweh by his presence might turn the tide of war in their favor. The record adds that not only did the arrival of the Ark cause great commotion in the camp of Israel but that even the Philistines took note of it with fear and said, "God has come in the camp. . . . Who will save us from the hand of this mighty God?"

In the description of Yahweh's marching in the thunderstorm from his abode on Mount Sinai to the battlefield to fight his people's battle in person, the psalm affords us a very clear insight into the God-conception of these early centuries of Israel's life in Canaan. Moreover, the description typifies better than any other we have the primitive notion that the thunderstorm is a manifestation par excellence of the deity.

The psalm sheds light also on the history of the divine name Shaddai. The fact that the name occurs in this ancient psalm shows that it has come down from hoary antiquity and that hence the statement in Exod. 6:3 that El Shaddai was the divine name in patriarchal times is not mere imagination on the part of the priestly writer, as commonly thought,¹⁵ but contains a certain historical truth.

¹⁵ See, among others, Baudissen, *Kyrios, als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, III (Giessen, 1929), 126 ff.

Still more important are the lines,

They have seen thy paths,
The paths trod in grandeur by my God and my King,

which show that the designation of God as King was current in Israel as early as the time of Deborah. This is not the place, however, for a detailed discussion of this finding; its significance can only be indicated. First of all, it refutes the prevailing view that Isaiah's exclamation, "Mine eyes have beheld the King, the Lord of hosts," in his Vision of Consecration, is the oldest datable example of Yahweh's being called King. Further, it shows that the view of von Gall and many others as to the origin and meaning of this designation¹⁶ calls for a thorough revision. Finally, it bears out the radically different view which Eissfeldt advances as a modification of von Gall's opinion, that the conception of Yahweh as King arose early in Israel's history,¹⁷ nay, more than this, it shows that his view, arrived at by a different approach, rests on more solid ground than Eissfeldt realized (see the discussion of Psalms 93 and 96-98, p. 323).

The lines just discussed call for another remark. By emphasizing that the world around must have seen the glorious manifestation of the God and King of Israel, the singer shows that the tendency to proselytize, which centuries later occupies such prominence in spiritual prophecy, was germinant in the religion of Israel from the very beginning.

9c, 9c, 16. *The mountains swayed at the presence of the God of Israel||, Even Sinai, the mountain of God* Transpose *zē sīnai* to the end of vs. 9 and put in the place of it *הַרִים נוֹלָר*, read by the parallel text of Judg. 5:5. The text as emended, with vs. 16 following it, reads:

harim nazlū mippēnē 'ēlōhīm 'ēlōhē yisra'el zē sīnai har 'ēlōhīm, etc.

External evidence that vss. 16 ff. originally followed vs. 9 may be seen in the fact that *har* of *har 'ēlōhīm* is read as an appositive to *Sinai* in vs. 9 by Vet., Lat., and Syr. *Zē* is interjectional *zē*, found again in Pss. 34:7 and 104:25 and frequently in other writings, as I have pointed out in *The Book of Job* (p. 238). This function of *zē* and *zō'th* finds its explanation in the

¹⁶ Aug. Frhr. von Gall, "Über die Herkunft der Bezeichnung Jahves als König," *Studien zur Semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Giessen, 1914), pp. 147-60.

¹⁷ "Jahve als König," *ZATW*, XLVI (1928), 81-105.

fact that the demonstratives are primarily interjections, as Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, II (1913), 76 f., points out. It should be added, however, that Brockelmann's rendering of Gen. 31:41, *zē lī 'esrīm shana*, "Jetzt sind es zwanzig Jahre her," and Num. 14:22, *zē 'eser pē'amim*, "Das sind nun zehnmal," is in no wise accurate, and that Kautzsch's translation "Volle zwanzig Jahre" of the first example and "nun zehnmal" of the second is by far superior.

16. *And the mountain of the lofty peaks, the mountain of Bashan*] Read *וְהַ* on the strength of the Armenian and Ethiopic, which read the copulative particle before *har b.*, and omit the first *har bashān*: either it is dittography or, what is more probable, *wēhar gabnūnim* was omitted and, with *har bashān* added to it as a cue, was put in the lateral margin to the left of the line, whence in the next copy the omitted words with the cue were mechanically joined to the end of the line.

18. *With myriads of heavenly chariots, the Lord came from Sinai*] '*Alphē shin'ān*, as many interpreters have recognized, was originally a marginal gloss on *ribbōthayim*. The grammatical function of *rekeb 'ēlōhim ribbōthayim* has generally not been recognized, and it has been mistaken for an independent nominal clause, while in reality it is an accusative of manner or circumstance: cf. Deut. 33:21 *wayyēthē rā'shē 'am*, "He came with the heads of the people"; another example is Num. 10:36 *ribāboth 'alphē y.*, as pointed out below, p. 209, n. 194. The present reading *bām* is due to mistaken word division; the text, as many interpreters have recognized, originally read *בַּמִּצְנֵי*: the mistaken reading of the Massoretes was caused by the fact that *bā* was spelt phonetically, without '*aleph*—a spelling of which many other examples occur: cf. Gen. 30:11, *bāgad*; Isa. 22:6, *bērekeb*, a mistake for *bārekeb*, as 21:9, whence 22:6 was originally omitted, shows; I Chron. 2:24, *bēkaleb*, a mistake for *bākaleb*. '*Ēlōhim* is not a possessive genitive, as it is generally taken, but a qualificative genitive, as again in Ps. 65B:10; Job 1:16 *'ēsh 'ēlōhim*, "heavenly fire," that is, "lightning"; cf. also Ps. 45:7.

13. *The fair lady in the home*] Though the opinion of the interpreters, ancient and modern alike, is divided, as to whether *nēwath* is the construct of the adjective or of the substantive *nawē*, on careful consideration it may be seen that it can be only the former, for the substantive *nēwath* means "dwelling," "habitation," "home," and by no stretch of imagination can it be shown how the meaning "tarrying" or "abiding, staying" could ever develop out of that of "habitation" or "home."

15. *as when*] Read, with Sym. *שָׁם*.

19. The customary translation of '*alītha lammarōm*, "Thou hast ascended on high," which is interpreted as referring to Yahweh's abode, either in heaven or on Mount Zion, is excluded. Were this the meaning, the logical place of the words would be after "Thou hast carried off captives, etc." But more decisive is that Mount Zion is not spoken of in the psalm and that, for the writer of the psalm, Mount Sinai and not heaven is Yahweh's abode. All this leaves room for no other meaning than *Thou hast come out victorious*—a meaning which not only fits in excellently with the rest of the verse but is also otherwise well substantiated: note, first, that *lammarōm* does not denote a locality but is an adverbial complement, just as it is in '*al tarīmū lammarōm*

qarnēkēm, "Exalt not your horn," Ps. 75:6, and in *lasūm shēphalīm lēmarōm*, "He will exalt the lowly," Job 5:11, or as is similarly the synonymous *ma'lā ma'dlā* in *ya'ālē 'alēka ma'lā ma'dlā*, "He will evermore prevail over thee," Deut. 28:43; note also that *'alā* is found again with much the same meaning as used here in the psalm and in Deut. 28:43, in Exod. 1:10 and Hos. 2:2, *wē'alū min ha'ares*, "They will triumph" or "They will gain mastery over the land."

25. *thy paths, the paths trod in grandeur by my God and my King*] *hālīkōth* cannot possibly mean "festive processions," as many have rendered it, for since a procession implies a crowd, "thy festive processions" and still more "the festive processions of my God and my King" would be absurd. Nor is *baqodesh* a prepositional adverbial phrase, but it is appositional to *'ēli malkī*, and *bē* is *bē essentiae*: similar cases are Ps. 63:3a; Job 15:21, *bashhshalōm shōded yēbō'ennū*, "The destroyer will come upon him when he feels most secure"; Job 39:21, *bēkoah yēšē' liqrath nasheq*, "Full of mettle, he goes forth to battle"; Deut. 1:13, *wā'āsimēm bē'ā'shēkēm*, "I will set them as heads over you."

26. *In the center*] Instead of the construct, read the absolute בְּתוֹךְ, as Graetz and others have correctly emended.

27. *In chorus*] *Maqhelōth* is either feminine plural or an abstract substantive formed with the ending *ōth*: it must not be confused, as it commonly is, with *maqhelīm*.

28. *That treads them down*—that is, the enemy] *Radā* is used with its primary meaning, which is "to tread, to tread down, to subdue" (which is also the meaning of the word in Arabic): cf. Deut. 20:20, Joel 4:13. There is nothing in the least obscure about the word as soon as it is realized that it has reference to Benjamin's distinguishing itself in battle.

in ecstasies] Instead of *rigmathām*, read רִגְשָׁתָם, as Hupfeld and others have emended. I find proof for this original reading and its meaning in *ἐν ἐκστάσει* of the Greek of vs. 28a. This reading of the Greek has generally been taken for a rendition of *rōdēm* and has been explained as due to the Alexandrine translators' misreading the word *radam*. The explanation does not hold, however, for the reason that there is no Qal of the verb, only a Niph'al, the meaning of which is "to be sound asleep" or "be in a heavy sleep." This being the case, one fails to see how the translators, even if they had really read *radam*, could possibly have rendered it *ἐν ἐκστάσει*. The solution of the difficulty is found in the fact that in the Greek of vs. 28b *ἄρχοντες* 'Ιουδα is followed by *ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν*, which in its turn cannot possibly be a rendering of *rigshathām*. And since *ἡγ. αὐτ.* is synonymous with *ἐπικρατῶν αὐτῶν*, with which Aquila renders *rōdēm*, and since, moreover, this is a very common meaning of *radā*, everything points to the conclusion that *ἡγ. αὐτ.* must be the Greek Version's original rendering of *rōdēm*, and that, vice versa, *ἐν ἐκστάσει* must originally have been the rendering of *rigshathām*, and that in the course of transmission the two were transposed by mistake. Note that the prime meaning of the verb *ragash* is "to be agitated" or "excited," whether because of distress or joy, and that in Ps. 64:3 *rigsha* denotes "fury," while *regesh* in Ps. 55B:15 means either "awe" or "ecstasy."

PSALM 65B+68:10-11

AN INCANTATION FOR RAIN

- 65:10a Visit the land to water it:
 68:10a O God, pour down a generous rain on thy languishing
 country;
 65:10b Bless it in full measure
 With the stream of God* which is full of water.
 68:11a That thy race may live in it,
 (ba) }
 65:10c } Prepare for the grain and ripen it for them.†
 68:10b }
 65:10d Prepare for it duly:
 65:11 Water its furrows abundantly,
 Level its ridges,
 Soften the land with showers,
 Bless the young growth thereof.
 12 Crown the year with thy goodness,‡
 Let fruitfulness flow from thy tracks,
 13 Let it flow on the pastures of the wilderness;
 And let the hills be girded with delight.
 14 Let the meadows be clothed in green,
 And the valleys be covered with grain,
 That men may shout for joy,§ yea, that they may
 sing.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Psalm 65B is commonly taken as an integral part of Psalm 65A. Only two interpreters, Briggs and Gunkel, treat it as a separate psalm, but even they have failed to recognize the real character of this most primitive psalm. The psalm as we have it is incomplete. What is missing is, however, not lost but has been preserved in verses 10 and 11 of Psalm 68, which verses, our analysis of Psalms 68A and 68B has shown, are unrelated to either the one or the other. Note that, of these two verses,

* Or—the heavenly stream.

‡ 68:11bβ With thy goodness.

† 68:11bβ For the poor.

§ 65:9bβ That they may sing aloud.

the second is defective, the indispensable object of *takīn* being missing. As usual in such cases, the interpreters have sought to get around the difficulty either by makeshift translations or by arbitrary emendations,¹⁸ though the real solution of the difficulty is found in the fact that 68:10–11a, *ba* does not form a continuous text but consists of two or, to be quite exact, three originally separate parts, all of which have been omitted from verse 10 of Psalm 65B: the first after ותשקיה (as is to be read with the Versions instead of *wattēshoqēgeha*) and the second and the third before and after *takīn*, respectively. It will simplify matters if I first reconstruct 65:10 as the verse, with the parts in 68:10–11a, *ba* omitted from it, read originally, and then substantiate the reconstruction:

65:10a פקדת הארץ ותשקיה
 68:10a גשם נדבות תטיף¹⁹ אלהים נהלתך ונלאה
 65:10b רבת תעשרנה פלג אלהים מלא מים
 68:11a חיתך ישבו בה
 65:10c (68:11ba); 68:10b; 65:10d אתה גמלת דגנם כי כן תכנינהו.

Of the three parts omitted originally from Ps. 65:10, the first and the second are relatively plain cases and call for but little further discussion, which it is advisable to defer until later in order to consider first the more complicated case which the third part presents.

Note, first of all, that positive proof that the text originally read *gamalta* instead of *qōnanta* of 68:10b is the reading *ἐξερύνησας* of Symmachus, which (like *gamal* here and again in Num. 17:23 and Isa. 18:5) is used also in Greek writ with the meaning "bring to maturity" or "ripen"; and that another text witness for this original reading is *perfecisti* of *Psalterium Gallicanum*. Further, evidence that at an earlier stage in the transmission *'atta gamalta* stood in 68:11 is found in the fact that, in addition to *ἐξερύνησας*, Symmachus reads in verse 10 *ἡδρασας*,²⁰ and that the latter is the rendering of *takīn* of verse 11, as may be seen from the fact that also in Ps. 65:10d Symmachus renders *takīn* (of *tēkīneha*) *ἡδρασας*. The transposition of *'atta gamalta* from verse 11 to verse 10 of Psalm 68, together with the repetition of *takīn*, is to be accounted for as follows: subsequent to the misplacement into Ps. 68:10–11 of the parts omitted from 65:10, *'atta gamalta* in its turn was omitted from

¹⁸ Graetz (*Kritischer Kommentar z. d. Psalmen* [Breslau, 1882], pp. 402 f.) and Gunkel have gone farthest in this respect.

¹⁹ *Tanīph* has been so emended by Graetz, and this emendation has rightly been accepted by most interpreters.

²⁰ Joined to the former without *καί* in the Syro-Hexaplar.

verse 11 and, with *takīn* (with which 'atta is to be taken) added to it as a cue, was put in the lateral margin to the left of the text line, whence in the next copy it was, cue and all, mechanically joined to the previous line (vs. 10)—a text condition which had been preserved in the Hebrew copy which Symmachus had before him when writing his version.

External evidence that *hayyathēka yashēbū bah* and 'atta *gamaltā* stood originally in Ps. 65B:10, the one directly before and the other immediately after *takīn*, is found in the fact that when both were omitted from this verse and put in the margin, *takīn* was added to them as a cue, to indicate the place in the text where they belonged and that in the next copy of the Psalms these omitted words with their cue were as usual taken into the text at random. As to the line *geshem nēdabōth*, etc. (68:10a) omitted from 65B:10a after *wattashqēha*, note that in this instance the place in the text, where the line belonged, was indicated by the pasek—a sort of signpost or caret—which was put before *wattashqēha*. All three omitted parts were presumably put in the margin at the bottom of the page which happened to end with verse 9 of Psalm 68: this explains why in the next copy they were mechanically taken into the text where found at present. But when all is said and done, the final test is that these parts, which are a foreign element in either Psalm 68A or 68B, fit excellently in verse 10 of Psalm 65B, making it more rounded and complete.

As to 68:11bβ, note (1) that the prepositional phrase *bētōbathēka* was originally a marginal variant of the adverbial accusative *tōbathēka* of verse 12 of 65B; (2) that *le'oni* was originally a marginal gloss; (3) that 'ēlōhīm is, with the Greek, to be joined to the following verse 12 of Psalm 68B.

SPIRITUAL AND LINGUISTIC CHARACTER

Psalm 65B is not even remotely related to Psalm 65A but differs radically from it not only in spirit and subject matter but also in linguistic character. Psalm 65A is marked by a broad universalism and inspired by a great national deliverance, which the singer regards as of world-wide significance, by which he hopes men the world over will be led to God, whereas Psalm 65B is an incantation for rain and is primitive in the extreme—much more so than Psalm 68B. The deity is conceived of as visiting the land in person and attending to the necessary work in field and meadow; especially conspicuous is the line:

Let fruitfulness flow from thy tracks.

There is nothing so primitive as this anywhere else in the Psalter. The incantation differs from Psalm 68B in another noteworthy respect. Unlike this spirited, highly original song, it shows a decided lack of individual style and, by the nature of the case, bears a typically conventional character.

As to its peculiar language and style, note as the most outstanding feature that the psalm abounds in adverbial accusative constructions as no other piece of Old Testament literature does. To a considerable extent it has also a vocabulary of its own, as may be seen from the following expressions and meanings not occurring elsewhere:

geshem nēdabōth, "a generous rain"; the word combination, *naḥālathēka wēnil'a*, "thy languishing country," being a case of hendiadys; *peleg 'ēlōhim*, "the stream of God," or "the heavenly stream"; *naḥeth*, "level"; *gēdūdīm*, "ridges" thrown up by the plow; *tēmogeg*, "soften"; *ma'galīm* "tracks," which is the primary meaning of the word (in primitive conditions roads are tracks of animals); the figure *gīl taḥgornah*, "let them [the hills] be girded with delight."

Finally, the psalm is a perfect example of paratactic sentence construction, a notable feature of which is that, with three exceptions, the sentences are not even joined to one another by connective *waw*, and that the purpose clause *wattashqēha*, formed with the imperfect with *waw consecutivum*, is the only example of hypotaxis. I deem it important to point out that the two verses, 68:10-11, belonging to this psalm, show the two outstanding features of its syntactical character—paratactic sentence structure and preference for adverbial accusative construction. Its linguistic as well as its spiritual character shows that the incantation is as ancient a product as Psalm 68B, if not more ancient.

The perfects *paqadta*, *gamalta*, *'iṭṭarta*, and *labēshū* describe neither a past occurrence nor an existing state (as generally taken) but are all four precative perfects, being earmarked as such by their alternation with imperfects. The precative perfect is by its very nature especially suitable for a primitive piece like this incantation, for its origin is primarily to be explained by the belief of the primitive man in the magic power of the word. He reasoned that, if he spoke of his wish as already fulfilled, its fulfilment was bound to follow.

65:10a. *to water it*] The imperfect with *waw consecutivum* *wattashqēha* is not co-ordinate, as it is generally taken, but is a purpose clause—a function of the imperfect with *waw consecutivum* of which there are many examples.

68:10a. *on thy languishing country*] The hendiadys *naḥālathēka wēnil'a* is an accusative of direction governed by *taṭṭīph*.

65:10b. *Bless it in full measure with the stream of God which is full of water*] The line refers to the common ancient notion of a heavenly water reservoir, or, as it is also called (especially in astrological literature), the heavenly ocean, from which the rain was believed to pour down on the earth. Thus the writer of Psalm 104, giving the notion a new poetic turn of his own, says (vss. 3 and 13), "The girders of his mansion he has built of water" and "He waters the mountains from his mansion," and the writer of Job, referring to the same notion, asks (38:25): "Who has cleft the channel for the torrential rain?" The earliest reference to the notion is found in the Hymn to the Sun of Ikhnaton (dating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century B.C.):

Thou hast placed the Nile also in the sky
To fall on the lands *as rain*,
And to roll in waves over mountains like the sea,
And to water the farm lands of their cities.

Note that *peleg* functions as accusative of means. As to the qualificative genitive 'ēlōhīm, cf. Ps. 68B:18.

68:11a. *That thy race may live in it*] The masculine *hay* denotes in I Sam. 18:18 "family" or "clan," and in II Sam. 23:13 the feminine *hayya* means "troop," while here it denotes "race," as *mishpaha* does in Am. 3:1 f.; Jer. 1:15; 26:9. As a collective, *hayya* is construed with the plural of the verb.

(11ba); 65:10c; 68:10b. *Prepare for the grain and ripen it for them*] The object *dēganām* is to be construed with both *takīn atta* and *gamalta*; its pronominal suffix functions as an objective genitive.

65:10d. *Prepare for it duly*] *Kēn* is not the particle *ken* denoting "so" or "thus" but the verbal adjective of *kūn*, functioning as an adverbial accusative, as again in Pss. 63:3 and 127:2, and in many other similar examples; *ki* functions as an emphatic particle, reinforcing *kēn*. Instead of the fem. suffix *eha*, the masc. *tēkīnehū* is to be read, the antecedent being *dagān*: the present reading is to be explained by the fact that, owing to the dropping out of 68:11a, *ha'areš* was mistaken for the antecedent; note that in Sym. and some codd. of Gr. the plural suffix of *dēganām* was similarly changed to the fem. sing.

11. *Level . . . soften*] As *zakōr* in Exod. 20:9 and *shamōr* in Deut. 5:12, the absolute infinitives *rawwē* and *naḥeth* function as emphatic imperatives.

12, 13. *Crown the year with thy goodness*] *Shēnath* is absolute state, like *mēnāth*, *qēšāth*: as another example, cf. Ezra 7:8, *hī' shēnāth hashshēbī'ith: tōbathēka* is accusative of means. In translating the second half-verse and 13a I have departed from the sentence structure of the Hebrew for obvious reasons.

14. *with green*] Read *הַצִּיר*, instead of *haššō'n* (Buhl-Kittel and others).

That men may shout for joy . . . that they may sing] The third plural of *yithrō'a'u* and *yashīrū* is used impersonally.

65:9bβ. Instead of *tarnīn*, which is not an original reading of Psalm 65A, I conjecture that the text read *yēranñēnū*, and that it had originally been added in the margin as a gloss on *yithrō'a'ū*. The gloss may have been put in the blank line between the two psalms (at an early stage in their transmission) and then joined mechanically to the last line of Psalm 65A in the next copy.

PSALMS 81A AND 81B

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Psalm 81 is not a unit but consists, as Olshausen and others have recognized, of two unrelated pieces. The first piece, comprising verses 1-5, bids the people celebrate the day of the new moon and the festival at the full moon according to rite and precept. The second piece, made up of verses 6-17, tells first of the march of the tribe of Joseph out of Egypt on its deliverance from bondage by God. Then it represents God as exhorting Israel not to worship any God but him, who brought them out of Egypt, and as promising them victory over their enemies and the fat of the land if they will obey him. Both are fragmentary. Of the first, only the beginning remains; while, of the second, the beginning is missing. The contrary view which many interpreters hold that the two parts constitute an organic whole is anything but convincing. They have sought to defend their view by arguing that no sooner had the choir, or perhaps a solo singer, bidden the priests and people (assembled in the Temple) sing praise unto God to the strains of music and the sound of the horn than the celebration was suddenly interrupted by the dissonant voice of a stranger preaching repentance.²¹ What a strange idea of how a poem is made! Whose work do these interpreters think the so strangely composed psalm is—that of the irate priests whose festal song had been ruthlessly interrupted, or that of the preacher of penance who by his supposed action had manifested utter indifference to the priestly hymn? Why should the former in self-effacement have suppressed the remainder of their own hymn? Or why should the latter have substituted for the original opening of his admonitory discourse lines entirely foreign to it? Psalm 95, which these critics have cited as a song of similar style and structure, is no parallel case at all but satisfies all requirements of sequence and unity. Nor is their view in any way born out by Amos' appearance at Bethel or Jeremiah's appearing in the Temple at Jerusalem at the great autumn festival to denounce the people's

²¹ Staerk, Kittel, Gunkel, and others.

belief in the inviolate sanctity of the Temple and the efficacy of their sacrificial cult. Aside from the fact that in the case of Jeremiah it is expressly stated that he addressed the people in the gateway of the Temple—or, according to another record, in the Temple court²²—what both cases really show is the interesting fact that, though the people were shocked beyond words by the utterances of the two prophets, yet they permitted them to deliver their message from the beginning to the end, and that it was not until they had finished that they dealt with the offenders as they considered fit. In Amos' case, Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, authorized by the king, forbade Amos speech and told him "to flee for his life to Judah," his home country,²³ while in the case of Jeremiah an uproar broke out as soon as the prophet had finished his denunciatory prophecy, and the highest court of the country was convened to try him for his offense.²⁴ Even when four years later Baruch ben Neriah read Jeremiah's anathematized prophecies in the Temple on the occasion of a public fast observed by the whole country, Micajah did not report the occurrence to the king for action until Baruch had finished reading them.²⁵ This customary consideration shown in ancient Israel even to unwelcome speakers shows how absurd it is to think that any prophet or preacher of penance would have dared to interrupt a solemn Temple celebration or that the people would for a minute have countenanced such an interruption. It is plain, then, that it can have been only by one of the vagaries of text transmission that Psalms 81A and 81B have come down combined into one psalm.

PSALM 81B

THE OLDEST PSALM

-
- 6 He gave a law to Joseph
 When he marched forth out of the land of Egypt.
 Then heard I words long unknown to me:

²² Jer. 7:2; 26:2.

²⁴ Jer. 7:1-15, 21-26; 26:7-19.

²³ Amos 7:10 ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 36:9-26.

- 7 "I have lightened his shoulders of their burden,
I have freed his hands of their load.
8 Thou didst call in thy distress, and I have delivered thee.
From the veil of the thundercloud did I answer thy
prayer."
I proved thee at the waters of Meribah.
9 Listen, O my people, I will speak,
O Israel, I exhort thee, hearken well unto me:
10 Thou shalt have no other God,
Thou shalt worship no strange God.
11 I am the Lord thy God who brought thee out of the land
of Egypt.
Open thy mouth wide, I will fill it.
12 But my people has not hearkened to my voice,
Nor has Israel obeyed me.
13 So I have abandoned them to their own heart's lust,
And they have followed their inclinations.
14 Oh, that my people would hearken unto me,
That Israel would walk in my ways!
15 I should soon subdue their enemies,
And turn my hand against their adversaries.
16 Then would the foes of the Lord cringe before them,
And their fortune would endure forever.
17 I should feed them with the marrow of wheat,
And with honey out of the rock should I sate them.

IMPORTANCE AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

The psalm centers in the exhortation which God is represented as addressing to Israel that, mindful that he is the Lord their God who brought them out of Egypt, they worship no God other than him. This twofold exhortation is generally taken as a rehearsal in part of the first and second commandments, and there would be no reason for taking another view were it not for the fact that it gives them in reversed order and that it contains, moreover, variations in phraseology, having *hamma'alēka* for *'āsher hōṣē'thika* and *'ēl zar* and *'ēl nekar* for

'*ēlōhīm* '*āherīm* of the first and second commandments, respectively. This linguistic difference between the two precludes to my mind the Decalogue as the immediate source of the psalm, and links it instead with the ancient Elohist record, Joshua, chapter 24, with which it has in common the first commandment's following, as the reason for it, the injunction that the people of Israel worship Yahweh as their God and no other gods and the use of the participial clause *hamma'alē* with '*ādōnai* '*ēlōhēka* and of the attributive *nekar* with '*ēl*.²⁶ This record throws light also on another important point of the psalm, namely, the exclusive mention of the tribe of Joseph in connection with the Exodus from Egypt. To show the significance of this point, we must consider the record more fully.

Except for verses 4-13, which betray the hand of a later redactor, this record of Joshua's convening all Israel to Shechem is derived from an ancient source. It presents a difficult problem, since it describes the people of Israel as still being, in the main, worshipers of strange gods, of the gods their fathers worshiped by "yonder Euphrates" and of the gods of the Amorites among whom they lived, and since it tells that it was not until they were admonished by Joshua that they renounced these strange gods and resolved to follow the example of Joshua and his tribe and serve Yahweh as the sole god of Israel. Thus the record appears to ignore the chief accomplishment of Moses—his uniting the Hebrew tribes into one people by the bond of their common belief in Yahweh as their sole God, for, in addition to attributing to Joshua this achievement, in verse 25 the record claims in the very words of the account in Exod. 15:22-26, which tells of Moses' work as lawgiver at Kadesh,²⁷ that Joshua sealed the people's promise to serve and obey Yahweh by "giving them a law and statutes in Shechem" (*wayyasēm lō ḥoq ūmishpat*). The solution of the problem is found in what

²⁶ Cf. Josh. 24:14-17, 20, 23.

²⁷ Exod. 15:22-26, with 17:1-7, has preserved an older tradition, according to which Meribath Kadesh was the scene of Moses' activity as lawgiver. Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (5th ed.; Berlin, 1899), pp. 347 ff.; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906), pp. 61 ff.; Kittel, *Geschichte* . . . , I, 565 ff.

the research of recent decades has ascertained with regard to the real history of Israel's settlement in Canaan and bondage in Egypt, chiefly through the discovery about fifty years ago of the el-Amarna letters. This is neither the place nor is it at all necessary to go into a detailed discussion of this most complicated question of the beginnings of Israel, much of which still remains, as is but natural, dark and uncertain. It will suffice for our purposes to state summarily the salient, well-established facts of the case on which the historians are agreed.

Israel's settlement in Canaan, biblical traditions and extra-biblical evidence alike show, was not accomplished within a comparatively brief space of time, as the Deuteronomic redactor of the Book of Joshua uncritically pictures it, but was a long-drawn-out process, extending over a period of three or four centuries, if not more. It began as early as the sixteenth century B.C., then grew in volume in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Amarna period, and finally reached its completion about a century and a half later, soon after 1200 B.C.

Evidence of the existence of a tribe of Jacob, the earlier name of Israel, in Canaan in the sixteenth and fifteenth century B.C. is furnished by the fact that among the one hundred and nineteen names of places (districts and cities) recorded by Thutmosis III (on the walls of the temple of Amon at Karnak) as subdued by him in the battle at Megiddo around 1470 B.C., figures the name Jacob-el.²⁸ Further, there can be no doubt that the Bēnē Israel or Hebrews were a branch of the stock of Aramaean nomads known as the Habiru, who in the first half of the fourteenth century, during the reign of Amenhotp III and Amenhotp (Ikhnaton) IV, pressed in across the Syrian Desert to western Syria and Canaan and threatened Egypt's hold upon these countries. This is made even more certain by the fact that it has been shown that the name Hebrews ('*ibērīm*') is philologically identical with that of Habiru and also that of the 'Apuriu or 'Apriu ('-p-r) mentioned as foreigners, doing

²⁸ The identity of the name *Y-sh-p-â-ra* with that of Joseph-el has rightly been questioned by a number of scholars for the reason that the sibilant does not correspond to that of *Samek* of Joseph. A still weightier argument against their identity is to my mind the fact that the original form of Joseph, as preserved in Psalm 81B, is *Yēhōseph*.

forced labor for Ramses II, in two Egyptian papyri of the time of his reign.²⁹ For note that the el-Amarna letters tell expressly that the Habiru gained a footing in southern as well as central Canaan, mentioning specifically the district of Shechem as having passed into their possession³⁰—an event which may be identified also in the biblical tradition found in Gen. 33:18 f. and 48:22, that, when Jacob on his return from Padan-Aram re-entered Canaan with his sons (in whom are personified clans), he conquered Shechem from the Amorites by his bow and sword and took up his abode there.

Another echo of the migrations of the Habiru from Mesopotamia to Canaan may be seen in Deut. 26:5, where Jacob is styled "a vagabond Aramaean" (*'arammī 'ōbed*). A still more significant biblical tradition, confirming the extra-biblical evidence as to the racial origin of Israel and the history of its settlement in Canaan, is found in the very ancient record, Genesis, chapter 14, which, though it underwent a certain redaction during the Exile, yet did not suffer any material alteration in its historical kernel, and which, as Jirku and others hold, dates from the second millenium B.C. In verse 13 of this record Abraham is designated as "the Hebrew" by the gentilic noun *ha'ibērī*, on the significance of which light is shed by the fact that in the second millenium B.C. it was a common usage throughout the ancient Orient to designate any single member of the Habiru as "N. N. the Habirai." Thus in the Hittite inscription of King Murshil II (*ca.* 1350 B.C.) the prince of the Syrian country Barga is termed "Tette the Habirai," and there are also two Babylonian examples of this designation, one of which dates from 1450 and the other from 1080 B.C.

As to the final phase of Israel's settlement in Canaan, biblical

²⁹ Cf. H. I. Heyes, *Bibel und Ägypten* (1904), pp. 146-258, who convincingly revived the theory advanced some forty years before by Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, I Ser. (1862), pp. 42-55; II Ser. (1864), pp. 108-65, and Ebers, *Ägypten u. die Bücher Moses* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 316, that the 'Apuriu, mentioned in these papyri, are the Hebrews. There are other examples of Canaanite loan-words in Egyptian, which show a similar phonetic change of *b* to *p*, as Heyes has shown; cf. also Opitz, "Zur Habiru Frage," *ZA* (N.F.), III (1927), 102 f.

³⁰ See J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1915), No. 289, ll. 23-24; also No. 287, ll. 29-31.

research of recent years has shown that not all the Israelite tribes were slaves in Egypt but only some—specifically, the tribes of Joseph—with a possible contingent of the tribes of Levi and Simon. Compelled by drought and famine or other distressing circumstances, they broke off from the rest of Israel and on petition obtained admission into Egypt. Their entrance into Egypt occurred, as may be inferred from an Egyptian inscription doubtless bearing on the event, around 1350 B.C., under one of the two successors of Amenhotp IV and their general, Haremheb.³¹ After they had for some years lived unmolested as shepherds in Goshen, the ancient frontier district of Egypt, known today as the Wady Tumilāt, their lot changed with the rise of the Nineteenth Dynasty. During his long rule of sixty-eight years (1292–1225 B.C.) Ramses II, the pharaoh of the oppression, as Naville has proved, imposed upon them forced labor and made them “build for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Ramses,” as is stated in Exod. 1:11.³² Under his successor, Mineptah (1225–1215 B.C.), Moses freed the Hebrew slaves, favored by the conditions which then prevailed in the country owing to the fact that at the beginning of Mineptah’s reign a revolt against Egypt broke out simultaneously in Lybia in the south and in Palestine and Syria in the north of the empire.

Other documentary evidence that this is the real story of the bondage of Israel in Egypt is, first, the fact that Seti I (1313–1292 B.C.) and his successor, Ramses II, mention among their conquests in Canaan a district ‘Asaru in the hinterland of southern Phoenicia—the precise territory in which, according to the later biblical tradition, the tribe of Asher is located; from which it follows that already in the fourteenth century must a tribe of that name have lived there.³³ Far more conclusive is,

³¹ See J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), III, 6 ff., §§ 10 ff.

³² *The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1885), pp. 1–11; W. M. Müller, “Pithom,” *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III (1902), 3782 ff.

³³ Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 236–39.

second, the well-known stele of Mineptah, which Flinders Petrie discovered forty years ago. The song inscribed on this stele sings of Mineptah's victories, how he succeeded in quelling the revolt which at the beginning of his reign broke out in Lybia as well as in Syria and Canaan, and alongside of Ashkalon Gezer, and Yenoan, mentions Israel as sacked and subdued:

Israel, its people are few, its seed is no more.

This remark about Israel shows that, while some Israelites were held as slaves in Egypt and escaped thence, other Israelite tribes continued to occupy Canaan without a break from the time of an earlier immigration into the land. It shows also that by this time Jacob of the sixteenth century had become Israel, which, as biblical tradition tells us, happened when Jacob on his return from Padan-Aram re-entered Canaan with many sons and took up his abode at Shechem. And since this tradition, like the other related ones, deals with the movements of tribes under the guise of individuals, what it speaks of in reality is, with omission of all the accessory details, substantially this: that when the Hebrew-Habiru group of an earlier invasion was, early in the fourteenth century B.C., increased and modified by a new influx of Habiru, who won mastery over Shechem, it no longer bore the name of Jacob but was henceforth known as Israel. The mention of Israel, then, as a people in Canaan in the song of Mineptah's victory around 1223 B.C. agrees with the biblical tradition that Jacob on his second entry into Canaan assumed the name of Israel. These findings accord further with what the critical analysis of the biblical accounts of the conquest of Canaan established long ago—that it was not the whole of Israel but the tribes of Joseph only that Joshua, the disciple and successor of Moses, led across the Jordan to the conquest of hearth and home in Canaan.³⁴

³⁴ Cf. H. Zimmern, "Palästina um das Jahr 1400 v. Chr. nach neuen Quellen," *ZDPV*, XIII (1890), 133-47; H. Winkler, "Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Ausgrabungen in Boghazköi" *MDOG*, No. 35 (1907); Spiegelberg, "Die Inschrift des Mernptah," *ZAS*, XXXIV (1897), 1 ff.; Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan: The Biblical Tradition and Its Historical Background* (London, 1919), *The Book of Judges* (2d ed., 1920), pp. lxvii-xciii, ciii-cxviii; Jirku, "Die Wanderungen der Hebräer im dritten und

This, then, brings me back to my previous statement—that in the light of these facts the record of Joshua, chapter 24, ceases to be perplexing and becomes consistent with the tradition about the activity of Moses as a religious reformer. It tells in effect that Joshua crowned his work as conqueror by a spiritual achievement of supreme importance for the subsequent religious evolution in Israel. Holding a national assembly in Shechem, which since the time of their second invasion of Canaan around 1400 B.C. was the central possession of the Israelite tribes and the outstanding conquest of this invasion, he made the tribes which in the sixteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. had come into the land from Mesopotamia renounce both their ancestral gods from yonder Euphrates and the gods of the Canaanites, and acknowledge as their god Yahweh, who had revealed himself to Moses and delivered their brethren from Egypt, and by this deed he cemented into one nation the newly arrived tribes of Joseph and the tribes of Jacob-Israel who had been in the country for centuries. It is interesting to note that the tradition met with in Gen. 33:19-20; 35:1-5, unhistorically projects this religious advance accomplished by Joshua into the fourteenth century B.C., the time of the conquest of the district of Shechem by the second wave of Hebrew invaders.

Final evidence that this is the true history of Israel's settlement in Canaan and bondage in Egypt is furnished by Psalm 81B, which tells expressly that, delivered from their serfdom, the tribes of Joseph marched forth out of Egypt, were the recipients of Yahweh's law, and were proved by him at the waters of Meribath Kadesh. It is a heretofore not recognized source of unique value for the earliest history of Israel. It clearly dates from a time close to the Exodus, when the true facts of this momentous event were yet fully known. Besides specifying who

zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *Der Alte Orient*, XXIV, Heft 2 (1924), also *Altorientalischer Commentar z. Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 56 ff., and "Zur Chabiru Frage," *ZATW*, XLVI (1928), 208 ff.; Kittel, *op. cit.*, I, 105-11, 423 ff., 429-35, 449 ff., 463-72, 477-80, 530-38, 545-54, 559 ff., 565-72, 583 f.; Sellin, *op. cit.*, I, 16-27, 31 f., 37 ff., 53 ff., 57 ff., 97 ff., and "Seit welcher Zeit verehrten die nordisraelitischen Stämme Jahwe" in *Oriental Studies* (Baltimore and Leipzig, 1926), pp. 124 ff.

had been enslaved and delivered from Egypt, it contains another piece of accurate information in the lines,

I have lightened his shoulders of their burden,
I have freed his hands of their load.

The description given in these lines of the nature of the toil to which the enslaved tribes of Joseph had been subjected agrees with what the two papyri of the time of Ramses II, referred to above, tell about it, one of which reads:

. . . Give grain also to the 'Apuriu [that is, the Hebrews] who haul stones for the large fortified city in construction of Ramses, the loved of Amon; and the other,

Give provisions . . . and to the 'Apuriu, who haul stones for Re, the Re of Ramses, the loved of Amon, in the south quarter of Memphis.

The hauling of stones of which these two papyri speak has reference to their conveyance from the quarries of Assuan or Hammamat, in the very heart of the desert, to their respective destination. The customary method of transportation involved the worst sort of human slavery, as may be seen from the well-known Egyptian mural painting, which shows thousands of men harnessed to a huge granite block hauling it along the torrid desert roads—a process in which hundreds died by the wayside. It may be seen, then, what a true and realistic description the psalm gives of the toil of the Hebrew slaves in Egypt, whereas the picture in Exod. 1:11-14 and 5:4-13 is, except for the repeatedly recurring *siblōthām*, "their burdens," unreal, even fanciful, for only legend can invent anything so absurd as that the slaves had to hunt all over Egypt for the straw needed for making bricks. To my mind, the faithful, realistic picture which Psalm 81B gives of the bondage in Egypt and of the Exodus, together with the points of contact which it has with the ancient record of Joshua, chapter 24, points to the conclusion that it was written on the occasion of Joshua's great religious undertaking for the purpose of promoting the same. As another point of similarity between the two pieces, it should be noted that by "But my people has not hearkened to my voice" the psalm expresses negatively what by "And we will hearken unto his voice" is stated positively in Joshua 24:24,

and that in addition the Psalm repeats *shama'*, used with *lî* instead of with *bēqōl*, twice more in the emphatic exhortation represented as spoken by God, "O Israel, . . . hearken well unto me. . . . Oh, that my people would hearken unto me."

But more important is the fact that God's assurance, following this admonition, that if his people would heed it, he would soon subdue their enemies, yea, make them cringe before them, "and their fortune would endure forever," fits the situation in Israel toward the end of Joshua's life, when the conquest of the country was yet in its initial stage, when the people's mastery over Canaan was yet a matter of the far future, and their fortune was still hanging in the balance. That the nations of Canaan, who were the wronged ones, are considered as enemies and even as "the foes of the Lord" accords with the vicious logic of warfare, which men have not outgrown even down to this day.

It cannot be argued that since the pre-Exilic history of Israel is marked by repeated lapses into idolatry, and since, moreover, Elijah, we know, fought for pure Yahweh worship, and reform measures toward that end had already been carried out before his time by Asa early in the ninth century B.C.,³⁵ the psalm might be a product either of the days of Asa or of the days of Elijah, for the presentation given throughout the Yahwistic and Elohist sources and already in the Book of Covenant³⁶ of the bondage in Egypt, of the Exodus, and of the march through the desert as the experience of entire Israel shows that by the time of Asa and Elijah the true history of these events had long ceased to be known.

From these findings regarding the date of the psalm it follows as self-evident that neither are verses 12-13 modeled after Jer. 7:24, nor is verse 17 modeled after Deut. 32:13^b, 14^b, but rather the reverse is the case, provided, however, that the similarity between verses 12-13 and 17 of the psalm and the passages of

³⁵ I Kings 15:12-13. Judg. 10:9-16 and I Sam. 7:3-4, which tell of similar undertakings in the days of the Judges and by Samuel, are the work of the later Deuteronomic redactor.

³⁶ Cf. Exod. 23:15, "For in this month didst thou march out of Egypt," which is said of all the people of Israel, even as the commandment that precedes, "Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread," is addressed to all of them.

Jeremiah and Deuteronomy really constitutes a case of dependence, for on more careful examination it may be seen that they strike us far more by what differentiates them than by what they have in common.

The customary interpretation of *sēphath lō' yada'ti 'eshma'*, "When I heard a language I understood not," is grammatically untenable and illogical as well. Were this the meaning, the adverbial relative *shām* or *'āsher shām* would be indispensable. Aside from this, the psalmist cannot possibly have said anything as absurd as that during all the years of their bondage and sojourn in the land, they did not understand Egyptian. Equally ungrammatical and forced is the rendering, "The speech of one that I knew not did I hear," which is explained to mean the voice or revelation of God, for such a meaning would have had to be expressed by *sēphath 'ish* or rather *sēphath dēmūth 'ish*. These much debated, though in reality very simple, words can mean one thing only, "Then heard I tidings" or "words unfamiliar to me" or "long unknown to me," by which is meant the freedom his people have at last gained, as the psalmist goes on to make plain by the lines that follow:

I have lightened his shoulders of their burden,
I have freed his hands of their load.
Thou didst call in thy distress, and I have delivered thee.
From the veil of the thundercloud did I answer thy prayer.

Other examples of *sēphath*, denoting "words," are Prov. 17:4, 7, *sēphath 'awen*, "wicked words," *sēphath yether*, "presumptuous" or "arrogant words."

The "I" of "Then heard I words long unknown to me" may be explained in two ways: either the poet identifies himself with those that had been freed from bondage and, as their spokesman, voices the feelings which in the hour of their liberty swayed them all alike or it is simply to be explained in terms of the fact that the liberty of a group means personal liberty of every single individual of it.

Also the highly poetic phrase *bēsether ra'am* of the last line quoted—a phrase peculiar to the psalm and not occurring anywhere else—has often been misinterpreted, being taken as referring to the pillar of clouds which, Exod. 14:19 f. tells, inter-

vened between the people of Israel and the Egyptians pursuing them through the Red Sea, and which, some interpreters, strange to say, have maintained was "pregnant with thunderstorms."³⁷ The phrase finds its explanation in the primitive notion (met with already in Psalm 68B) which saw in the thunderstorm the supreme manifestation of the deity. Thus note that Exod. 19:16 ff., 20:18, and Deut. 5:19 ff. describe the revelation at Sinai as taking place amid "thundering and lightning and a heavy bank of clouds covering the mountain." Note also, how in Ps. 18:7-16, following the lines,

In my need I call on the Lord,
To my God do I cry
That in his palace he may hear my voice,
That my prayer may come to his ear,

the psalmist goes on to describe God as approaching in a thunderstorm to grant help. This description in Psalm 18 has a noteworthy term analogous to *sether ra'am*, namely, *yasheth hoshek sithrō*, "He shrouds himself in darkness," that is, the darkness of the thundercloud, as the parallel line, "Weaves a pavilion round him out of the pouring rain and the dark clouds," makes plain.

Another expression peculiar to the psalm, not occurring anywhere else in Old Testament literature, is *harheb pika*, "Open thy mouth wide," used figuratively.

It remains to be remarked that this ancient psalm bears directly on the question of the age and history of the Decalogue, but this question is not only aside from our immediate purpose but is so complicated that it cannot be discussed here.

6. *He gave a law to Joseph*] Read, with the occidental recension of Gr., שָׁמַח and with Sah. and Targ. "לִי"; the suffix of *sāmō* as well as *bīhōseph* are later attempts to harmonize the verse with 81A:4-5.

out of the land] Read, with Gr. and Hier., מִן (Buhl-Kittel and others). That this is the original reading follows, moreover, from the contents of vss. 6c-8.

9. *I will speak*] Read, with Gr. and Syr. and Ps. 50:7, where vs. 9a is quoted, אֶדְבַּר.

hearken well] 'im is not *Wunschpartikel*, as usually taken, but emphatic 'im: cf. Job 6:28, 'al pēn'kem 'im 'ākasēb, "Could I really dissemble in your

³⁷ Among others Kittel, *Die Psalmen*.

face?"; 17:13, 'im 'ḏqawwē shē'ōl bēthī, "Verily, I have to look to She'ol for my home"; Prov. 3:34, 'im lallešim hū' yališ, "Surely, He scoffs at scoffers."

10. *no other God*] There are numerous examples of *zār*, denoting *other*: see Ges.-Buhl, *Lexicon*, s.v.

14. *would hearken*] Many interpreters have arbitrarily emended *shōme'a* to the imperfect, overlooking the fact that it functions as a potential participle and that its use in conditional or hypothetical sentences is in accordance with classical style; another excellent example of the kind is II Sam. 18:12, *wēlū 'anōkī shōqel 'al kappai 'eleph keseph*, "Even though I might weigh a thousand silver pieces in my hand."

16. *their fortune*] In Ps. 31:16 and Isa. 33:6 the plural of 'eth denotes "fortune," "destiny."

17. *I should feed them*] Read, with Syr., רִאֵא אֶלֶּלֶךָ or רִאֵא (Buhl-Kittel and others).

should I sate them] Read, with one MS and Syr., אֶשְׂבֵּעֲהוּ (Buhl-Kittel and others).

PSALM 81A

*

- 2 Sing unto God, our strength,
Give loud praise to the God of Jacob.
- 3 Sing unto him with the psaltery,
Strike the timbrel,
Play the lyre and the sweet-sounding harp.
- 4 At the new moon blow the horn,
At the full moon, on the day of our festival;
- 5 For it is a statute for Israel,
An ordinance of the God of Jacob.

Psalms 81A, judged by what has been preserved of it, seems to have been a ritualistic psalm. What remains is not sufficient to permit any further comment, except that the precept,

At the new moon blow the horn,
At the full moon, on the day of our festival,

cannot be explained by Num. 29:1 and Lev. 23:24, where the first of the seventh month of the ecclesiastical year, which is the first month of the civil year, is called "the day of trumpet blowing," but rather by Num. 10:10, where the evidently older practice is mentioned: "Also on your feast day, in your festive season, and at the beginning of the months shall ye blow the trumpets."

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the strains of the *gittith*. Of Asaph.

TWO GENUINE PSALMS OF DAVID

— *ca*
110

PSALM 60A

3

O God, thou hast cast us off,
Hast broken down our ranks;
Thou hast been wroth with us.
Establish us anew.

4

Thou hast swept the land with storm,
Thou hast rent the country.
Restore the ruins into which it has fallen.

5

Thou hast made thy people bear hardships,

6

Made us drink the wine that staggers.

Raise thou a banner for them that fear thee,

Round which they may rally from the assault of the bow:

7 (= 108:7)

That thy beloved may be delivered,
Save us by thy right hand and answer our prayer.

12aβ, b (= 108:12aβ, b)

O God, who hast cast us off,
Who hast ceased to march forth with our armies.

13 (= 108:13)

Help us against the enemy,
For vain is the help of man.

14 (= 108:14)

With God on our side, we will do brave deeds:

He will trample our foes underfoot.

PSALM 57B/60B

60:1-2 *For the hymnal; to the tune of "Shōshannīm 'ēdūth."* *A Miktām of David to teach. . . . When he had fought with Syria Mesopotamia and Syria Zōbah, and Joab came back and slew twelve thousand men of Edom in the Salt Valley.*

57:8-9 (108:2-3)

Content is my heart, O God, content indeed:

I will sing to the strains of music.

Awake, my soul! Awake, harp and lyre!

I will wake the dawn:

57:10 (108:4)

I will proclaim thee, O Lord, before men,
I will sing thy praise among the nations;

57:11 (108:5)

I will proclaim that thy love transcends
the heavens,

57:6 (12, 108:6)

That thy faithfulness towers to the skies.
Be thou extolled to the heavens, O God,
All over the land has thy glory been re-
vealed.

60:8 = 108:8

God did promise by his holiness

In triumph should I divide Shechem

And portion out the Valley of Succoth.

108:9 (60:9)

Gilead is mine, Manasseh is mine,

Ephraim is the helmet of my head;

Judah my scepter.

108:10 (60:10)

Moab is my washbasin,

Upon Edom will I throw my shoe.

Over Philistia I have been victorious in
battle after battle.

108:11 (60:11)

Who will conduct me to the dread for-
tress?

Who will lead me to Edom?

60:12aa (108:12aa)

Who but thou, O God?

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Psalm 60, as Ewald and, following him, Duhm and Briggs have recognized, is not a single psalm but consists of two poems, the first of which, 60A, comprises verses 3-7, 12aβ-14, and the second, 60B, verses 8-12aa. The radical difference which there is in tone and content between the two pieces leaves room for no other conclusion. In Psalm 60A the nation is described as forsaken of God and brought to the verge of ruin by wars with which the country has been swept. In this dire extremity the people implore God to heed their prayer and save them. In Psalm 60B there is no trace of such a desperate situation; on the

contrary, the singer is visibly elated because God's promises to him have been gloriously fulfilled—fulfilled all but one. As but natural, what remains to be accomplished cannot daunt him, however arduous the task be; for the signal victories he has won make him most hopeful, giving him the assurance that God will fight on his side also in this final undertaking.

But, while Psalm 60A is complete, 60B is fragmentary, the beginning being missing. This beginning is not, however, lost, as Ewald and Duhamel and Briggs have concluded, but (as pointed out, p. 3) has been preserved twice—in Ps. 57:6, 8-12, which is incongruous with 57:1-5, 7, and again, together with the second part, in Psalm 108. The noteworthy feature of this twofold transmission of the psalm is that the superior, original text of the first part has come down in 57:8-11, 6, 12, while the superior readings of the second part are found in 108:8-12aa, the last stich being no exception, since the text read originally *halō' 'atta 'ēlōhīm*, "Who but thou, O God?" as οὐχι σὺ of the Greek shows. ~~Note, further, that five Hebrew manuscripts, the Greek, and the Syriac read the repetition *nakōn libbī*, "Content is my heart," also in Psalm 108; that several Hebrew manuscripts read likewise *'ūra kēbōdī*, "Awake, my soul," instead of *'aph kēbōdī*, and that the Targum and Syriac have the correct reading *'ethrō'a*, "I have been victorious in battle after battle," also in Ps. 60:11. Verses 1-2 of Psalm 60 are the original heading not of Psalm 60A but of Psalm 57B/60B. For cogent reasons it is advisable first to treat Psalm 57B/60B, then Psalm 60A, though this is the earlier product.~~

PSALM 57B/60B

Its twofold text transmission, however complicated a case it may seem, ceases to surprise when one remembers that similarly Psalm 53 is another version of Psalm 14, and Psalm 70 another of all but the opening lines of Psalm 40B, and that Psalm 53 bears a heading quite at variance with that of Psalm 14, while Psalm 70, unlike Psalm 40B, has been transmitted with a heading. All this shows how far afield the interpreters are who, in order to explain the identity of Psalm 108 with

57:6, 8-12 and 60:7-14, have without exception advanced the strange view that a psalmist of later days, desirous to supply the need for a psalm, took, because of their proximity, verses 8-12 of Psalm 57 and verses 7-14 of Psalm 60 and combined them to a new psalm, without any attempt whatever at literary production of his own. As if there had ever been an age intellectually so poverty-stricken that, when stirred to expression by the exigencies of the time, it could produce nothing more worthy than this!

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

But the decisive point is that Ps. 57B:6, 8-12, repeated in 108:2-6, is a most fitting opening of verses 8-12^{aa} of Psalm 60 and their repetition in Ps. 108:8-12^{aa}. Not only does this piece harmonize with their confident, exultant tone but it also shows that the information which verse 2 of the heading contains as to the historical background of the psalm cannot be subject to doubt, that unlike the pseudo-headings of all other psalms it is the one and only instance that we have in the Psalter of a truly genuine heading. A brief survey of the situation in Israel on the death of Saul, and of the defensive and offensive wars which David carried on after he had been elected king of all Israel, will substantiate this statement.

The disastrous battle on Mount Gilboa, in which Saul fell with three of his sons and in which his army was routed, undid all he had accomplished earlier in his reign. The Philistines were again masters of the country, occupying it from Gezer and the plain of the Kishon in the West to Bethshean and the cities of the Jordan Valley around Succoth in the East³⁸ and compelling Eshbaal to move the seat of government to Mahanaim, north of the Jabbok, to the border of East Jordanland.³⁹

In this extreme crisis David arose as savior of the country. Leaving Ziglag, his Philistine place of refuge from Saul for many years, he went to Hebron, where his Judaeans countrymen

³⁸ I Sam. 31:7, 10: cf. I Chron. 11:7.

³⁹ II Sam. 2:8 f.: cf. I Chron. 8:33, where the name Eshbaal has been left unchanged by the scribes of later days, who in all other places took umbrage to it because they mistook *baal* for the proper name of the Canaanitish gods.

set him up as king over Judah.⁴⁰ But the real turn in the affairs did not begin until some years later, when the tribes of Israel, acting on the advice of Abner, withdrew their support from Eshbaal and went to Hebron to anoint David king of all Israel.⁴¹ It was then that the Philistines, seeing in this election of David a sign of open revolt, decided to act. Supported doubtless by the Jebusite population of Jerusalem, they marched a large army into the Valley of Rephaim, southwest of Jerusalem, and, overrunning the land of Judah as far as Bethlehem, where they stationed an outpost, forced David to give up Hebron, his seat of government, and withdraw to the fortress Adullam.⁴² The gravity of the situation when Judah was invaded by the Philistines may be gathered from the few scraps of information furnished by II Sam. 23:8-17 (and the parallel text in I Chron. 11:10-19) about the heroic feats accomplished during this struggle by some of David's captains.⁴³

But the tide of war turned in David's favor at last. In two pitched battles, so formidable that the memory of them was still alive in the days of Isaiah,⁴⁴ one of which was fought at Baal Perazim, and the other in the Valley of Bekaim,⁴⁵ south of Gibeon, he dealt an overwhelming defeat to the Philistines, as may be seen from II Sam. 5:17-25 (=I Chron. 14:9-16), which verses, the majority of modern critics are agreed, followed originally verses 1-5, which tell of David's election as king over all Israel.⁴⁶ The conquest of the Jebusite stronghold, Jerusalem, did not precede but followed these victories, being the direct result of them. It was a result of supreme importance, removing as it did once for all the hostile barrier which had up to that

⁴⁰ II Sam. 2:1-4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3:17-20; 5:1-3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 5:17 f.; 23:13-14; I Chron. 11:15-16; 14:8 f.

⁴³ That II Sam. 23:9 f. and I Chron. 11:12 f. also tell of what happened at the time the Philistines had invaded Judah follows, aside from everything else, from the fact that Ephes or Pas (with apocopated 'aleph) Dammim is a place in the plain of Judah (cf. I Sam. 17:1).

⁴⁴ See Isa. 28:21.

⁴⁵ As is in all probability to be read in II Sam. 5:22, with A. Bruno, *Gibeon* (1923), p. 11, and Sellin, *op. cit.*, I, 163 f.

⁴⁶ See E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 f.; Sellin, *op. cit.*; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II, 144 f.

time been interposed between Judah and the Joseph tribes in the north and had been a constant menace to the security of the one as well as of the others. It was not until then that David could without fear take the offensive against the Philistines. He first attacked and defeated them at Gezer, their headquarters;⁴⁷ whereupon he drove them out of the country in a series of subsequent battles of unknown duration and finally carried the war into their own territory, conquering their capital, Gath.⁴⁸

These successes gave David unlimited confidence in his own power and confirmed him in the assurance that Yahweh had singled him out as ruler and liberator of His people and was visibly fighting on his side—a fact expressly attested to in the records bearing on the events, as we shall see presently. No wonder, then, that the Philistine victories tempted him to expand his dominion and subdue the surrounding nations as he had the Philistines. In turn he waged war on Moab,⁴⁹ on Ammon, and on Syria,⁵⁰ of which the war on Moab seems to have been the most successful and least arduous. Following these wars, he set out to conquer Edom, in order to obtain an outlet to the sea and carry on maritime trade. His erstwhile victory over Edom, mentioned in the heading of the psalm and also in II Sam. 8:13,⁵¹ was, however, followed by a severe setback (see pp. 74 f.).

These wars of David to free the country from Philistine rule and his ensuing wars of conquest carried on against Israel's neighbors are the historical background of Psalm 57B/60B. It makes plain, first of all, the lines,

God did promise by his holiness,
In triumph should I divide Shechem
And portion out the Valley of Succoth;

⁴⁷ I Chron. 20:4; cf. also II Sam. 5:25 (= I Chron. 14:16).

⁴⁸ See II Sam. 21:15-19 = I Chron. 20:4b, 5; II Sam. 21:20 ff. = I Chron. 20:6 ff.; II Sam. 8:1; the obscure *metheg ha'amma* of the last verse is to be emended in accordance with the reading of the parallel text, I Chron. 18:1: *Gath ūbēnōthēha*, "Gath and her towns," or "villages."

⁴⁹ II Sam. 8:2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 10:6-11:1; 12:26-31; 8:3-12.

⁵¹ The verse read originally, "When he returned from smiting the Syrians, he smote of Edom (*hikka 'eth 'edom*) in the Salt Valley eighteen thousand."

for, as we have seen, as a result of the battle at Gilboa the Philistines were again masters of West Jordanland, the ancient capital of which, we know from I Kings 12:1, and the record of Joshua, chapter 24,⁵² was Shechem, and were also masters of the Jordan Valley, which in the psalm is spoken of as the Valley of Succoth, since Succoth was its principal city. David means to say that when, together with the Valley of Succoth, West Jordanland—Shechem as the capital stands for it, as similarly Jerusalem or Zion frequently stands for the country of Judah⁵³—had again come under Philistine control, he received the promise of God that he should wrest both from the hand of the enemy and have dominion over them, or, as the psalm puts it, he should divide and portion them out among their rightful owners, even as Joshua of old did with the conquered country. Note that Abner when he urges the election of David as king as well as the elders of Israel when they offer him the crown refer expressly to such a promise made by God. Abner declares:

The Lord has spoken of David, By the hand of my servant David will I save my people Israel out of the hand of the Philistines and out of the hand of all their enemies;⁵⁴

and the elders say to David:

The Lord said to thee, Thou shalt shepherd my people Israel and shalt be ruler over Israel.⁵⁵

And since, by his victories over the Philistines, God's promise had been gloriously fulfilled, David could now rightfully claim that Gilead and Manasseh, the two second largest of the northern tribes, were his and that Ephraim, the foremost of them, was the helmet of his head, that is, his mainstay. Equally fitting is the designation "my scepter," said of Judah, where his seat of government was. These lines are further elucidated by the record which tells how, after the fatal battle at Gilboa,

⁵² Cf. above, p. 61.

⁵³ Cf. Ps. 137:5 f.; Isa. 40:2; 52:1 f., 7-9; Jer. 2:2; 13:27; Lam. 1:7 f.

⁵⁴ II Sam. 3:18; cf. also vss. 9 f.

⁵⁵ II Sam. 5:2.

Abner proclaimed Eshbaal king of his lost kingdom and which, very much like the lines of the psalm, specifies:

He made him king over Gilead and the Asherites [read '*asher*'], over Jezreel [that is, the plain of Jezreel, where Manasseh resided]⁵⁶ and Ephraim, and over Benjamin: over all Israel. . . . But the house of Judah followed David.⁵⁷

It may be noted that the only really material difference between the specifications of this record and those of the lines of the psalm is David's legitimate assertion that he rules alike over Judah and all Israel.

The contemptuous way in which David speaks of Moab as his washbasin finds its explanation in all probability in the fact that, in comparison with the conquest of Ammon and the Syrian provinces and the warfare with the Philistines, the conquest of Moab was easy.

Note also that the line "Over Philistia I have been victorious in battle after battle" ('*ethrō'a*' is imperfect of reiterated action) tells (in the Hebrew) the facts of the case in a single, terse sentence of three words.

DATE

The date of the psalm can be fixed definitely, being clearly given by the heading together with the concluding lines:

Who will conduct me to the dread fortress?
Who will lead me to Edom?
Who but thou, O God?

The heading tells that the psalm was composed after the first victorious engagement with Edom in the Salt Valley, while from the concluding lines it is plain that the final conquest of her country, which made Edom a vassal state of Judah governed by Judean prefects—a relationship which continued to exist without interruption down to the days of Jehoram⁵⁸—had as yet not been accomplished. And not only this, but from David's anxious query, "Who will conduct me to the dread fortress?" it may further be concluded that he must already

⁵⁶ Cf. Judg. 1:27.

⁵⁷ II Sam. 2:9 f.

⁵⁸ Cf. II Sam. 8:14; I Kings 11:15 f.; 22:48; II Kings 8:20, 22.

have suffered the reverse which he encountered when after his victory in the Salt Valley he carried the war into Edom's own country,⁵⁹ and must so have been made to realize with what difficulty the conquest of Edom was beset. Naturally so, for Petra, the ancient capital of Edom, was a city of such natural strength that it was well-nigh impregnable, being walled in by towering rocks.

The most impressive entrance is from the east, down a dark, narrow gorge, in places only ten or twelve feet wide—a split in the huge sandstone rocks. . . . Near the end of the defile stands the most elaborate of the ruins, el-Hazne, not built but hewn out of the cliff. . . . and at the point where the valley opens out into the plain the site of the city is revealed with striking effect. Almost enclosing it on three sides are rose-colored mountain walls, divided into groups by deep fissures, and lined with rock-cut tombs in the form of towers.⁶⁰

With this impregnability of the capital of Edom it accords that *'ir miḥṣar* is a nice case of emphatic indetermination, describing the fortress as conspicuous among the category to which it belongs, as a "dread" or "redoubtable fortress."

Yet the temporary reverse his army had met with at the hand of Edom could not daunt David, which is not to be wondered at in the face of the marvelous things he had accomplished. These, as it was but natural, made him hopeful that in the end he would succeed also in subduing Edom. So sure was he of this that he even exclaimed, "Upon Edom will I throw my shoe." The expression shows how old the custom is of throwing one's shoe upon a person as a sign that one dominates him—a custom which in some modified form is still widespread among brides, when at the conclusion of the marriage ceremony they step on the husband's foot. Another, in a way more direct, illustration is found in a present-day Arabic wedding song of the Arabian villagers near Jerusalem, in which the bridegroom greets his bride, when on their wedding day she is brought to his house, with the words:

O beautiful woman, let me live with you,
I am barefoot and will put on your shoe;

⁵⁹ See I Kings 11:15.

⁶⁰ G. A. Cook, "Petra," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XXI, 309.

and in which the wedding day is spoken of as "the day of putting on the shoe."⁶¹ As a final illustration the well-known German expression, *Unter dem Pantoffel stehen*, may be mentioned.

When one considers further what transformation the royal singer had brought to pass in the country, how he had made again a free people out of a vanquished nation, and how he had even made them rulers over their neighbors and former enemies, one cannot well think of anything more natural than to see him open his song with the words,

Content is my heart, O God, content indeed,

and bid harp and lyre awake, that he may wake the dawn, to sing before all the world the praise of his God, who (he believed) had been fighting on his side in person and been leading him from victory to victory. As proof that David and his age really conceived God in this primitive way, compare, in addition to the line, "Who has ceased to march forth with our armies," of the companion piece, Psalm 60A, the ancient account (II Sam. 5:23 f.) of David's first victory over the Philistines:

When thou hearest the sound as if of one moving in the topmost branches of the bacca trees, then bestir thyself, for then will the Lord go forth before thee to smite the army of the Philistines.

LITERARY AND SPIRITUAL CHARACTER

The psalm shows a highly original style, an eminent fitness of the language used to the thought expressed. Note how spirited and imaginative the opening lines are. They have the simple charm of the true folk song—a feature which marks the rest of the psalm as well, every line of which is most expressive. Other good illustrations of the poet's originality of style, of his skill in achieving wonderful effects with the simplest means, by a brevity which is most astonishing, are: "Moab is my wash-basin"; "Over Philistia I have been victorious in battle after battle," which in three words tells the story of the long struggle; or "Ephraim is the helmet of my head, Judah my scepter."

The composer of this folk song is, of course, David. Proof of

⁶¹ See E. Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie* (Berlin, 1902), Sec. A IV, ll. 27 and 102.

this are verses 8-12^{aa}, the speaker or "I" of which can be no other than David. It is a song worthy of the author of the elegy over the death of Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 1:19-27).

More even than Psalm 68B does this ancient psalm show that the tendency to proselytize was inherent in the religion of Israel from the beginning. Evidence of this are the lines,

I will proclaim thee, O Lord, before men,
I will sing thy praise among the nations:
I will proclaim that thy love transcends the heavens,
That thy faithfulness towers to the skies.

The desire expressed in them is further emphasized by the words with which the lines are introduced:

I will wake the dawn.

Though it is interesting to note what an inimitable poetic figure these words present, also that other examples of personification of the dawn are "The wings of the dawn" of Ps. 139:9 and "The eyelids of the dawn" of Job 3:9, yet all this is not to the point, for it leaves unexplained what the singer is driving at, why he desires to wake the dawn. Light is thrown on this question by the fact, stated in Mishna *Yoma* 3:1, that it was at dawn that the daily service in the Temple at Jerusalem customarily began. Even more elucidating are the lines from the Egyptian Hymn to the Sun of Ikhnaton:

When it dawns,
And thou risest in the horizon,
. . . . The two lands [Upper and Lower Egypt] keep festival,
Awake . . .
And with arms uplifted praise thy names,

as are also the related lines from the Book of the Dead:

When the baboons yell and shriek at sunrise, they do it in order to praise the sungod in their way. But men lift up their hands for the morning song and say, We praise thee who risest in the horizon and lightest up Egypt [15A II (ed. Naville)].

All this makes it clear that there is a logical continuity in thought between "I will wake the dawn" and the lines that follow. It shows that the singer wishes to wake the dawn in

order that he may sing the praise of God and proclaim him before all the world.

For the evolution of the God-idea in Israel it is also important to note what emphasis the singer lays on the love and faithfulness of God, how he declares that his love transcends the heavens, that his faithfulness towers to the skies.

60:1-2. *To teach*] Some words have obviously dropped out after *lā-lammed*: cf. II Sam. 1:18.

57:9, 10 (108:2-4). *my soul*] *Kabōd* with this connotation is found again in Ps. 16:9, Gen. 49:6, while in Pss. 7:6 and 30:13 *et alit.*, it connotes "glorious body politic" or "land of my glory."

57:10 (108:4) *I will sing*] *'Azammerka*, without *waw*, of 57:10 is the original reading.

108:5 (57:11) *I will proclaim that thy love transcends the heavens, that*] The verse is an explanatory objective clause, depending on *'ōdē* and *'āzammer* of the preceding verse, as Gr., in fact, understood it in both 57:11 and 108:5: *me'al* of the latter is the original reading, and *'ad* which 57:11 reads instead, is due to dittography of *'ad* of 11b.

57:6 (12, 108:6) *Be thou extolled*] Cf. 46:11.

to the heavens] The requisites of both rhythm and style demand that *shamāyīm* have the article to conform to the use of the article with *'areš* of the second stich: there is no exception to this rule of style, as the numerous examples of the kind show. The original reading *hashshamāyīm* has been preserved in 57:6, the correction having been made in the margin, with the rest of the verse repeated as a cue; as usual the correction, together with the cue, was, in the next copy, taken into the text at random.

All over the land has thy glory been revealed] Vs. 6b is a nominal clause, the subject of which is *kēbōdeka*, and the predicate *'al ha'areš*; as in 60A:4, *ha'areš* denotes the country: David means to emphasize that the glory of God has been revealed by the transformation that has been brought to pass in the land from one end to the other.

60:8 = 108:8 *In triumph should I divide . . . and portion out*] *'e'lotha* is a complementary verb to *'āhallēqa* and *'āmaddēd* and not co-ordinated with them, as it is generally taken.

108:9 (60:9) The reading *lī*, without *waw*, of 108:9 is the original text.

108:10 (60:10) *Over Philistia I have been victorious in battle after battle*] That the reading in 108:10 is the original text is borne out by the fact that at one time it was the reading also of 60:10, as Targ. and Syr. show. The present reading of 60:10 is plainly excluded, as it is contradictory to the content of the rest of the verse. Note that the Alexandrian Jewish translators tried to get around this contradiction by taking *hithrō'a'i* as Hithpolel of *ra'a'* instead of *rū'a* and rendering it arbitrarily, with utter disregard of its meaning as well as of the function of *'alai*, ἐμοί . . . ὑπεράγγων; the Hithpolel of *ra'a'* can mean only "to be shattered" or "broken in pieces," not "to be subdued," nor can *'alai* ever be used as an equivalent term of *tahtī*. The renderings of A.V., "Triumph thou because of me," and R.V. "Shout thou because of me," and their forced explanations are a mere makeshift.

108:11 (60:11) *dread fortress*] That *mišsar* of 108:11 is the original reading follows from the fact that a word *mašôr*, meaning "fortress," does not exist, as a critical examination of the case shows: cf. the discussion of Ps. 31:22, p. 69.

60:12aa (108:12aa) *Who but thou, O God?*] The psalm ended: *hālô*, 'atta, 'ēlōhim—the *hālô* of which was read originally also in 108:12aa: see above, p. 69.

PSALM 60A

DATE

Psalm 60A, which supplements Psalm 57B/60B in a very essential respect, being so to speak the reverse of the medal, is another true psalm of David. As proof of this, note, first of all, that the description it gives of the country as swept and rent by war and fallen into ruins, with the ranks of the army broken down, eminently fits the situation in Israel after the disastrous battle on Mount Gilboa. With the country north of the Jebusite stronghold in the hand of the enemy as far as the Jordan and beyond, and the seat of the government removed to the eastern frontier, the people had indeed been made to drink the wine that staggers and to bear hardships in the extreme. Also the prayer that God "raise a banner . . . round which the people may rally from the assault of the bow" receives color and meaning from the fact that the army of Saul had been routed and driven across the Jordan and that even the inhabitants of the Jordan Valley (or the Valley of Succoth, as it is called in Psalm 57B/60B) were forced to abandon the district to the Philistines, as I Sam. 31:7 expressly states. It was a catastrophe of such magnitude that the people had indeed cause to cry to God in despair that he save them from destruction. As a matter of fact, there is no other catastrophe of either pre-Exilic or post-Exilic history to which the psalm's description of the country's plight might be applied, line for line, with such fitness as to the desperate situation after the battle at Gilboa. The lines,

O God, who hast cast us off,
Who hast ceased to march forth with our armies,

tell what David considers the real cause of the country's overwhelming defeat. The second of these lines might be liable to

misconstruction were it not for the light thrown on it by other sources. Thus Psalm 68B describes the famous battle of the time of Deborah in the Valley of Kishon as fought and won by Yahweh in person. Further, Saul speaks of the wars he fought to free the country from Philistine rule as "the wars of Yahweh,"⁶² even as in the account, II Sam. 5:23, and in Psalm 57B/60B, David regards his wars against the Philistines and the other neighbors of Israel in no other light. For him and his age it was but natural to speak of Yahweh as marching forth with their armies or, conversely, as having ceased to march forth with them: which shows how far afield those interpreters are who have argued from the recurrence of "Thou hast ceased to march forth with our armies" in the post-Exilic Psalm 44 that it was from the latter psalm that these words found their way into Psalm 60. Rather the reverse is the case: the writer of the post-Exilic Psalm 44 copied those words from Psalm 60A, although he and his age had long since outgrown the primitive notion associated with them.

In the light of this notion the concluding lines of the psalm also are to be understood:

With God on our side, we will do brave deeds:
He will trample our foes underfoot;

by the "foes" the Philistines are meant. Though uttered under circumstances radically different from those under which the concluding lines of the companion psalm were spoken,

Who will conduct me to the dread fortress?
Who will lead me to Edom?
Who but thou, O God?

yet they breathe the same spirit of buoyant trustfulness that characterizes these.

Note, finally, that the description Psalm 60A gives of the sad plight of the country is not unlike that portrayed in the elegy of David over Saul and Jonathan,⁶³ the keynote of which is

How the glory of Israel lies slain in the mountains!
How the mighty are fallen!

⁶² I Sam. 18:17.

⁶³ II Sam. 1:19-27.

What a vivid picture this lament conveys of David's own despair because of the disaster that has overtaken the nation, as does the imprecation he utters:

Ye mountains of Gilboa,
Let not rain nor dew fall upon you, O mountains of death,⁶⁴
Because there the shield of the mighty has vilely been cast away,
The shield of Saul,
As though he had not been anointed with oil.

The elegy shows that, even though David was still a fugitive from the country, he yet felt impelled to voice the sorrow of the nation not only as a poet of gifts divine but still more as the devoted son of his people. What more natural then that, later when the time for action had come (it was then, of course, that Psalm 60A was composed), he considered himself the legitimate mouthpiece of the people to offer their prayer to God for deliverance from their foes, especially since he had in the meantime been made king over the entire nation to the end that "he may deliver Israel from the hand of the Philistines and the hand of all their enemies."⁶⁵

3. *Hast broken down our ranks*] It is interesting to note that, with this meaning and construction with accusative *personae*, *paraš* recurs in II Sam. 5:20—a contemporaneous record most likely: *paraš 'ādōnai 'eth 'ōyēbai lēphanai*, "The Lord has broken down the ranks of my enemies before me."

Establish us anew] There is nothing obscure or dubious about *tēshōbeb lanū*: *lanū* is direct object construed (as most frequently elsewhere) with *lē*—a common Semitic construction; and *shōbeb*, denoting "establish anew," is found again in Isa. 58:12, *mēshōbeb nēthībōth lashebeth*, "Who re-establishes the roads to dwell in."

4. *Thou hast swept the land with storm*] *'areš* means here "land" not "earth"; another example of *hir'ish* connoting "sweep with storm" of war is Isa. 14:16, *mar'ish mamlakōth*.

into which it has fallen] Cf. Ps. 46:3, "When mountains sink (*bēmōt*) into the depths of the sea."

6. *Raise thou*] *Nathatta* is a precative perfect, as shown by the imperatives of the following verse.

Round which they may rally from the assault of the bow] *Hithnōses* is not *hithpōlel* of *nūs*, for which Gr., Sym., and Hier. mistook it, but a denominative verb, derived from *nes*, as rightly taken by Ges.-Buhl and others; *qoshet*, which is usually taken as a byform of *qesheth*, is to my mind a scribal error and should be emended נשק, which reading is attested by Gr., Sym., and Hier.

⁶⁴ Read, with the Greek, *harē maweth*.

⁶⁵ II Sam. 3:18; 5:1-3.

12. *Who hast ceased to march forth]* Omit the second 'ēlōhīm as dittography: it is missing in Sym. and Syr.

12. *O God, who hast cast us off, Who hast ceased to march forth with our armies]* The verse began originally with אֱלֹהִים אַתָּה. Owing, however, to the fact that Psalm 57B/60B, with which Psalm 60A has been fused, ended ḥdlō 'atta 'ēlōhīm, 'atta of the latter dropped out, and 'ēlōhīm was misplaced in the second stich.

PSALM 45

A NUPTIAL ODE

*

- 2 My heart is stirred with a noble theme:
 I would address my song to the king.
 May my tongue be like the pen of a skilful scribe.
- 3 Fairest art thou of men,
 Grace adorns thy lips:
 Signally has God blessed thee forever.
- 4-5 Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O mighty hero,
 March forth in thy glory and majesty.
 Ride on amain
 In defense of the good cause and the pursuit of victory,
 And let thy right hand direct thee to glorious deeds.
- 6 May thy sharp arrows pierce the hearts of the king's
 enemies,
 May nations fall vanquished before thee.
- 7 May thy throne be a throne divine forever,
 May the scepter of thy kingdom be a scepter of equity.
- 8 Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness:
 Wherefore among thy peers the Lord thy God has
 anointed thee
 With sweet-scented oil.
- 9 With myrrh, with aloes, and cassia
 All thy garments are fragrant.

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the tune of "The Lilies." Of the Korahites. A *Maskil*. A Song of Love.

- Out of palaces decorated with ivory
Comes music of strings to delight thee.
10 Princesses are among thy noble women.
At thy right hand stands the queen in gold of Ophir.
- 11a, 13a Maiden of Tyre, listen and note,
Lend thine ear to me:
11b Forget thine own people and thy father's house;
12 If the king desires thy beauty—he is thy lord—bow
to him.
13b With gifts the richest of the people do sue thy favor.†
- 14 The princess is all glorious in the palace,
Inwrought with gold is her garment;
15 She is led to the king in rich colored clothes,
Maidens in her train.
Her maiden friends are brought to her;
16 Amid exultant joy they are escorted,
They enter the palace of the king.
- 17 May thy sons enjoy the rank thy fathers held,
Set them up as princes in all the land.
18 To all ages will I sing of the glory of thy name
That the people may praise thee forever.

In the opening lines the poet tells by way of preface, so to speak, that his song is addressed to the king and prays that his words may flow from his lips with skill. He then goes on to praise the king's beauty and grace divine and to give expression to the hope that animates him—specifically, the hope that the royal hero, anointed of God for his exalted position, may rise as defender of his people and vanquish the enemies of the nation. Though this wish was inspired by the dire need of the hour, yet in a way it is but introductory to the poet's theme proper—the king's wedding, with which the rest of the poem is taken up. With the abruptness characteristic of the style of oriental po-

† The present vs. 13 (when, with the Greek, the connective *u* is omitted) reads: "Maiden of Tyre, with gifts the richest of the people do sue thy favor."

etry the singer now tells of the festive music which to the delight of the king is heard from the palace and describes how the queen, a Tyrian princess attired in royal splendor, is conducted to him, with her maiden friends and attendants. Color is lent to the description by the advice the poet offers to the queen to forget her own people and her father's house and give herself up to her lord and king. He concludes the ode with the wish that the king may have sons worthy of his illustrious fathers and that his own fame may live throughout history.

The messianic interpretation of the psalm, as it prevailed throughout the centuries in the synagogue and church alike—in which the king is taken for the King Messiah or Jesus, the queen for the community of Israel or the church, and the maidens of the queen for the pagan converts to Judaism or Christianity—is of no significance for us today, save as an illustration of what fancy may be capable of, albeit there are exegetes whose treatment of this psalm continues to be colored by this allegorical interpretation.

DATE

The psalm is a nuptial ode. Modern interpreters are agreed on this. There is, however, no unanimity of opinion on the question of who the king was that inspired the song. Some hold that it was occasioned by the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of the king of Egypt. Others have suggested the marriage of Jehoram with Athaliah as the probable occasion. Several interpreters, believing that the psalm describes conditions not unlike the splendor and luxury enjoyed during the reign of Jeroboam II, think that it was written in his honor. And there are even some who maintain that the psalm was composed not in honor of an Israelitish king but of a pagan monarch—either in honor of Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, or on the occasion of the marriage of Alexander Ballas of Syria with Cleopatra of Egypt. None of these views is, however, tenable; they are all alike refuted by the facts of the case. As to Solomon, the situation in his days is incompatible with the ardent hope expressed in verses 4-6—that the king may rise as defender of his people

and deal defeat to their enemies, for, owing to the successful wars of conquest David had fought, Israel's mastery over the land was then uncontested, enabling Solomon to engage in works of peace throughout his long reign. Athaliah, the wife of Jehoram, was an Israelitish, not a foreign, princess, the foreign origin of her mother notwithstanding. And of Jeroboam II there is nowhere any mention that he married a foreign woman. Finally, the words, "Wherefore among thy peers *Yahweh thy God* has anointed thee," show that the psalm cannot possibly have been written in honor of a pagan monarch.

The only view which is well grounded is that advanced by Hitzig—that it is the marriage of Ahab with Jezebel that is celebrated in the psalm, for note that the poet addresses the royal bride expressly as "Maiden of Tyre," no matter whether, with omission of the connective *ū* (as in the Greek⁶⁶) these words are read with verse 13, as in the Hebrew, or with verse 12, as in some codices of the Greek, or whether they are transposed to verse 11, where for valid reasons I believe they stood originally.

Now, to the interpretation, "Maiden of Tyre, with gifts the richest of the people do sue thy favor" (vs. 13), it has been objected that *bath šōr* cannot mean an individual Tyrian woman but only the city or population of Tyre. This objection does not hold, however, since there are other clear cases of the singular of *bath* and *ben* used with a name of place to designate an individual citizen of the place: they are *bath mē zahab* or, as the Greek and Syriac read, *ben mē zahab*, Gen. 36:39, and I Chron. 1:50, *mē zahab*, being a name of place and not of person;⁶⁷ *Shallum ben Yabesh*, II Kings 15:10, 13, Yabesh being the name of the well-known city Yabesh in Gilead, and probably also *Tibni ben ginath*, I Kings 16:21 f.⁶⁸ These examples, together with *bath šōr* of the present psalm, show that the rule given in

⁶⁶ The connective is missing also in Aquila.

⁶⁷ See J. Marquart, *Fundamenta Israelitischer und Jüdischer Geschichte* (1896), pp. 10 f.; Holzinger, *Genesis* (KHCAT [1898]), p. 191.

⁶⁸ See Wellhausen, *Isr. Jüd. Gesch.*⁶, p. 119 n.; Zimmern-Winkler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3d ed.; Berlin, 1903), pp. 247, n. 1, 263.

the Hebrew dictionaries, that only the plurals *bēnē* and *bēnōth* are used with a name of people, country, and city to designate either all the citizens of the respective community or a number of them, that the singular *ben* and *bath* is never used with such a name as designation of an individual citizen,⁶⁹ has no basis in fact. There is nothing in the least surprising about this two-fold usage of *bath* with a name of city or country, since similarly *bēnōth Moab* or *bēnōth Yēhūda* may mean either "the towns of Moab," "the towns of Judah,"⁷⁰ or "women of Moab," "women of Judah";⁷¹ and since further *'ish Yisra'el*, which is in most instances used as a collective, meaning "the body of Israelite men," denotes in Num. 25:8, 14, and Judg. 7:14 "an individual Israelite," even as there are three instances of *'ish* with a name of tribe, every one of which denotes an individual tribesman,⁷² though in the numerous other instances the term is, like *'ish Yisra'el*, collective, denoting the body of tribesmen.

The decisive point, however, is that "Maiden of Tyre, with gifts the richest of the people do sue thy favor" or the construction of the vocative "Maiden of Tyre" with "bow to him" of the preceding verse is the only possible interpretation of which verse 13, as it reads at present, admits: the customary translation, "And the daughter of Tyre *shall be there*—or will come—with a gift; even the rich among the people shall entreat thy favor," which takes *bath šōr* as subject, is grammatically untenable, as it supplies arbitrarily a predicate of which there is no trace in the text. But as I have indicated before, on looking into verses 11–13 more carefully, one may see that *bath šōr* cannot originally have stood where it is found at present but only in verse 11 after *šim'ī*, for the following reason: *bath* of verse 11 is defective text; for *bath* and *ben* alone, when forming a vocative, have invariably the pronominal suffix of the

⁶⁹ Cf. Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch* (16th ed.); Brown, Driver, & Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, *ben* and *bath* (s.v.).

⁷⁰ Cf. Isa. 16:2; Ps. 48:12; 97:6.

⁷¹ Cf. Num. 25:1; 21:29.

⁷² Cf. Judg. 10:1; 19:1; 1 Sam. 4:12. Like the above-mentioned cases of *ben* with a name of place, *'ish Yisra'el*, *'ish Lēvī*, may be either definite or indefinite (cf. also Deut. 22:19, *bēthūlath Yisra'el*, "a maiden of Israel"). The emendations of most of these cases by modern interpreters are arbitrary.

first singular added: cf., for example, Ruth 2:8; 3:10, 11—all three of which are addressed to Ruth by Boas—and Prov. 1:8, 10, 15; 2:1, in which the author addresses himself to his reader. This rule points to the conclusion that the vocative *bath* was originally followed by the qualifying genitive *šōr* and that in the process of the psalm's transmission *šōr* was omitted and, with *bath* prefixed to it as a cue, was put in the lateral margin, whence in the next copy the omitted word with the cue was mechanically joined to the beginning of verse 13: the addition of the connective particle *ū* is, as the Greek and Aquila show, a subsequent erratum. As further proof that *bath šōr* stood originally after *šim'i* of verse 11, it may be noted that "Maiden of Tyre" is far more cogent and natural at the beginning of the poet's address and advice to her that she forget her own people and her father's house. Since, then, it is certain that *bath šōr* is a vocative, it is clear from the context that it cannot possibly mean anything else than "Maiden of Tyre." It is equally plain that the psalm was composed in honor of Ahab's wedding, for he was the only Israelitish king who married a Tyrian princess. The fact that, in I Kings 16:31, Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel, is called king of the Sidonians cannot be considered as an argument against this conclusion, since in the Old Testament even as in the Assyrian monuments and the Homeric poems⁷³ "Sidonians" is the usual designation of the Phoenicians—a usage in vogue among the Phoenicians themselves⁷⁴—and since, moreover, in Menander of Ephesus, Ethbaal is called "king of Tyre."⁷⁵

Further proof that the psalm was written in celebration of the marriage of Ahab with Jezebel may be seen in the poet's urging the king to rise as defender of his people and vanquish their enemies. The significance of this appeal stands out prominently in the light of the record of I Kings, chapter 20—a record of supreme value describing with telling realism the situation

⁷³ *Iliad* vi. 290 f.; *Odyssey* iv. 618; xiii. 285.

⁷⁴ Thus in the oldest Phoenician inscription known, Hiram II, king of Tyre (in the eighth century) is styled "king of the Sidonians."

⁷⁵ See Josephus, *Contra Apion*. i. 18.

which existed at that time. Incidentally we learn from the record that the country's plight was the result of the defeat Omri had suffered at the hand of Syria. The magnitude of his defeat may be seen from the fact that, besides losing territory, Omri had to cede to Syria the right of carrying on trade in Samaria (vs. 34) and from the further fact that the army had been almost completely wiped out—two hundred and thirty picked soldiers and seven thousand veteran soldiers were all that had been left of it (vs. 15). Still more telling is the description the record gives of how Ahab finds himself completely at the mercy of Ben Hadad, who makes the most insolent demands, asking that Ahab surrender to him even his wives and children. What more timely, then, than the appeal the poet addresses to Ahab that he "gird his sword" and "ride on amain in defense of the good cause and the pursuit of victory," and the prayer which he adds,

May thy sharp arrows pierce the hearts of the king's enemies
And lay nations vanquished at thy feet?

Additional significance becomes attached to this entreaty when it is remembered that the record, I Kings 20:12-21, with the supplementary records, II Kings 6:8-12 and 13:14-19, shows that Elisha, with the prophets at his beck and call, not only urged the war of liberation from Syrian rule but that, through the espionage he maintained, was able to direct Ahab in his military movements and pave the way to his victory. When through one of his prophets he advised Ahab to venture a sally out of Samaria and attack the Syrian army with a mere handful of men, he doubtless knew that at the time Ben Hadad and his generals were drunk, unfit to resume command of their army. As further proof that Elisha directed Ahab's war of liberation, note that the unusual titles with which Joash addressed the dying Elisha, "Father, father, chariot of Israel and horsemen thereof," the prophet must have earned by what he did for the nation in Ahab's war for liberty; for when he was dying no attempt whatever had yet been made to retrieve the second calamitous blow which Israel had suffered at the hand of Syria about a decade and a half before. It is obvious, then,

that he had no opportunity of winning fame in these dark years of his declining life.

In Psalm 45 we possess, then, a contemporary record of extreme value for a just estimate of Ahab and his reign. Its author is still unaffected by the bias against Ahab that marks the stories of Elijah, and like the writer of I Kings, chapter 20, he is full of affection and admiration for his hero and conscious of the great task that awaits him. In this connection it is interesting to note that the prophet Hosea, who preached some hundred years after Ahab's reign, looks upon the overthrow of the dynasty of Ahab as the unatoned guilt weighing heavily upon the conscience of the nation (1:4).

2. *With a noble theme*] *Dabar* is an adverbial accusative.

I would address] 'Ömer functions as a potential participle, denoting in the present instant resolution.

my song] The parallel phrase *dabar*, "theme" of the first stich shows that *ma'āsai* is *pluralia tantum* and is hence to be rendered by the singular and not as customarily by the plural. The plural form of *ma'āsē* finds its explanation in the fact that it is used as a synonym of *shīr*, which is a collective, as the *nomen unitatis shīra* (with its plural *shīrim*)⁷⁶ shows. Note that *kēlē shīr* and the ellipsis *kēlē*, used with the meaning "song, melody," is another such *pluralia tantum*: see my note on *bikēlē 'oz la-YHWH*, II Chron. 30:21 (*JBL*, XLV [1926], 156 ff.). The emendation *ma'āsī* of Buhl-Kittel, Duhm, and Gunkel is, therefore, unwarranted. The specific meaning with which the word is used here, analagous to Gr. *ποίημα*, is in no wise surprising, since Num. 31:51 *ma'āsē* by itself (without any such qualifying genitive as *hōsheb* or *harash*) denotes "work of art." This shows that Duhm's view, that *ma'āsē* is a translation of Gr. *ποίημα*, and that hence the psalm cannot be pre-Exilic, is forced.

May my tongue be like the pen] *Lēshōnī 'eṭ* is a nominal clause, expressing a wish: the predicate 'eṭ consists of an adverbial accusative—specifically, an accusative of comparison. The customary translation has mistaken the clause for an indicative statement, unmindful of the fact that modesty was valued in ancient times no less than today.

3. *Fairest art thou*] Vocalize תִּפְיִיתִי: cf. Jer. 46:20: by the reduplication is expressed that the king possesses the quality of beauty in a superlative degree.

adorns is the English equivalent of the figurative use of *hūšaq bē*.

Signally] 'Al ken cannot mean here "therefore," which makes no sense,

⁷⁶ *Shīrim* is plural of *shīra*, not of *shīr*, the Hebrew dictionaries to the contrary: cf. *milla*, pl. *millim*; *shōshanna* (from *shūshan*), pl. *shōshannim*; *dēbōra* (from *dabōr*, cf. I Sam. 14:26G), pl. *dēbōrim*. A plural *shīrōth* does in reality not exist, since *shīrōth*, Amos 8:3, is, as the context shows, an error for *shārōth*, "singers."

but like 'al *kaka*, Est. 9:26, means "in this manner," which in sense is equivalent to "signally": in both phrases 'al is a pleonasm, as again in 'al *sheqer*, "falsely," Lev. 5:22; 'al *nəqalla*, "lightly," Jer. 6:14; 8:11.

4-5. *March forth*] The text of vs. 4b and of the beginning of vs. 5 is plainly not in order: in the first place, the repetition of *wahădarêka* has no point, but a more serious defect is that *hōdêka*, *wahădarêka* *wahădarêka* is disjointed text, having neither a subject nor a predicate, and that the customary translation, "Gird thy sword *with* thy glory and thy majesty, And in thy majesty ride," is a mere makeshift, as is also that of Baethgen, "O über deine Pracht und Majestät! Und deine Majestät!" The solution of the difficulty is found in *kal ēvreuvov*, which the Greek reads in place of the second *wahădarêka*, and which shows that the text read originally הִדְרִיקוּהֶם.

Hadrek does, however, not mean "brace the bow," as the Greek took it (only the Qal has this meaning), but "march" or "march forth": cf. Num. 24:17, "There shall march forth (*darak*) a star out of Jacob"; Job 28:8 *lō' hidrikūhū*, "They have not walked in it"; Isa. 11:15, *hidrik*, "One will cross it." *Hadrek* stood originally in vs. 4 before *hōdêka*: in the course of the psalm's transmission it was omitted from vs. 4 and put in the lateral margin to the right of the line, whence in the next copy it was mechanically joined to vs. 5; at a still later time the word received its present erroneous vocalization.

Ride on amain] This renders the idiom *šēlah rēkab* accurately: the two imperatives are not co-ordinate terms, but *šēlah* qualifies *rēkab*, forming with it a grammatical unit.

In defense of the good cause] Cf. Gen. 24:48, *derek 'emeth*, "the right way"; Prov. 11:18, *sēkar 'emeth*, "sure reward."

and the pursuit of victory] 'Anwa *šedeq* has been another *crux interpretum*: the attempted translations are all alike untenable from the point of view of grammar as well as of sense; it will suffice to quote "Because of truth and meekness and righteousness" (R.V.) and "Für die Sache der Treue und Unterwürfigkeit, der Gerechtigkeit" (Baethgen). The difficulty the interpreters have found with the phrase 'anwa *šedeq* is due to the fact that, regardless of the vocalization 'anwa, they have taken the word as identical with 'ānawa, while in reality it is derived from 'anā, meaning "be occupied with," "be engaged in," "busy one's self with," "pursue": it occurs again in Ps. 18:36, 'anwathēka, "let it be thy task"; and in Eccles. 1:13 both the infinitive 'ānōth and the abstract 'inyān are found: *hū' inyān ra' nathan 'ēlōhīm libēnē 'ādām la' ānōth bō*. "It is a vexatious task which God has assigned to man to be engaged in." As to the absolute state 'anwa, note that it has verbal rection, governing *šedeq* in the objective case: other such constructions are Isa. 11:9 *dē'a 'eth 'ādōnai*, "The land will be full of knowledge of God"; Jer. 22:16, *hālō' hī' hada'ath 'ōthī*, "Does not this mean to know me?" II Chron. 2:10 *bē'ahābath 'ādōnai 'eth 'ammō*, "God out of love for his people."

Victory is a common meaning of *šedeq*: cf. Ps. 48:11; Isa. 41:2, "Who has aroused from the East him in whose footsteps victory (*šedeq*) follows?" Isa. 42:6, "I, the Lord, have called thee (*bēšedeq*) for a victorious purpose."

6. *May thy sharp arrows pierce the hearts of the king's enemies, may nations fall*] Vs. 6 as reading at present is clearly in disorder: *bēleb 'ōyēbō melek* is disjointed text, admitting of no proper construction. As soon as these words

are transposed after *ḥiṣṣēka shēnūnīm*, we get a perfect text: *ḥiṣṣēka shēnūnīm bēleb 'ō. m.* is a nominal clause, expressing a wish; *ḥiṣṣēka* is the subject and *bēleb* the predicate.

vanquished before thee] This is not a free translation but renders *taḥteka* accurately: prepositions in Hebrew (or in any other Semitic language) are primarily substantives, forming adverbial accusatives, and there are many instances of this primary function of them. Of other such examples, cf. Ps. 18:39 f.; Job 9:13, *taḥtaw shaḥdāhū 'ōzērē rahab*, "Subdued by him, the helpers of Rahab crouched"; 26:8, *lo' nibqa' anān taḥtām*, "The clouds burst not under their weight."

7. *May thy throne be a throne divine*] *Kis'āka 'ēlōhīm* is a case of brachylogy, as already recognized by Ibn Ezra and as taken also by Hitzig and Baethgen, though they mistook the nominal clause for an indicative statement: properly construed, the sentence should read *kis'āka kisē 'ēlōhīm*. Other examples of such sentence structure are II Kings 23:17, *haqqeber 'ish ha'ēlōhīm*, "Yon sepulcher is the grave of the man of God"; Ezra 10:13, *ha'eth gēshamīm*, "It is the time of the rainy season." As to the function of *'ēlōhīm* as an attributive, cf. the remarks on *rekeb 'ēlōhīm*, Ps. 68B:18, and on *peleg 'ēlōhīm*, 65B:10.

forever] The phrase *'ōlām wa'ed*—it cannot be strongly enough emphasized—does not connote eternity but denotes "time unlimited," as *yēhī hammelek lē'ōlām*, I Kings 1:31, simply means "Long live the king!" or *wēhayā lēku 'ebed 'ōlām*, "He be thy slave forever," Deut. 15:17.

8. *the Lord*] Read, with many interpreters, יְהוָה instead of *'ēlōhīm*.

9. *decorated with ivory* renders the qualificative genitive *shen* more accurately than the customary translation "ivory palaces," which is likely to obscure the meaning.

music of strings] Read מִנִּים: the word was written abbreviated, and the abbreviation was not recognized by the Massoretes, hence the present meaningless reading *minni*: cf. Ps. 150:4, *bēminīm*, "with strings."

Out of palaces . . . comes music . . . to delight thee] From the word order I conclude that *min hēkēlē . . . minīm* is a nominal clause, the predicate of which is *min hēkēlē*, and that *simmēhūka* is either another predicate or a circumstantial clause.

the richest of the people] This is the only meaning *'āshirē 'am* can have: cf. Isa. 29:19, *'ebyōnē 'ādām*, "the poorest among men"; Prov. 30:24, *qēṭannē 'areṣ*, "the smallest on earth." "The richest nations," as Baethgen and others render, would have to be expressed by *'āshirē 'ammīm* or *ba'ammīm*.

14. *all glorious*] The adverbial use of *kol* occurs repeatedly: cf. Hos. 14:3, *kol tissā' awōn*, "Forgive our guilt completely"; Job 20:26, *kol ḥoshek*, "utter darkness."

in the palace] *Pēnīma* is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun *bayith* being omitted: cf. I Kings 6:18, II Kings 7:11, where the full phrase is found.

inwrought with gold] The preposition *min* functions as partitive *min*: cf. Amos 4:5, *meḥameṣ*, "leavened bread."

15. *in rich colored clothes*] The preposition *lē* does not seem to be an original reading; some word may have dropped out before *rēqamōth*.

to her] Instead of *lak*, read, with two MSS, לָהּ.

16. *Amid exultant joy]* *Bismaḥōth wagīl* is a case of hendiadys.

17. *May thy sons enjoy the rank thy fathers held]* The poet does not wish that the sons which the queen will bear him may replace father and grandsire to Ahab but that they may advance to the position these occupied. As to the use of *taḥath* with this meaning, cf. Gen. 30:2; 50:19, *hāthahath*, 'ēlōhim 'ānī, "Am I in the place of God?"

as princes in all the land] That is, advance them to the position of high officials.

PSALM 20

*

- 2 May the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble,
May the name of the God of Jacob defend thee:
- 3 May he send help unto thee from the sanctuary,
Come to thy aid out of Zion.
- 4 May he remember all thy offerings,
And accept graciously thy holocausts.
- 5a, 6c May the Lord grant what thy heart desires,
May he fulfil all thy prayers,†
- 6a-b That we may shout for joy over thy victory
And in the name of our God unfurl the banner.
- 7 Even now I know that the Lord will give victory to his
anointed,
That from his holy heaven he will answer him
With the saving strength of his right hand.
- 8 Others put their trust in horses and chariots,
But we shall triumph by the name of the Lord our God.
- 9 They will end in ruin and downfall,
But we shall rise, restored to power.
- 10 O Lord, give victory to the king,
Answer our prayer when we call unto thee.

Although, of the two psalms, Psalm 21 is the earlier and Psalm 20 the later, I deem it advisable to treat Psalm 20 first. It is an antiphonal psalm, in which God is entreated to grant victory to the king who is about to go to battle against the country's enemies. This public prayer affords us an insight into the ceremonial which was observed in pre-Exilic Israel before

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David.

† 5b *May he fulfil all thy plan.*

going to war. Just as, in the account given in the books of Samuel, Saul and Samuel, before engaging in war with the Philistines, offered sacrifices to God and implored his aid,⁷⁷ so the unknown king, who is the central figure of Psalm 20, has just brought the customary offerings in the presence of the army and priesthood, who on their part now pray in unison that God may accept the offerings favorably and lead the king to victory. Following their prayer, a solo voice, doubtless that of a seer, is heard, declaring that the victory has been vouchsafed, that the Lord was sure to display his invincible might and deal defeat to the enemy so that the nation may be restored to power. The ceremony ends with another cry to God, presumably from the entire assembly.

The psalm portrays faithfully the spiritual outlook of those days—the people's firm belief in the efficacy of material sacrifices and their blind trust in Yahweh as their champion and protector. The lines,

Others put their trust in horses and chariots,
But we shall triumph by the name of the Lord our God,

cannot be taken as a proof that they were imbued with the prophetic spirit, for had they been, they would not have been so blind as to believe that God might be propitiated by offering him sacrifices. The worship of God of which they could conceive was radically different from that on which the great prophets insisted—worship of God by faith and righteous conduct. It was incited by utilitarian motives. In return for their offerings, the king and his army expected God to grant them victory over the nation's enemies. Nor was their faith in God genuine. To be convinced of this, one has but to turn to the portrayal of true faith as given in Psalm 27, where the words, "They shall end in ruin and downfall," which recur in it, are followed by the declaration:

Though a host is arrayed against me,
My heart will not fear;
Though war is waged on me,
Still shall I trust;

⁷⁷ I Sam. 13:8-12; 7:8 ff.

and where faith in God is the keynote, sounded right at the opening of the psalm and reiterated again and again, until the climax is reached in the words:

Even should my father and mother forsake me,
The Lord will take me up.

Compared with sublime faith such as this, the trust in God professed in Psalm 20 sounds hollow and empty. It is of the same character as the confession of Ramses II in the epic which narrates how through his personal courage and the opportune arrival of reinforcements he turned a threatening disaster into victory:

I realize that Ammon is better for me than millions of foot soldiers and hundred thousands of charioteers. The accomplishments of men, however numerous, are naught; Ammon is more valuable than they.⁷⁸

DATE

The prominence the king occupies in the psalm, many interpreters rightly hold, presupposes the existence of the Kingdom, and thus shows that it dates from pre-Exilic times. It does not, however, permit any more definite inference (Kittel to the contrary), for neither do the words, "May he . . . come to thy aid out of Zion," or the words, "From his holy heaven he will answer him," contain any intimation by which the date may be further limited, nor are the two notions inconsistent, as Staerk thinks. It is, however, not by any Deuteronomic regulation that light is thrown on the question as to how the line, "From his holy heaven he will answer him," can be reconciled with the line "May he come . . . to thy aid out of Zion," but by various parallels which antedate the Deuteronomic reformation. Of these, I shall mention first Psalm 76, where in the opening lines the psalmist, convinced by what has just happened, declares emphatically that Salem is God's abode, Zion his dwelling-place, and where a few lines later, addressing God, he says, "From the heavens didst thou pronounce judgment." Similarly the story of Jacob's dream, though it affirms that Bethel is God's abode, describes God as standing on top of the

⁷⁸ Quoted by Ermann, *Die Literatur der Aegypter* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 330.

ladder reaching into heaven and speaking to Jacob from there. This conception of things was in no wise peculiar to Israel; also in ancient Babylonia and Egypt the belief that the gods abide in the temples of the land is considered compatible with the belief that they have their abode in heaven.

The line,

May the name of the God of Jacob defend thee,

is elucidated by the theophany described in Isa. 30:27 ff., where *shem yhwah*, the context makes clear, signifies "the *numen* Yahweh" or "Yahweh in person," while for the accurate interpretation of the lines,

May he send thee help from the sanctuary,
Come to thy aid out of Zion,

cognizance is to be taken of Amos 1:1 and Joel 4:16,

Yahweh will rage from Zion and thunder from Jerusalem.

These words belong to the stock of sayings current in those days and mean, in Amos and Joel alike, that Yahweh will manifest himself from his sacred stronghold Zion, though the two differ radically as to the object of Yahweh's manifestation. For Amos the object is the destruction of Israel, while for Joel, who uses the words with their original and usual implication, the object of his manifestation is the protection and vindication of Israel. The origin of the words is probably to be traced to the formidable display of Yahweh's power on the occasion of David's victories over the Philistines at Baal Perazim and in the Valley of Bekaim and his subsequent conquest of the Jebusite stronghold, Zion-Jerusalem. As then when first coined, so through the centuries the words implied for the masses of Israel that, whenever Yahweh would manifest his power from his sacred stronghold Zion, it would be to renew his glorious deeds of the days of David of old, to deal defeat to the nation's foes, and to lead Israel to victory.⁷⁹ In the light of Amos 1:1 the meaning of verse 3 is obvious: its customary interpretation to the con-

⁷⁹ See the fuller discussion in my *The Prophets of Israel* (New York, 1914), pp. 227 ff., and the article, "The Prophets and Nationalism," *Year Book of Central Conf. of Am. Rabbis*, XXXVII (1927), 282 ff.

trary, the priests and people pray that God may come to the aid of the king in person. This interpretation is borne out also by the fact that the preceding line,

May the name of the God of Jacob defend thee,

means, as "Behold, Yahweh coming from afar in person" of Isa. 30:27 shows, "May the God of Jacob defend thee in person." The parallel in Amos shows further that from the line,

Come to thy aid out of Zion,

it does not necessarily follow that the psalm must be a Judaeen product, for did not Amos, preaching at Bethel before a North Israelitish audience, begin his message with the declaration, "The Lord will rage from Zion and thunder from Jerusalem," for the purpose of disillusioning his hearers as to the hopes and memories associated in their minds with these words? And does not this show that they were familiar words even to the citizens of the Northern Kingdom?

4. *Accept graciously*] The Pi'el *yēdashshēn* has the force of a declarative verb; it means "to find" a thing "fat" or "rich," "to regard" it "favorably" or "graciously," or "to accept it graciously."

5, 6c. *May he fulfil all thy prayers*] This is a variant of *May he fulfil all thy plan* (vs. 5b), and, being the superior reading of the two, I take it to be the author's correction of vs. 5b, made originally in the margin, whence in the next copy it was mechanically joined to the end of vs. 6.

6a-b. *unfurl the banner*] *Dagal* is a denominative verb from *degel*, "standard" or "banner."

7. *will give victory*] *Hōshī'a* is a prophetic perfect.

8. *we shall triumph*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., נִצְבִּיר instead of *nazkīr*.

9. Also the verbs of this verse are prophetic perfects.

restored to power] This, I judge from the context, must be the meaning of *wannith'ōdad*—a meaning which doubtless the Greek sought to express by ἀναρρωθήμεν.

10. *O Lord, give victory to the king, answer our prayer*] With Gr., read וַיַּעֲנֵנִי and construe *hammelek* with *hoshī'a*, contrary to the accents.

PSALM 21

*

- 2 Oh, that the king may delight in thy might, O Lord,
 Oh, that he may rejoice greatly in thy victory.

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David.

- 3 Grant him his heart's desire;
Deny not the prayer of his lips.
- 4 Yea, meet him with bounteous blessings:
Place the crown of fine gold on his head.
- 5 He asks life of thee; grant it unto him,
Length of days forever.
- 6 May his glory become great through thy victory:
Bestow honor and majesty on him.
- 7 Yea, make him most blessed forever:
Gladden him with the joy of thy presence;
- 8 For if the king trusts in God,
Then by virtue of the love of the Most High he cannot
be shaken.
- 9 May thy hand conquer all thy enemies,
May thy right hand ferret out thy foes.
- 13 Yea, make them turn their backs in flight;
Aim at their faces with the arrow on thy bowstring.
- 10a Thrust thou them, as it were, into a fiery furnace
When thou dost manifest thyself, O Lord;
- 11 Destroy their fruit from the earth,
Their offspring from among men,†
- 12 For they are evilly disposed toward thee,
They cherish crafty designs:
Let them not prevail.
- 14 Arise, O Lord, in thy might,
That we may sing and praise thy power.

A PRAYER FOR VICTORY

Except for Olshausen, Hupfeld-Nowack, and Gunkel, who have made an approach toward the right interpretation, Psalm 21 has been commonly misinterpreted. Owing to the fact that the precativ perfects of verses 3 and 5b have not been recognized, even by Olshausen, Hupfeld-Nowack, and Gunkel, the psalm has been mistaken for a hymn of thanksgiving for a victory won, while in reality it is a prayer for victory over the

† 10b. *May he destroy them in his wrath, and may fire devour them.*

country's enemies. Owing to this misinterpretation, not only have the imperfections of verses 4 and 6-7 been taken contrary to rule as relating past happenings but also downright contradiction has been carried into the psalm, aside from the forced interpretation generally given of the second part. What would be the *raison d'être* for the fervid entreaty that God arise in his might, with which the psalm concludes, if a great victory had just been won? Or how could verse 5 possibly be a statement of fact? For while it is natural for a biblical or Semitic writer to say, "May the king live forever," or "Grant the king length of life forever," using as he does "forever" as equivalent to "for days uncounted," he neither can nor would he ever say, "Thou gavest him length of days forever"—no more than we would say it. As soon as the verbs of verses 3 and 5^b are taken for what they are—precative perfects—the psalm is consistent throughout.

OCCASION

The psalm was occasioned by the coronation of a new king, which took place at a time when the nation had suffered a great defeat at the hands of their enemies. How grave the situation was may be seen from the fact that the distress of the country is uppermost in the mind of the writer of the psalm, so that as a natural consequence of this the coronation of the king is pushed into the background and receives, as it were, only casual mention: for note that the psalm begins with an appeal to God to display his might and procure victory for the land and, in so doing, to grant to the king his heart's desire. The victory for which he prays the psalmist regards as Yahweh's concern, calling it (both here and again in vs. 6) his victory, in much the same way as Elisha calls the victory over Syria which, dying, he predicts to Joash, a victory for Yahweh.⁸⁰ It is not until he has thus impressed on the young king the supreme task that awaits him that the poet turns to what under different conditions would have been the leading motive of the poem and prays that God bestow upon the king bounteous personal blessings—long life, honor, and glory. He introduces this part of the prayer by

⁸⁰ II Kings 13:14-19.

mentioning especially an essential feature of the coronation ceremonial; he asks that God crown the king:

Place the crown of fine gold on his head.

The significance of this petition becomes clear from the elaborate parallel, Ps. 89B:20 f.:

At the time thou wert speaking to thy faithful servant in a vision, saying,
I place the crown upon a hero,
I exalt one who stands out among the people;
... With my holy oil I anoint him.

Note also that the customary title of the king in ancient Israel is *mashīaḥ 'ādōnai*, "the anointed of God."

Then the poet turns to what by force of circumstance has become the live issue of the day and devotes himself exclusively to it throughout the rest of the poem. Expressing the wish that was in the minds of all present, he urges the king not to relent until he has crushed the nation's foes and driven them from the country. The gravity of the situation is made still clearer by the poet's turning then abruptly from the king to God and praying that God may manifest himself and destroy the enemy, root and branch, as also by his concluding the poem in virtually the same way as he opened it, urging God to arise in his might, with the difference, however—a highly effective difference—that instead of, "Oh, that the king may delight in thy might," he says now, "That we [that is, the country] may sing and praise thy power."

AUTHORSHIP

From this analysis it will be seen that Psalm 21 is not a companion piece to Psalm 20 in the sense in which it is commonly thought to be. Yet the general atmosphere of the psalm as well as its religious spirit, and above all the striking similarity which the leading idea bears to that of Psalm 20, as also a certain resemblance of language between the two, point all to the conclusion that the two psalms complement each other—in a manner, however, radically different from the prevailing view on this point. Psalm 21 is the earlier product and Psalm 20 the later companion piece to it. In Psalm 21 the poet, as spokesman

of the nation, charges the king on the occasion of his coronation with the chief task he is expected to accomplish—the task of freeing the country from enemy rule. Psalm 20 was written—probably by the same poet—some time later when at last the king went to war against the enemy.

DATE

Twice in the history of the Northern Kingdom did the country present a situation such as is reflected in Psalm 21—at the time of Ahab's accession to the throne and again later when Joash and, following him, Jereboam II ascended the throne. Both times the nation found itself on the verge of ruin, with the army almost completely wiped out—the first time because of the overwhelming defeat Omri had suffered at the hand of Syria and the second time because of the crushing defeat Syria had dealt Jehoahaz.⁸¹ Which of these occasions provided the background for Psalm 21 and its companion piece it is impossible to know.

TEXT DISORDER

Psalm 21 has suffered text disorder in the course of transmission. Verse 13, it may be seen at a glance, cannot be in its original place. The verse, where found at present, after the motivation for the psalmist's urging God to destroy the enemy, has no force, but, when put before verse 10, it fits excellently. An indication that the verse stood originally before verse 10 may still be seen in the *pasek* after *l'šhithemō*: at the time the verse was omitted and put in the margin, a *pasek* was put after *l'šhithemō* to indicate the text word before which the omitted verse was to be inserted. No attention was, however, paid to this signpost, and in the next copy the verse was, as usual, taken into the text at random. Verse 10b, as a number of interpreters have recognized, was originally a marginal gloss on verse 11: the sudden change from the second to the third person shows this. *Ādōnai* is not an original part of the gloss, but originally ended verse 10a, as the Sahidic, in fact, takes it.

2. *the king*] Read, with Gr. and Syr. and in accordance with vs. 8 and 20: 10, *לְהִתְפַּלֵּל*.

Oh, that he may rejoice greatly] Omit *mā*, with Gr. and Syr.

5. *He asks life*] That is, at the very moment through the mouth of the supplicant psalmist: the perfect denotes action concurrent with the announcement; *nathata* is precative perfect.

6. *May his glory become great*] The nominal clause expresses a wish.

⁸¹ See pp. 87 f. and II Kings 13:3, 7.

7. *with the joy of thy presence*] That is, the joy that flows from thy presence or from living in thy presence: cf. Pss. 16:11 and 140:14. From the second example it seems to follow that *'eth panēka* is a case of ellipsis, the governing verbal noun *shebeth* or *leketh* being omitted.

8. *if the king trusts*] Vs. 8 is a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is formed by a participial clause.

9. *May thy hand conquer*] *Mašē'ā yad lē* with the meaning "conquer" occurs again in Isa. 10:10, "As my hand conquered the kingdoms of the idols."

13. *Aim . . . with the arrow*] *Thēkōnen* is a case of ellipsis, the object *heš* being omitted: cf. Ps. 11:2, where the full phrase is found, and Isa. 51:13, where the ellipsis occurs again: *kōnen lēhashhēth*, "When he aims with the arrow to destroy"; *bēmētharēka* is a qualificative of the implied *heš*.

10. *When thou dost manifest thyself*] *Panēka* is another case of ellipsis, the governing verbal noun *sē'ēth* being omitted, as may be inferred from *sē'ēthō* (with the pronominal suffix in place of *panīm*) of Job 13:11 and 31:23, said of God's appearance or manifestation. As I have pointed out (*The Book of Job* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1922], p. 195), this meaning of *sē'ēth* is substantiated by the fact that in Job 41:17 *sē'ēth* is used of the crocodile's appearance or emergence from the water: cf. also *ibid.*, p. 265, where I have remarked that the use of *sē'ēth* to denote apparition may ultimately be traced to the primitive notion that the thunderstorm is the foremost manifestation of Yahweh.

12. *they are evilly disposed*] The various translations offered for *naū ra'a* are guesswork. It is generally thought that the meaning is uncertain, but that is far from being the case: *hashēbū mēzīmā* of the parallel member points to the conclusion that *naū* is a case of ellipsis, the accusative *libbām* being omitted; the full phrase occurs in Ps. 119:112 (*q.v.*), and *ra'a* is not an object but an adverbial accusative.

PSALMS INSPIRED BY THE DELIVERANCE OF
JERUSALEM FROM SENNACHERIB (701 B.C.)

PSALM 48

*

- 2 Great is the Lord and highly to be praised
In the city of our God, his sacred hill.
- 3 Beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth,
Is the hill of Zion in the far North,
The citadel of the great King.
- 4 God in her palaces
Has shown himself a tower of strength;
5 For behold, the kings that were assembled
8 Are vanished as if scattered by the east wind
That breaks in pieces ships bound for Tartessus.
- 6 They looked and were bewildered,
Dismayed they took to flight;
7 Trembling seized them,
Throes† as of a woman in travail.
- 9 The wonderful things we have heard of,
Yea, we have seen them come to pass in the city of the
Lord of hosts,
In the city of our God:
God will preserve his city forever.
- 10 Now in thy Temple, O God, we consider thy love.
- 11 May thy name, yea, thy glory be told unto the ends of
the earth:
Bounteous with victory is thy right hand.
- 12 Mount Zion rejoices, the towns of Judah exult,
Because thou hast dealt justice.
- 13 Walk through Zion, walk all around her,
Count her towers,
- 14-15 Inspect her bulwarks, survey her palaces,
To tell later ages how glorious a God our God is!
He will shepherd us forever.

* 1. A song. A Psalm of the Korahites.

† Heb. *Yea, throes*.

Psalm 48 is a song of praise for the deliverance of Jerusalem from a mighty foe. In commemorating this event, the singer addresses himself not to posterity but to his contemporaries, to his fellow-citizens, who with him have witnessed the great things that have just happened, and who are now assembled in the Temple to consider God's love. To them he seeks to make plain the meaning and promise of their deliverance. Accordingly, he makes no attempt to give a circumstantial account of the peril that threatened the country but limits himself instead to the description of their escape, which is so graphic that it is not difficult to identify the event of which he sings. The lines,

For behold, the kings that were assembled
Are vanished as if scattered by the east wind
That breaks in pieces ships bound for Tartessus.
They looked and were bewildered,
Dismayed they took to flight,

fit no other occurrence in the entire history of Israel than the rescue of Judah in the year 701 B.C., when, after the whole country had been overrun by the invading armies of Sennacherib, and the enemy had stood at the very gates of Jerusalem, the people, on awaking one morning, found the besieging force withdrawn from the city and the Assyrian armies gone. This happening is portrayed so vividly that as early as the fourth century A.D. Theodore of Mopsuetsia recognized it as the event that inspired the psalm. And his view still has the indorsement of many interpreters.

Gunkel has rightly refuted the view of Duhm, Staerk, and Kittel, first advanced by Giesebrecht,⁸² that Psalm 48 is a post-Exilic hymn telling of the glory of Jerusalem and the wonderful things that happened in her in the past—all for the edification of the pilgrims from foreign lands⁸³—though he advances an equally fanciful view himself. He maintains that the psalm does not describe an actual occurrence in history but the attack which the nations and rulers of the world will make upon Jeru-

⁸² See above, p. 6.

⁸³ This is practically also the view held by Cheyne, *The Origin and the Religious Contents of the Psalter* ([Bampton Lectures for 1889] New York, 1895), p. 164 f.

saalem at the end of time. His view is, however, grammatically untenable, for the consistent use of the perfect throughout the entire description of the occurrence in verses 4-9⁸⁴ shows that the psalm speaks of what has happened, not of what will happen: there is no exception to this rule. When Gunkel argues that "unlike Isa. 10:8 the psalm does not mention the leading person, the king of Assyria, but speaks of allied kings (vs. 5) and not of vassal kings," he has, in the first place, overlooked the all-important fact that the psalms, being lyrical and not epic poems, describe events only inferentially and incompletely, often failing even to state essential facts, and that, with one exception—Psalm 83—they never mention by name or other specific appellation the central figures of the struggle or event to which they allude. Further, Gunkel proceeds from a fictitious and not a real difference between Ps. 48:5 and Isa. 10:8, for neither does the one speak of "allied kings" nor the other of "vassal kings," but both alike speak merely of kings, without any qualificative whatever. This being the case, Isa. 10:8 confirms, rather than calls in question, the prevalent interpretation of Psalm 48, since in this verse of his prophecy (10:5-19), which likewise dates from the year 701 B.C., Isaiah describes Sennacherib as boasting, "Are not my generals all kings?" As another weighty parallel to the words, "For behold, the kings that were assembled," note that the record of I Kings, chapter 20, about Ben Hadad's attack upon Samaria also speaks of the vassals in his service simply as "kings" or as "kings that were with him" and "supported him" (vss. 1, 12, 16). As still more conclusive, I shall mention that, throughout the Assyrian records telling of the three battles which he fought against (the same) Ben Hadad at Karkar, Shalmaneser II does not once refer to the kings in Ben Hadad's service as his vassals but only as "the kings fighting at his side,"⁸⁵ and in one instance he merely says, "Twelve kings rose up against me," including Ben

⁸⁴ The relative clause *teshabber 'oniyōth tarshish* tells of the usual doings of the east wind and not of any detail in the succession of the events related.

⁸⁵ Monolith, Col. II, 89-93; Obelisk, 59-64, 88 f.; Steerinscription, 71 ff., 92 f., 100 f. (KB, I [1889], 172 f., 134 f., 138 f.).

Hadad, without mentioning him by name,⁸⁶ exactly as Psalm 48 speaks of Sennacherib and the kings enlisted in his service as "The kings that were assembled." Finally, when Gunkel, repeating the argument advanced by Mowinkel some years earlier,⁸⁷ maintains that "neither was Jerusalem really attacked, nor was Sennacherib's campaign repulsed at her gates, nor even did such a collapse of a mighty army led by many kings ever happen at this place in known history," one does not know how to take this statement; for, first of all, the siege of Jerusalem by a detachment of Sennacherib's army is an established fact, being expressly mentioned not only in Sennacherib's own record⁸⁸ but also in Isa. 22:7—another contemporary source⁸⁹—and in II Chron. 32:2–5, 9, and II Kings 18:17. Second, although the besieging army was not repulsed, nor the main army stationed at Lakish annihilated by pestilence, as the later legend makes out, the facts of the case are that both the army besieging Jerusalem and the main army at Lakish suddenly disappeared from the scene simultaneously. This is exactly as Psalm 48 describes the happening in verses 5–9.

When one bears in mind that their writer was ignorant of the real cause of the hurried departure of the Assyrian armies, that he did not know that it was the trouble which was brewing near home that compelled Sennacherib to give up the siege of Jerusalem,⁹⁰ his description will be seen to possess realism. It conveys a vivid picture of how the people were overwhelmed with wonder at what had happened, how they were unable to comprehend it. This vividness and freshness of description, together with the unbounded joy that rings from every line because of the deliverance of Jerusalem, show that the psalm was written under the immediate impression of the wonderful happening.

⁸⁶ Obelisk 91 f. (*ibid.*, p. 140).

⁸⁷ *Psalmstudien*, Vol. II: "Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie" (1922), p. 12.

⁸⁸ See Prisma Inscription, Col. III, 20 (*KB*, II [1890], 94 f.).

⁸⁹ See below, pp. 116 f.

⁹⁰ While Sennacherib was fighting Egypt and her allies in Palestine, Merodach Baladan, supported by Elam, started a rebellion in Babylon (see Zimmern-Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

But the singer, as I said before, is primarily interested in the meaning and promise of what has happened. It is this that he endeavors to make the people of Judah who have assembled in the Temple for meditation and thanksgiving realize. Accordingly, he opens the song with the declaration that Zion is "the city of our God . . . the citadel of the great King," and concludes the following strophe, in which he describes the happening, by reiterating the declaration more emphatically than ever and affirming in addition,

God will preserve his city forever.

In this line he sounds the keynote—the conviction, that is—that by his wonderful defense God has shown once for all that Zion-Jerusalem is his inviolate abode, which he will protect for all time to come against the mightiest of the earth, even as he has now delivered her from Assyria. This leading idea is repeated, effectively varied, also in the last strophe, where, after emphasizing how Jerusalem escaped from the siege unscathed, the singer closes,

He will shepherd us forever.

The exultant tone of the last strophe is another clear proof that the poet tells of what the country has just experienced. So carried away is he over the wonderful escape of Jerusalem that he bids his listeners, "Walk through Zion, walk all around her," that they may see with their own eyes how her palaces within even as her towers and bulwarks without have all remained untouched.

This glorious manifestation of the God of Zion the singer considers of universal significance. Hence he prays that the knowledge and fame of God may be spread to the ends of the earth and bids his audience, "Tell later ages how glorious a God our God is." This universalistic tendency appears, curiously blended though with a primitive conception of things, also in the opening strophe:

Beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth,
Is the hill of Zion in the far North,
The citadel of the great King.

"The hill of Zion in the far North" finds its explanation in the mythological notion, widespread in ancient times, of the mountain of the gods, which in Isa. 14:13 f. is described as located high above the stars in the far North near the celestial pole:

I will scale the heavens,
Above the stars of God will I set up my throne:
I will sit also upon the Mount of Assembly [that is, of the gods]
In the farthest North;
I will ascend above the heights of the clouds,
I will equal the Most High.

Similarly, in Assyrian-Babylonian mythology the throne of Anu is conceived of as located in the northern sky near the celestial pole,⁹¹ as is also the *thronum Caesaris*, mentioned by Pliny.⁹² Likewise in the vision of Ezekiel, the throne carrying Yahweh comes from the North (1:4); from all of which it is clear that, by alleging that the hill of Zion is in the far north, the psalmist means to emphasize that Zion is the true mountain of God, having been elevated to this rank by what, as he goes on to develop, has just happened at her gates.

But how did the singer come to ascribe so much significance to the deliverance of Jerusalem from the design of Sennacherib? How did he come to deduce from it that Jerusalem was the inviolate abode of Yahweh now and forever more? To Kirkpatrick⁹³ and many others, who hold that the account, in II Kings, chapter 19, of the role played by Isaiah in the crisis of the year 701 B.C. is genuine, the answer is very simple. For them it was Isaiah who predicted that Sennacherib's wanton attack on Jerusalem was bound to be frustrated, that Jerusalem would be preserved inviolate; and all that the writer of Psalm 48 did (they think) was to make plain how manifestly Isaiah's prediction had been verified. But Isaiah's prophecies of that critical year show that Isaiah never made such a prediction as is attributed to him in II Kings, chapter 19. As a matter of fact he held, as we shall see later, views directly opposite to those expressed by the writer of Psalm 48—a fact which

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 352 ff.

⁹² *Naturalis historia* ii. 178.

⁹³ "The Book of Psalms" (Cambridge Bible, 1894), p. 253 f.

makes the question just raised more legitimate than ever. Properly defined, the problem presented is this: Did the deliverance of Jerusalem per se inspire the psalmist's faith in Zion as the inviolate abode of Yahweh, or did it engender such a belief because of the downfall of Samaria that went before? Inasmuch as Psalm 78 throws full light on this question, I deem it advisable to defer the further discussion until I take up this psalm.

3. *in the far North*] *Yarkēthē šaphōn* is an accusative of place, as again in Ezek. 38:6.

5, 8, 6-7 *Are vanished as if scattered by the east wind that breaks in pieces*] It is obvious that vs. 8 cannot be in its original place, being disjoined where found at present; it must have stood originally after vs. 5, where it fits excellently. Instead of *bērūah*, 'כַּר is to be read, with some MSS (Dyserinck and others). This reading is further borne out by the fact that *tēšhabber* is not second sing. masc., but third sing. fem., as codd. A and Sah. of the Greek take it, in fact; it is a relative clause, the antecedent of which is *rūah*. 'Abērū is to be construed also with *kērūah qadīm*, being a case of zeugma: cf. the similar example, Jer. 18:17, *kērūah qadīm 'āphīšem*, "I will scatter them as if by the east wind"; also 13:24, *kēqash 'ōber lērūah midbar*, "as straw disperses before the desert wind." By *bound for Tartessus* color is added to the comparison, for the ships sailing from Palestine to distant Tartessus on the southwest coast of Spain were known as the finest. Thus Isaiah in the prophecy known as "The Day of Yahweh" mentions the ships sailing to Tartessus among the objects of earthly glory destined to sink in the dust on the day of doom (Isa. 2:16).

As in Ps. 65B:10; 63:3; 127:2, *kēn* of vs. 6 is a verbal adjective of *kūn*, used emphatically: *were bewildered* takes care of it as far as possible; in reality *kēn* cannot be rendered adequately, nor is it possible to bring out the force and beauty of the asyndeton construction *hēma rā'ū kēn tamāhū*.

Yea, throes] *Sham* is not an adverb, as it is customarily taken to be, but is a particle and, the accents to the contrary, is to be construed with *hīl*, as the Greek, in fact, does, though the translators have failed to recognize its function: it is used to introduce another more intensified statement, as Arabic *ṭumma* is often used.⁹⁴ Other examples in which *sham* is so used are II Sam. 18:7 (the second of the two *sham*),⁹⁵ 8; Jer. 47:7.

11. *May thy name, yea, thy glory be told unto the ends of the earth*] The text of vs. 11a is perfect: note, first of all, that it is a nominal clause, expressing a wish, and, second, that *k . . . kēn*, used with two substantives is even as peculiarly a Hebrew idiom as is the use of *k . . . k* with two substantives, and

⁹⁴ See Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, *ṭumma* (s.v.); H. Reckendorf, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leiden, 1898), p. 472.

⁹⁵ From the Greek of vs. 7 it does not follow that the translators did not read the second *sham*, as is generally deduced, but only that they left it untranslated, as they did also *sham* of vs. 11.

occurs with unusual frequency—both “signify the completeness of the correspondence between two objects” or the identity of the two: cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Heb. Lex.*, *kēn* (s.v.).

victory] Cf. the remarks on Ps. 45:5.

12. *the towns of Judah*] Cf. Num. 21:25, Judg. 1:27.

14-15 *survey*] Read קרע, instead of *pasgu* (Graetz and others).

15. *how glorious a God*] “How glorious” renders *zē* accurately, which is used here to express high esteem: cf. Ps. 24:6, *zē dōr*, while Ps. 12:8 *min haddor zū*, “from a world such as this,” is an example of the opposite use of *zē* or *zū*: similarly Arabic *hādā* and *ḡālika* are used to express either high or low estimation.⁹⁶

He will shepherd us forever] Transpose, with the Greek text of *Septuaginta*, X, ed. Rahlfs (Göttingen, 1931), ‘*ōlām wa’ed* after *hu’ yēnahāgenū*.

The last phrase of the verse ‘*al mūth*, not read by the Greek, is not an original part of the text: taken with *yēnahāgenū*, it could mean neither, “He will lead us even unto death,” nor “until death,” but only, “He will lead us to death,” which would be nonsensical. As many interpreters have pointed out, ‘*al mūth* is in all probability a textual error for ‘*al ‘ālamōth* and belonged originally to the heading of the following Psalm 49.

PSALM 76

*

- 2 God has revealed himself in Judah;
His name has become exalted in Israel.
- 3 In Salem is his abode,
In Zion is his dwelling-place.
- 4 Here has he broken the fiery shafts of the bow,
The shield and the sword:
He has ended the war.
- 6 The stouthearted were filled with terror,
They sank into sleep;
The brave fighters could not muster their strength:
- 7 At thy rebuke, God of Jacob, rider and steed were
sunk in slumber.
- 8a, 5aβ, b Fearful art thou, more majestic than the eternal hills.
- 8b, 5aα Who can stand before thee
When thy wrath flames terribly?

⁹⁶ See Lane, *op. cit.*, *da* (s.v.); Reckendorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 412 f.

* 1. For the Hymnal. With String Music. A Psalm of Asaph. A Song.

- 9 From the heavens didst thou pronounce sentence:
 The earth feared and was still
- 10 When God arose to deliver judgment
 That he might save the lowly of the earth forever.
- 11 Mad with joy, the country renders thanks unto thee.
 Mad with joy, those that have escaped celebrate a
 feast unto thee.
- 12 Make vows to the Lord your God,
 And redeem the vows you have made to him.
 Let all the neighboring peoples offer gifts to him
 Who must be feared.
- 13 He humbles the pride of mighty lords,
 He is terrible to the kings of the earth.

Psalm 76 is a poem of such literary excellence that the view of Hitzig and others⁹⁷ that it is a Maccabean product cannot be argued, for, aside from everything else, at the time of the Maccabees, as the writings of Jesus ben Sira and the Book of Daniel show,⁹⁸ Hebrew had died out as a spoken language, being used as a book language only. The prime requisite however for producing a poem of such literary perfection as Psalm 76 is a living language. Nor can the psalm possibly be an eschatological hymn, describing a future assault of the heathen nations upon Jerusalem and its eventual frustration, as Stade⁹⁹ and, following him, Staerk, Kittel, and Gunkel have interpreted it; for the consistent use of the perfect throughout the description of the occurrence, in verses 2-4, 6-7, 9,¹⁰⁰ shows that the psalm tells what has happened, not what will happen. As a matter of fact, the tenses employed in it present such a clear case that as early as the translation of the Psalter into Greek the psalm was recognized not only as relating an actual historical occurrence but as referring to the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib: proof of this is the notation "Relating to the Assyrian," which the Jewish Alexandrian translators added to the heading.

⁹⁷ Olshausen, Duhm, Kautsch-Bertholet.

⁹⁸ See above, pp. 11-18.

⁹⁹ *Akademische Reden und Abhandlungen* (2d ed.; Giessen, 1907), pp. 71 f.

¹⁰⁰ Vs. 8, with 5, states a reflection on the part of the author.

In content and spirit and to a large extent also in language it bears such close resemblance to Psalm 48 that it requires but a moment's reflection to see that it is another poem inspired by what happened in Judah in the year 701 B.C. and that, like the former psalm, it was written under the immediate impression of that occurrence. As in Psalm 48, the singer addresses himself to those who, "mad with joy" over their escape, are celebrating a feast unto God, are rendering unto him the country's thanks. As another feature Psalm 76 has in common with Psalm 48, it may be noted that the writer omits all direct mention of what the country has gone through (how it has been ravaged by the war, how the enemy has stood at the very gates of the capital, bent on her conquest) and that instead he turns with dramatic abruptness to the one and only thought uppermost in the minds of all of them—all, that is, who are assembled to celebrate a feast unto God:

Here [in Zion his dwelling-place] has he broken the fiery shafts of the bow,
The shield and the sword:
He has ended the war.

What a masterly parallel these lines are to

Behold, the kings that were assembled are vanished

of Psalm 48! Then, in order to explain the sudden disappearance of the Assyrian armies, he tells what he thinks must have happened to them:

The stouthearted were filled with terror,
They sank into sleep;
The brave fighters could not muster their strength:
At thy rebuke, God of Jacob, rider and steed were sunk in slumber.

Though couched in different words, the explanation is of the same character as the parallel one in Psalm 48: it is another attempt on the part of the poet to describe his mystification as to what happened to the Assyrian armies.

Further, the opening lines of the first strophe and the concluding lines of the second show that Psalm 76 is a companion piece to Psalm 48. What in Psalm 48 has been dwelt upon very fully, that Zion-Jerusalem is the abode of God, is summarily restated in it. Besides, use is made of the opening phrase *gadōl*

of Psalm 48 and of the phrases *nōda'* and *'ēlōhīm* of verse 4, and the most noteworthy feature of the recurrence of these phrases is that *nōda'* and *gadōl* are used with connotations different from those they have in Psalm 48 (see below). Further, the leading idea of Psalm 48—the singer's faith in the eternal safety of Zion—is reaffirmed in Psalm 76, for note that the lines,

From the heavens didst thou pronounce sentence:
The earth feared and was still
When God arose to deliver judgment,

conclude

That he might save the lowly of the earth forever.

This conclusion is a clear parallel to

God will preserve his city forever

and

He will shepherd us forever,

with which the second and third strophes, respectively, of Psalm 48 close.

Finally, the psalm is, like Psalm 48, marked by a certain universalistic tendency. Not only does the psalmist regard the blow dealt to Sennacherib as a manifestation of God's power before the eyes of an overawed world but goes on (in the third strophe) to bid the world at large pay homage to him who "humbles the pride of mighty lords," who "is terrible to the kings of the earth." By the "kings" and "mighty lords" Sennacherib and the kings enlisted in his service are meant, as "the kings that were assembled" of the previous psalm shows. By this appeal Psalm 48 is notably supplemented; animated by the hope he expressed in this earlier psalm—that the knowledge and fame of God may be spread to the ends of the earth—the singer in the present psalm takes the first step toward achieving that end.

AUTHORSHIP OF PSALMS 48 AND 76

In the foregoing discussion of the relationship between the two psalms we have repeatedly touched on the question of their authorship, which we shall now consider directly. It is on the face of the matter excluded that their close resemblance could

be attributed to the dependence of one writer upon the other, since both psalms were composed directly on the departure of the Assyrians from the country and recited, moreover, at the feast which, we may be sure, was celebrated without delay. The all-decisive point, however, is that neither psalm shows any trace of patchwork or labored imitation. Their outstanding feature is that element of spontaneity, that freshness and directness of appeal, which is the distinguishing mark of all works of original genius. This being the case, the close similarity which Psalm 76 bears to Psalm 48 leaves room for one conclusion only—that both psalms must be the work of one and the same author. To illustrate this point further, let us once more consider the opening distich of Psalm 76,

God has revealed himself in Judah,
His name has become exalted in Israel.

Although the principal phrases of the distich are repeated from Psalm 48:1 and 4, yet *nōda' 'ēlōhīm bīhūda bēyisra'el gadōl shēmō* is a pointed opening of signal beauty, with a subtle poetic harmony of its own—qualities which the translation cannot reproduce. It is by these qualities, and not by what the distich happens to have in common with Psalm 48, that its poetic effect is determined, or, what amounts to the same, our reaction to it; for, rightly viewed, the points of contact are not a case of the psalmist's merely repeating the expressions *nōda' 'ēlōhīm* and *gadōl*, which he used in the previous psalm, but rather a case of varying them and enhancing their beauty, or of reshaping them, as you choose, to fit new ends. The method is very much the same as when in a great symphonic work certain chords or movements are repeated for the purpose of developing them and bringing out new effects. In the present instance the opening *nōda' 'ēlōhīm bīhūda*, etc., of the psalm is calculated to lend prominence to the thought that the deliverance of Jerusalem from Assyria has been a supreme manifestation of God's power, as the psalmist goes on to explain in the next strophe:

Fearful art thou, more majestic than the eternal hills.
Who can stand before thee
When thy wrath flames terribly?

As another illustration of the psalmist's method of composition, note the difference between Pss. 48:8 and 76:4 in the use of the phrase *shibber*: there *shibber* is used literally, being said of the east wind that "breaks ships in pieces"; here it is used figuratively for bringing fighting and war to an end.

The two psalms show also marked similarity (1) in their musical character, that is, in the rhythmical and melodious flow peculiar to them—an element which is by no means identical with meter, though affected by it¹⁰¹—and (2) in their syntactical structure, an outstanding feature of which is the predominance of paratactic sentence structure, coupled with asyndeton construction.

VALUE AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

As a contemporary source of the occurrence they sing of, Psalms 48 and 76 are of supreme value, for they picture faithfully how the people of Hezekiah's age reacted to the deliverance of Jerusalem, in what light they viewed it, and what religious significance they ascribed to it. They are of extreme importance in still another respect. Both psalms show that the singer finds the disappearance of the Assyrians from the country wonderful beyond anything—incomprehensible. But however mystified he may be at their hurried departure, he does not even remotely make any attempt at attributing it to a miracle,¹⁰² as the later legend does. Rather he describes their disappearance with as much realism as under the circumstances might reasonably be expected. These two psalms then furnish conclusive proof that the tale of II Kings 19:35 (= Isa. 37:36) that Sennacherib's army was ravaged by pestilence (told in another form also by Herodotus) is a myth pure and simple. Their realism is additional proof that both psalms were written directly on the departure of the Assyrians from the country, when there had not yet been time for the myth-creating imagination to come to the fore.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Eduard Sievers, *Über Sprachmelodisches in der Deutschen Dichtung* ([Universitätsprogramm] Leipzig, 1901).

¹⁰² This holds true also of Psalm 78.

Another excellent illustration of the true portrayal of affairs as given in the two psalms is the expressions, '*anaw*, "the lowly," and *she'ērith*, "those that have escaped," in 76:10 f., as attributes of Judah. The customary translation of the first of the two terms with "the meek" obscures its meaning and associates with it an idea which is foreign to it. There is no religious connotation attached to either of the terms here,¹⁰³ rather they are both used very accurately as a description of the social and political status of Judah at the time, as it was brought about in the first place by the fall of the Northern Kingdom two decades before and, above all, by the condition in which the Assyrian invasion had left the country. In one of his prophecies of the year 701 B.C. Isaiah gives a graphic description of this condition, which for our purposes is most illuminating, especially since as a parallel expression to *she'ērith* of the psalm it uses the synonym *sarīd*, intensified by *kimmē'aṭ*, to define the status of Judah:

Your country is devastated, your cities have been consumed by fire;
Your land is devoured by strangers before your very eyes,
It is devastated as if overthrown by the enemy.
The daughter of Zion is left like a hut in a vineyard,
Like a lodge in a cucumber field—
A besieged city.
Had the Lord of hosts not left us a thin remnant,
We would be like Sodom,
Resemble Gemorrah.¹⁰⁴

This description by Isaiah is confirmed by what Sennacherib tells about the rack and ruin he left behind him in Judah. He states that he conquered and sacked forty-six fortified cities and countless villages, from which he carried away as spoil 201,150 people, young and old, men and women, besides horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle, and sheep, without number. He is also

¹⁰³ The verbal adjective '*anaw* means, like '*anī*, primarily "poor," "lowly," then "humble," "meek"; there is actually no difference between the two adjectives as far as their meaning is concerned, both being used with identically the same meanings throughout Old Testament literature (cf. the remarks on Ps. 9:13, where this point will be more fully discussed). In Amos 2:7, and 8:4 (*kēlithib*), written some sixty years before Psalm 76, we have two earlier examples of this primary meaning of '*anaw*.

¹⁰⁴ Isa. 1:7-9.

very specific about the tribute paid to him by Hezekiah of thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, and all sorts of other valuables.¹⁰⁵ Note that these specifications differ but immaterially from those of II Kings 18:14-16 regarding Hezekiah's tribute, even as the preceding verses of Kings, which tell that "the king of Assyria marched against all the fortified cities of Judah and conquered them," practically confirm the first part of Sennacherib's record.

Another point which calls for a brief comment is the use of "Israel" as designation of Judah in Ps. 76:2. This use the psalm has in common with other pre-Exilic writings, dating from the time after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (cf. Mic. 1:13 ff.; 3:1, 9 ff.; Zeph. 3:13; Jer. 2:14, 26 ff., 31; 5:15; 6:9). It finds its natural explanation in the fact that, after the Northern Kingdom had ceased to exist, Judah henceforth constituted Israel, being, as Jer. 6:9 puts it, *shē'ērith Yisraēl*, "what had remained of Israel."¹⁰⁶

ISAIAH NOT THEIR AUTHOR

Though the author of Psalms 48 and 76 is unknown, one thing is certain: Isaiah had nothing to do with them, many authorities to the contrary.¹⁰⁷ His attitude toward the deliverance of Jerusalem and the country from Sennacherib in the year 701 B.C. was diametrically opposed to that of the writer of Psalms 48 and 76. Conclusive proof of this is the prophecy known as the "Vale of Vision" prophecy (Isa. 22:1-5, 7-14), which he delivered on that momentous occasion.¹⁰⁸ Appearing among the exulting crowds, Isaiah asked what possessed them to ascend the housetops and shout for joy. Their "slain," he

¹⁰⁵ Prisma Inscription, Col. III, 10-41 (*KB* II, 94 ff.).

¹⁰⁶ From the foregoing remarks it will be seen how far afield Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, and Wellhausen, *Book of Psalms*, p. 195, are in their explanation of "Israel" of Ps. 76:2.

¹⁰⁷ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 253 f., 448 f.; Ewald, p. 133; MacLaren (*Expositor's Bible*) II, 80, Davison (*New Century Bible*) I, 239; Kittel, *Die Psalmen*, p. 256: "In dem geschichtlichen Sanheribkampfe war für Jesaia Zion schon Gottesstadt"—a view which he expounds at length in *Geschichte . . .*, II, 488-94, 497 f.; Wellhausen, *Isr. Jüd. Gesch.*, pp. 126 f.; Sellin, *op. cit.*, I, 273, 277 f., 309, 310 f.

¹⁰⁸ For additional proof that this is the date of the prophecy, see my *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 289 ff.

tells them, "are not those that have been killed by the sword, nor those that have fallen in war," but rather those lighthearted survivors, blind to the real state of affairs, heedless of the day near at hand when they and their chieftains shall be bound in fetters or forced to flee far away.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, he begs his hearers to turn away from him that he may weep in bitter loneliness over their coming ruin:

For a day of panic, of treading down and confusion,
The Lord of hosts has in readiness:
In the vale of vision the walls are bursting,
And cries re-echo to the mountains.

"In the vale of vision" is a poetic figure, the meaning of which is self-evident: the people are rejoicing blindly, for on the surface it looks as if they had every reason to be confident of the future, but to the prophet's vision the reality is revealed, and he sees their coming destruction in all its harrowing details. Then he goes on to tell the reason for his dark vision. He points out that, when the other fortresses of the country, "the protecting screen" of Jerusalem, had been reduced, and the enemy had stood before the very gates of the Capital, God called for penance, but that they did not heed his call, nor comprehend his "long-formed plan." They thought only of preparations for the defense of Jerusalem and of providing for an adequate water supply. And the feasting in which they now indulge is but additional proof of their irremediable blindness. Therefore, he concludes, God has doomed them to death.

This prophecy shows beyond a peradventure of doubt that the portrayal which II Kings 19:6 f., 20-34, gives of Isaiah's attitude in the year 701 B.C. and the prediction it attributes to him are fictitious. For if, as this record tells us, Isaiah believed that Assyria by her attack on Jerusalem proved herself the enemy of God; and if the more desperate the situation grew, the more confident he became of the ultimate triumph of God's cause; and if, moreover, he even predicted the exact turn of events, then it would not be conceivable that after his prediction had been fulfilled, he would have delivered anything like

¹⁰⁹ The perfects of Isa. 22:3 are prophetic perfects.

the "Vale of Vision" prophecy. Rather would he have pointed triumphantly to the glorious vindication of his faith and have joined in the general rejoicing over the deliverance of Jerusalem.

The prophecies Isaiah delivered while the Assyrian armies overran the country bear evidence to the same effect. Thus in the prophecy, 29:1-4, 5c-6, 9-14, he denounces with scathing sarcasm the people's belief in the sanctity of Zion and the efficacy of the sacrificial cult and declares that within a year's time God will take the field himself against his altar-hearth city, and he adds "then when there will be mourning and wailing, she will be a true altar-hearth" to him—which is to say, when the streets of Jerusalem reek with the blood of her slaughtered citizens as the altar now flows with the blood of sacrifices. No less pronounced is his denunciation of the sacrificial cult in 1:10-20, another prophecy which, as verses 7-9 show, dates from the year 701. Nor does Isaiah express any contrary view in the prophecies 31:5-6, 8-9 and 10:5-19. In the first he makes no absolute prediction, only a conditional one, holding out the prospect of the protection of Jerusalem against Assyria and of Assyria's defeat by God's own intervention, provided that Israel forsake its evil course and return to God. And in the second, though he predicts that God will ultimately hold reckoning with Assyria for her wanton lust of dominion, he makes it clear that God will not overthrow Assyria "until he has performed his task on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem," which is to say, until he has destroyed Zion-Jerusalem through the agency of Assyria, even as he had Samaria before.¹¹⁰

To sum up—Isaiah's world of values and that of the writer of Psalms 48 and 76 differ from each other as widely as the poles. The writer of the two psalms was the truest exponent of that blind assurance which Isaiah denounced so fearlessly in his "Vale of Vision" prophecy. To him Isaiah's prediction of doom in that hour of joy must have seemed like a bolt from the blue.

¹¹⁰ See my *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 280-87, also 273 ff., and note that Isa. 10:20, 24-27; 14:24-27; 29:17-24, and 30:18-33 are post-Exilic products, as are also 14:28-32 and chap. 33 (see below, pp. 468 f.; 668 and 670-74).

2. *has become exalted*] Cf. Ps. 35:27; II Sam. 7:26.

3. *In Salem*] *Shalem* is an abbreviated form of *Iru-* or *Uru-Shalem* (as *Shōmērōn* is an abbreviation of *Har-Shōmērōn*: cf. II Kings, 16:24) and occurs again in the ancient record, Genesis, chapter 14 (see above, p. 58). As Haupt has pointed out in *SBOT* (note on Isa. 29:1), the oldest form of the name, found in the el-Amarna tablets, is *Urusalim*, which

is a compound of Sumerian *uru* "fortified place," "city" and the Semitic *shalim* "safety." The *u* after *r* (syncopated in the later Assyrian form *Ursalimmu*) is the Sumerian vowel of prolongation; the *i* in *Urisalim* substitutes the *i* of the genitive as termination of the construct state and is therefore more nearly correct from the Semitic point of view. *Irushalim*, from which the common form of the name Jerusalem is derived, represents the dialectic form of the word *uru*, viz. *eri*, which passed into Hebrew as 'ir. The *u* in *Jerushalem* may be due to dissimilation.

4. *Here*] *Shamma* or *sham*, whether functioning as local or temporal adverb, is used of what is near or present as well of what is far and distant: cf. Isa. 48:16, "Ever since its existence (*sham 'anī*) I have been present"; I Kings 13:13 "Make me a cake (*mishham*) of it"; Isa. 28:10, *sham . . . sham*, "here and there" or "now and then."

He has ended] *Shibber* is a case of zeugma.

6. *were filled with terror*] The Aramaic form 'eshṭōlēlū is doubtless a scribal error: read *hishtōlēlū*. It follows from the parallelism that *hishtōlēlū* cannot mean "were despoiled," the customary translation, first given by Sym. The fact that this translation has prevailed unchallenged to this day is the more surprising, since the Greek renders *hishtōlēlū* correctly ἐραπάχθησαν, "They were thrown into confusion," "were confounded," or "were filled with terror." This Greek verb often stands for *bihel*, and it is used in the same sense also in New Testament Greek. As further proof of this meaning of *hishtōlēlū* note that Job 12:17 *shōlal* means "void of sense" or "confounded" and that Syriac *shēlālā*, in addition to "spoil," denotes "entanglement," "difficulty";¹¹¹ and Arabic *salla* in the fifth conjugation means "be in a state of commotion," "be agitated."¹¹² When the meaning of *hishtōlēlū* is recognized, the parallelism will be seen to be perfect.

could not muster their strength is the exact English equivalent of the Hebrew idiom *lō' mašē'ū yēdēhēm*: the customary rendering "none . . . found their hands" shows how absurd a slavishly literal translation may sometimes be.

7. *rider and steed were sunk in slumber*] Read, with, and on the strength of, Gr. and Syr., נרדמו רכב וסוס (Schlōgl and Gunkel).

8a, 5aβ, b, 8b, 5aa. *Fearful art thou, more majestic than the eternal hills*] Vs. 5, as it read originally, consisted of two omissions from vs. 8. Before giving proof of this, I shall mention, first, that the first 'atta of vs. 8 is to be omitted as dittography; further, that instead of *tereḫph* of vs. 5b the text read originally נֶדֶר, as Greek ἀνωγειν shows; cf. Hab. 3:6, where the phrase *harērē 'ad* occurs again: *tereḫph*, as Hitzig has pointed out, was originally added as a marginal gloss by someone who mistook 'ad as meaning "prey," and in due

¹¹¹ See F. Shulthess, *Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen* (Berlin, 1900), p. 80; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (2d ed., 1928), s.v.

¹¹² See Lane, *op. cit.*, s.v.

course it displaced 'ad. The words, 'addir meharēre 'ad stood originally in vs. 8 after *nōrā* 'atta; in the course of transmission these words were omitted and, with 'atta prefixed to them as a cue, were put in the margin, whence in the next copy the omitted words with the cue were at random taken into the text where they are found now.

Who can stand before thee when thy wrath flames terribly?] *Na'ōr*, of vs. 5, is well attested not only by *nahir* of Syr. and Tar. but also by *φωτίζεις*, used intransitively, of Gr. The arbitrary elimination of it by many modern interpreters would be inexcusable were it not for the fact that the word is not in its original place. It is another omission from vs. 8, but only the first part of the complete omission: *na'ōr* was originally followed by another *nō'ra*, as *nahir dēhīl* of Tar. shows, as well as *φοβερός* of Theod. and *ἐπιφανής* of Sym. As regards the last of these three, note that of the twelve instances of its use in the Septuagint, it is in eight a rendering of *nōrā*.¹¹³

na'ōr nōrā stood originally in vs. 8b before 'appeka: it got in its present place by much the same process as did the rest of vs. 5. These two omissions did very likely not occur simultaneously, but at subsequent stages in the transmission. The phrase *me'az* of vs. 8b, the 'az of which is not read by the Greek, is not original text. Direct proof that vs. 8b read originally *na'ōr nōrā* as the predicate of 'appeka may be seen in the variant *ἐθυμώθης* = *harā 'appēka*¹¹⁴ of Sym. in vs. 8b. As to *na'ōr* meaning "flames," note that in Isa. 27:11 and Mal. 1:10 the Hiph' il *hā'ir* means "set on fire." As final proof that by this rearrangement of vss. 8 and 5 the original text is restored, note that it has been productive of a highly satisfactory text from the point of view of structure as well as that of content. This fact carries the more weight when one considers to what impossible emendations vss. 5, 6, and 8 have been subjected by some interpreters, especially by Ehrlich, D. H. Müller, and Gunkel. Vss. 8 and 5 as restored read:

נורא אתה אדיר מחררני עד
ומי יצמיד לפניך נאור נורא אפך

10. forever] With Sym. *ἀεί*, Aq. and Sexta *εἰς τέλος*, read לנצח as the concluding phrase of the verse.

11. Mad with joy] *Hāmāth* and *hemōth* are perfect text, needing no emendation; they are nice examples of adverbial accusatives: cf. Hos. 7:5, "The princes were sick, intoxicated with wine" (*hāmāth miyayīn*); note also that *bahāmāth rūhī*, Ezek. 3:14 means "in my ecstasy." As to the form *hāmāth* used as absolute state, cf. as another example, *hāmāth lamō*, Ps. 58:5.

¹¹³ These are Judg. 13:6; Joel 2:11, 31 (3:4); Hab. 1:7; Zeph. 2:11; Mal. 1:14; 4:4 (3:23); I Chron. 17:21. The explanation of this strange rendering is found in the fact that the translators mistook *nōrā* for a derivative from *ra'ā*, confounding it with *nir'ē*. Note that because of a similar confusion they rendered also *mōrē'ā* "rebellions," Zeph. 3:1, *ἡ ἐπιφανής*. Blunders like these cease to be inconceivable when it is remembered not only that Hebrew was a dead language for the Jewish Alexandrian translators but that the books in question were in all probability translated at a time when, even in Palestine, Hebrew had died out as a spoken language.

¹¹⁴ Of the many instances in which *hara 'appēka* is so rendered in the Greek, note Gen. 30:2; 44:18; Num. 11:1.

the country or the people] Of other examples of the collective 'adām denoting "people," I shall mention Jer. 51:14; 4:25.

celebrate a feast unto thee] Instead of *taḥgor* read, with Gr., תַּחַג לָךְ (Ewald and others).

12. *Make vows to the Lord your God, And redeem the vows you have made to him*] We have here a peculiar case of brachylogy; the implicit object of *nidrū* is to be construed also with *shallēmū*: other examples of the kind are Ps. 15:4c; Jer. 14:5, "Even the hind in the woods (*yalēda wē azōb*) bears and forsakes her young"; Hos. 5:14 'anī 'anī 'etroph wa'ēlek 'essa', "I will seize them as prey and will carry off the prey." Likewise the indirect object *la'addōnai* is to be construed with both *nidrū* and *shallēmū*. As a parallel to the thought expressed, cf. the opening of Ps. 65A, which like Ps. 76 was inspired by a great national deliverance:

Praise is due thee, O God, in Zion,
And the vows made to thee shall be redeemed.

The reference in both psalms is to the vows the people made when in their distress they prayed to God to deliver them.

13. *He humbles*] *Yiḥṣor* is not the verb *baṣar*, meaning "to vintage," but *baṣar*, meaning "to diminish," "reduce," "lower."

PSALM 78

- 1* Listen, my people, to my teaching,
Give ear to the words of my mouth.
- 2 I shall speak of the ancient wisdom,
I shall discourse on the mystical lore from the past,
- 3 Which from tradition we know:
Our fathers disclosed it to us,
- 4 They did not keep it concealed from their children,
But disclosed for future generations
The glorious deeds of the Lord and his might,
The wondrous things he did:
- 12 How in the sight of their fathers
He did wonders in Egypt, in the land of Zoan.
- 13 He divided the sea to lead them across,
And made the water to stand like a dam;
- 14 In the daytime he led them with a cloud,
And all night by the light of fire.
- 15 He cleft rocks in the desert and gave them drink in
abundance

* A *Maskil*. Of Asaph.

- As if the water were welling up from the deep.†
5 He laid down precepts for Jacob,
And gave Israel a law,
Which he commanded our fathers
To impart to their children,
6 That future ages, children yet unborn, might know it,
And in their turn hand it down to their own children
7 That they might place their hope in God
And not forget the works of God,
But keep his commandments;
8 That they might not be like their fathers,
A stubborn and unruly generation,
A generation whose heart was not fixed on God,‡
Whose spirit was not faithful to him.
10 They kept not the covenant of God
And refused to live by his law.
11 They forgot what he had done,
The wondrous works he had revealed to them.
17 They sinned still more grievously against him
When they rebelled against the Most High in the
desert,
18 And tempted God in their hearts
By demanding food to still their appetite.
19 Yea, they affronted God when they said,
“Can God spread a table in the desert?
20 He struck the rock so that the water gushed forth,
Poured forth in streams:
Will he be able to give us bread also,
Or provide meat for his people?”
22 Though they had no faith in God,
Nor trusted in his power to save,
23 He nevertheless gave command to the skies above,
And opened the gates of the heavens,

† Variant: *16 He brought streams out of the rock,
Made the waters flow like a river.*

‡ Translated according to the Hebrew sentence construction, *A generation that had not its heart fixed on God.*

- 24 To rain down manna for them to eat,
To give them heavenly grain.
- 25 Men ate the bread of the mighty gods,
Food to the full he sent down.
- 26 He let loose the east wind in the sky,
And drove the south wind on with might
- 27 While he showered meat on them like dust,
Winged birds as numberless as the sands of the sea:
- 28 He let them fall in the midst of their camp,
Round about their dwellings;
- 29 So they did eat their fill.
He gave them all that they craved.
- 30 They had not yet turned surfeited from their longed-
for feast,
The food was still in their mouths,
- 31 When the anger of God flared up against them,
And wrought destruction in their well-fed ranks,
And laid low the youth of Israel.
- 32 Still they sinned
And believed not in his wondrous works;
- 33 Wherefore he caused their days to vanish like a
breath,
Their years to end in terror.
- 34 When he slew them, did they turn to him?
Did they repent and seek God?
- 35 Did they remember that God was their rock,
The most high God their Redeemer?
- 36 Nay, they beguiled him with their mouth,
And lied to him with their tongue:
- 37 In their heart they were not true to him,
Nor were they faithful to his covenant.
- 38 But he is merciful, he forgives transgression,
And destroys not the guilty;
He will often suppress his anger
Rather than loose his wrath.
- 39 So he remembered that they were flesh—

- A breath that passes out and comes not back.
40 How often they rebelled against him in the wilderness
And grieved him in the desert!
41 Time and again they tempted God,
Incensed the Holy One of Israel.
- 42 They remembered not his hand—
How that day he delivered them from the enemy,
43 How he displayed his portents to the Egyptians,
His wonders throughout the land of Zoan.
44 He turned their rivers into blood
So that they could not drink their running waters;
45 He sent swarms of flies to devour them,
Frogs to pester them;
46 He gave their produce to the grubs,
Their harvest to the locusts;
47 He killed their vines with hail,
Their sycamores with frost;
(48a) 50c He delivered their cattle over to the plague,
48b Their flocks to the pestilence;
49 He loosed on them his fierce anger,
Wrath and fury and misery—
A legion of heralds of evil;
50a-b He blazed a path for his ire
And spared not even their lives:
51 He slew all the firstborn of Egypt,
The male firstborn in the tents of Ham.
52 Whereupon he led forth his own people like a flock
And shepherded them in the wilderness;
53 He led them safely so that they knew no fear,
And the sea swept over their enemies.
54 He brought them to his holy ground,
To the mountain which his right hand had gained.
55 He drove out nations before them
And allotted their land as a heritage to the tribes of
Israel,
And their tents he gave them for dwellings.

- 56 Still they tempted him,
They rebelled against the most high God
And kept not his precepts:
- 57 They were wayward and faithless like their fathers,
They rotted like a lifeless bow.
- 58 They offended him with their high places,
Incensed him with their images.
- 59a, 21 God saw and was wroth:
The fire of anger burst upon Jacob,
Wrath flared up against Israel.
- (59b) 67 He rejected the tent of Joseph,§
Disowned the tribe of Ephraim;
- 60 He forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh,
The tent in which he dwelt among men,
- 61 And surrendered their strength into captivity,
Their glory into the hand of the enemy.
- 62 He delivered his people to the sword,
And raged against his heritage.
- 9 The sons of Ephraim, noted as archers,||
Took to flight on the day of battle.
- 63 Fire consumed their youths,
And their maidens had no marriage song;
- 64 Their priests fell by the sword
Unbewailed by their widows.
- 65 Then, like a warrior drowsed by wine,
The Lord awoke as from a sleep:
- 66 He put his enemies to rout,
He covered them with lasting shame.
- 68 He has chosen the tribe of Judah,
Chosen Mount Zion which he loves;
- 69 And he has built his sanctuary there like the hills,
Like the world which he has founded forever.
- 70 He has chosen David for his servant—
He took him from the sheepfolds,
- 71 He took him from tending the ewes

§ 59b *He rejected Israel.*|| *Wont to handle the bow.*

- 72 To be the shepherd of Jacob, his people. ¶
 And he has shepherded them according to his up-
 right heart,
 Has led them with able hands.

VERSES MISPLACED

In the course of transmission the psalm suffered text disorder, owing to the fact that a verse or more, which had now and then been omitted and put in the margin, was in the next copy taken into the text at random. There are, in all, five such cases. In three of these there cannot possibly be any doubt as to where each of the misplaced verses once stood, as there is external evidence to show this; while in two we have only the content or internal evidence to go by in deducing their original places. These cases are:

1. Verses 12-16. These, which have no force as a continuation of verses 8-11, fit so excellently after verse 4 that any further comment is superfluous. Furthermore, verse 17 is relevant as a continuation of verse 11 but, where found at present, it marks a break in thought.

2. Verse 9. It has been recognized by many interpreters that verse 10 is clearly the immediate continuation of verse 8; further, that verses 8, 10-11, which exhort Israel not to follow in the footsteps of the fathers of old but be faithful to God, leave no room for the remark of verse 9 that "the sons of Ephraim took to flight on the day of battle." These interpreters have rightly rejected the figurative interpretation of verse 9 given by others but have themselves committed another error in method. Instead of reckoning with the probability that the verse was misplaced here from another part of the psalm, they have concluded either that it was a later addition or that it got in Psalm 78 from another psalm. In reality verse 9 fits well after verse 62: color is added to the description of their country's fall by the remark that the proverbial fame of the sons of Ephraim as archers (mentioned also in the Blessing of Jacob) did not avail them on that fatal day. Gunkel, in order to make

¶ *And Israel, his heritage.*

the verse fit as a continuation of verse 8, has emended it beyond recognition.

3. Verse 21. This verse marks another break in thought and may be recognized almost at a glance as an omission from verse 59 by the fact that *shama' 'ādōnai wayyith'abar*, "The Lord saw and was wroth," and *shama' 'ēl wayyith'abar* of verse 59 are practically identical. Their identity is to be explained as follows: the omitted part proper from verse 59 consists of the distich *wē'ēsh nissēqā bēya'āqōb wēgam 'aph 'alā bēyisra'ēl*, "The fire of anger burst upon Jacob, wrath flared up against Israel," to which, when put in the margin, the directly preceding words, *shama' 'ēl wayyith'abar*, were prefixed as a cue. The omitted distich with its cue was presumably put in the margin at the top of the page, the first line of which happened to be verse 22. This coincidence explains how in the next copy it was with the cue taken into the text where found at present. Note that verse 21 is incongruous with verses 22–25, which tell that, though the people showed lack of faith, yet God, ignoring their offense, in his grace "gave them heavenly grain"; it was not, as verses 30 f. make clear, until they demanded meat that "the anger of God flared up against them." *Laken*, which is missing in verse 59a, is to my mind not original text in verse 21 either but was originally a marginal gloss, pertaining to the interrogative particle *hāgam* of verse 20 and suggesting that *laken* be substituted for *ha* in order to remove what the glossator considered a reflection on the omnipotence of God.

4. Verse 67. This verse is clearly not in its proper place, for the statement that the Lord arose at last to deal defeat to the foe could not possibly have been followed by, "He rejected Joseph, he disowned Ephraim." The clue to the original place of the verse is furnished by the occurrence of *wayyim'as*, "He rejected," also in verse 59b. This fact points to the conclusion (a) that *bē'ohel yōseph*, "the tent of Joseph," was originally a variant or, rather, a correction of *bēyisra'ēl* of verse 59b; (b) that the words, *ūbēshebeṭ 'ephraim lō' baḥar*, "He disowned the tribe of Ephraim," are an omission from that verse, and that *wayyim'as* was prefixed as a cue to both when they were put

in the margin, whence in the next copy cue and all were as usual inserted into the text at random (instead of at the point where, as the cue indicated, they belonged). This conclusion is clinched by another piece of external evidence, namely, the fact that one cursive, Parsons 144, actually reads τὸν Ἰωσὴφ in verse 59b. In this connection attention should be drawn to a point of lexicographical interest: from the fact that the correction *wayyim'as bē'ohel yōseph* in verse 67 does not read *mē'ōd* it may safely be deduced that in verse 59b it is not original text either—a deduction which does away with the etymologically doubtful meaning “utterly” which *mē'ōd* is commonly thought to have here.¹¹⁵

5. Verse 50c. This betrays itself at a glance as a variant or, what is more likely, as a correction of verse 48a, made originally in the margin, whence in the next copy it was inserted in the text at random. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that one manuscript and Symmachus read *laddeber* also in verse 48a and that the Greek, as τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν shows,¹¹⁶ reads *bē'irām* also in verse 50c, the correction reading originally: *ūbē'irām laddeber hisgīr*.

DATE AND INTERPRETATION

Psalms 78 is usually classed with Psalms 105 and 106. Like these it is considered not as having been occasioned by any particular occurrence of pre-Exilic history but as being a mere review of past history for didactic purposes and as dating, according to some interpreters, from the Exile or, according to others, from post-Exilic times. This view is largely attributable to the text disturbance the concluding verses 56–72 have suffered and their consequent misinterpretation. The lines,

He forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh,
The tent in which he dwelt among men,
And surrendered their strength into captivity,
Their glory into the hand of the enemy,

¹¹⁵ Note that in the two other passages where *'ad mē'ōd* is seemingly found again with this meaning—in Ps. 119:43 and 8—the phrase is missing in the first in the reading of the Syriac, while in the second it is to be transferred to the first part of the verse.

¹¹⁶ There is not a single case of κτήνη being a rendering of *hayya*: in Gen. 8:19 τὰ θηρία renders *hahayya* and τ. κ. shows that the Hebrew copy of the Alexandrian translators read in addition *habbehema*, as in vs. 17.

have been generally interpreted as referring to what happened in the days of Samuel when the Philistines defeated Israel in the battle at Ebenezer and carried away the Ark into their own country.¹¹⁷ In line with this explanation the choice of Judah and Zion in place of Ephraim and Shiloh has been taken as having reference to David's succeeding Saul as king of Israel and the ensuing building of the Temple on Mount Zion.

This interpretation has been adhered to also by Kirkpatrick and Rothstein, though both have recognized that the psalm must be pre-Exilic. Rothstein has also observed that there are certain difficulties in the way of the prevailing interpretation, specifically, that in verse 59 by "Israel" the Northern Kingdom is meant and that in verses 68 ff. the election of Zion is mentioned before that of David, although in the actual succession of the events the order was reversed. But, instead of concluding from this that it must be the interpretation which is at fault, he has arbitrarily expunged from the psalm as interpolations all those verses which upset its customary interpretation, among others the all-essential verses 68-69.¹¹⁸ No wonder that the real objections to the accepted interpretation of verses 56-72 have escaped his notice!

Though the prime cause of their misinterpretation is removed and the actual occurrences referred to in them can be discerned almost at a glance, as soon as verses 21 and 67 are restored to their original places, yet, considering that their interpretation has all these years passed unchallenged, I deem it necessary to point out that it is untenable also for general reasons. First of all, it is incompatible with the statement in verse 67,

He rejected the tent of Joseph,
Disowned the tribe of Ephraim;

for by "the tent of Joseph" is meant not the tabernacle at Shiloh but, as the parallel stich, "He disowned the tribe of Ephraim," and also the variant, "He rejected Israel," show,

¹¹⁷ I Sam. 4-5:1.

¹¹⁸ "Psalm 78 ein Zeuge für die Jahvistische Gestalt der Exodus-tradition und seine Abfassungszeit," *ZWTH*, XLIII (1900), 532-85, espec. 550-69. Briggs in treating the psalm as a composite product follows in the footsteps of Rothstein.

the country of Joseph, or Samaria as the seat of its power (see Isa. 7:9, "The head of Ephraim is Samaria," and Lam. 2:4, where, in a similar way, by "The tent of the daughter of Zion" the country of Judah is meant). Now Israel's defeat at Ebenezer and the capture of the Ark by the Philistines was not attended with Ephraim's being rejected by God. It was rather that the leadership of Benjamin was replaced by that of Judah when David was chosen king—an event which, moreover, did not happen until several decades after the defeat at Ebenezer. And still more important is the fact that, when on the death of Solomon, Israel seceded from Judah, Ephraim came into its own more than ever before: the obvious conclusion from which is that it must have continued to enjoy prestige even after the disastrous defeat the country had suffered at Ebenezer. In point of fact, there is nowhere in I Samuel, chapters 4 ff., any specific mention of Ephraim, but throughout this source the battle and the defeat are described as the affair of all Israel.

Gunkel seeks to get around these facts by the amazing argument that "in Chronicles Saul is as in the psalm omitted altogether," and that "the rejection of Ephraim, which was in reality destroyed as a royal tribe by the Assyrians, was so remote an event when the psalm was written that it might have been considered as a result of the ancient happenings prior to David's election as king."¹⁹ As a matter of fact, Chronicles is most explicit about Saul's falling in battle with the Philistines and being succeeded by David (see I Chron. 10-11:4) and also abounds in references to the affairs of the Northern Kingdom, including its destruction by Assyria (see II Chron. 10-11:4; 13:1-20; 15:1-6; 16:2; 18; 21:6, 13; 22:3-9; 25:17-24; 28:5 ff.; 30:6-9). These references show that not even as late as 300 B.C. (the approximate date of Chronicles) were the history and fall of Ephraim shrouded in darkness, but that they were well known—known, moreover, in accordance with the facts of the case as recorded in the Books of Kings. Naturally so, for were not the books of Samuel and Kings a part of sacred literature

¹⁹ See *Die Psalmen*, p. 342.

by that time? Moreover, were they not, seventy-five or a hundred years later, even translated into Greek for the use of the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria, as the Pentateuch had been before?

Further, the prevailing interpretation of verses 56-72 has lost sight of the fact that there is no mention anywhere in biblical sources that Shiloh was destroyed concomitantly with the defeat which Israel suffered at Ebenezer. On the contrary, Judg. 18:30 f. tells, in conclusion of the story of the sanctuary at Dan and its image of Yahweh, that "Jonathan the son of Gershom, the son of Moses and his descendants were priests" of the sanctuary "down to the deportation of the country," that is, the deportation either of the people of North Galilee by Tiglath Pilezer III in 734 or that of the entire Northern Kingdom by Sargon in 722 B.C.; and the record adds that "the image Micah had made continued to be there as long as the house of God was at Shiloh." Moore, commenting on the last statement, rightly remarks: "Jeremiah (7:12-15) points to Shiloh as a conspicuous example of a holy place which Jahweh destroyed for the wickedness of Israel, in a manner which hardly suggests that he is drawing his lesson from ancient history"; he therefore agrees with Graf and Hitzig that "from the fact that Jeremiah couples its destruction with the deportation of the people of the kingdom of Ephraim, it follows that both events happened simultaneously."¹²⁰ This conclusion is confirmed, in fact, by Psalm 78, for from the lines,

The fire of anger burst upon Jacob,
Wrath flared up against Israel,

and the lines,

He delivered his people to the sword
And raged against his heritage,

which precede and follow,

He rejected the tent of Joseph,
Disowned the tribe of Ephraim, etc.,

¹²⁰ G. F. Moore, *The Book of Judges* (ICC. [1895]), p. 369; K. H. Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (Leipzig, 1862), p. 116 f.; F. Hitzig, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (Leipzig, 1841), p. 63.

it is now plain that the event related can be no other than the overthrow of Samaria by Assyria in 722 B.C. And since

He rejected the tent of Joseph,
Disowned the tribe of Ephraim,

is followed directly by

He forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh,
The tent in which he dwelt among men,"

it is, furthermore, plain that, like Jeremiah, the psalm describes Yahweh's abandoning Shiloh as his abode as concurrent with the downfall of the Northern Kingdom. This conclusion is not in any way invalidated by the next verse,

And he surrendered their strength into captivity,
Their glory into the hand of the enemy,

since "their strength" (*'uzzō*) and "their glory" (*tiph'artō*) are descriptive not of the sacred Ark (stationed at Shiloh in olden days), as generally taken, but of "the tabernacle of Shiloh," just as in Ezek. 24:21 "the pride of your strength" and "the delight of your eyes" are descriptive of "my sanctuary"—that is, the Temple of Jerusalem. That "their strength" is applied to the tabernacle of Shiloh, even as "the pride of your strength" is to the Temple of Jerusalem, finds its explanation in the fact that as "the tent in which God dwelt among men" it was, like Zion, regarded by the people as an absolute guaranty of their safety (cf. Mic. 3:11, where the people of Jerusalem are described as declaring trustfully, "The Lord abides with us, no evil can befall us"). The antecedent of the suffixes of *'uzzō* and *tiph'artō* is "Ephraim": this is borne out by the fact that the Greek and Aquila render both pronominal suffixes with αὐτῶν,¹²¹ which shows either that they understood them rightly as referring to "Ephraim," or, what is more likely, that instead of the singular they read plural suffixes in their Hebrew copies. The lines,

He delivered his people to the sword,
And raged against his heritage.
. . . . Fire consumed their youths,
And their maidens had no marriage song;
Their priests fell by the sword,
Unbewailed by their widows,

¹²¹ See *Septuaginta*, X, ed. Rahlfs; Field, *Hexapla*.

with which the description of the fall of Samaria concludes, recall (in parts) the similar description in Lamentations relative to the fall of Jerusalem over a century later:

Think and consider, O Lord, whom thou hast so ill treated. . . .
Suffering priests and prophets to be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord.
Young and old, my maidens and youths,
Lie on the ground in the thoroughfares,
Fallen by the sword:
Thou hast slain them in the day of thy wrath,
Slaughtered them without mercy [2:20 f.].

They recall also verse 3 of the opening part of the dirge,

He has cut down in fierce anger all the power of Israel. . . .
He has raged against Jacob like a flaming fire
Devouring all around.

These parallel passages show how forced the prevailing interpretation is which takes "Their priests fell by the sword" as referring to the sons of Eli that fell in the battle at Ebenezer. Nor is "Unbewailed by their widows" dependent upon Job 27:15, where the writer in a vein of humor lets Eliphaz say that, when the wicked are carried off, "not even their widows will weep."¹²² Rather the psalmist means to say that the wailing to which ordinarily the bereft wife gives way on her husband's demise was, by the nature of the case, not accorded to the priests in the hour of their tragic death—be it that they fell as defenders of the sanctuary or in the general massacre attendant upon the conquest of the country (see Jer. 16:6 f., where the prophet emphasizes that on the destruction of the country the slain will lie unburied and unlamented, without any mourning rites being performed for them).

The use of "Ephraim" as a designation of Israel—in contradistinction to Judah—is a peculiarity the psalm has in common with pre-Exilic prophetic literature.¹²³ This feature may, however, be passed over in determining its date, which can be ascertained with exactness from verses 65–69. First of all, verse 69 precludes that the psalm could be a product of the Exile, for

¹²² The reverse is evidently the case.

¹²³ Cf. Hos. 5:3, 5, 9, 11–14; 6:4, 10; 7:1, 8, 11; 8:9 ff.; 9:3, 8, 11, 13, 16; 10:6, 11; 11:3, 8 f.; 12:1 f., 9, 15; 13:12; 14:9; Isa. 7:17, also vss. 2, 5, 9; 9:8; 17:3; 28:1; Jer. 7:15; 31:8, 17, 19.

it is psychologically inconceivable that in the face of the destruction of Zion in 586 B.C. the writer would have declared,

He has built his sanctuary there like the hills,
Like the world which he has founded forever.

To be convinced of this, one has but to compare, for example, the Exilic Psalm 89B, where the writer gives utterance to dark despair and heaps bitter reproach on God for having made void his covenant with his servant David and having cast his diadem in the dust and hurled his throne to the ground. Not only do verses 65-69 show no trace of such gloom and agitation but they display emotions of the very opposite nature. Their writer is visibly elated, because of the sudden turn affairs have taken, because God has at last ceased to act as a dazed, indifferent onlooker and instead has arisen to put the country's foes to rout and cover them with lasting shame. Now since in the preceding verses 59-64 the writer tells of the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel by Assyria in 722 B.C., it is clear that, by the happening he speaks of in verses 65-66, he can have reference only to the repulsion of the armies of Sennacherib before the gates of Jerusalem and their hurried departure from the country in the year 701 B.C. It is equally clear that the writer of the psalm represents this momentous event and the predilection which God has shown for Judah and Zion as correlated—in other words, that he regards the one as the direct sequel of the other. It is, finally, clear that he sees in Zion's deliverance proof of its inviolate sanctity, absolute guaranty that God has built it for eternity. Since, then, the conviction expressed in verses 65-69 is strikingly the same as that which dominates Psalms 48 and 76, it may safely be concluded that Psalm 78 is another product inspired by the deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 B.C.

In verses 70 ff., "He has chosen David for his servant, etc.," the writer makes plain by the imperfect of progressive duration *yanhēm* of the last line that he has reference not so much to David himself as to the dynasty of David, which had endured down to the psalmist's own day and beyond. He looks upon the preference God has shown for the dynasty of David as

inseparably bound up with that which he has shown for Zion: both have been demonstrated by the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib, coupled with the downfall of Samaria that went before. This explains why the writer now applies to Judah the name "Jacob," which he used before as a designation of the Northern Kingdom—a procedure which has numerous parallels in prophetic literature and other psalms written after the fall of Samaria.

PURPOSE

Unlike Psalms 48 and 76, Psalm 78 is not a product of the immediate impression the deliverance of Jerusalem made on the poet but was composed a short time after the happening, when his erstwhile rapture and wonder at the country's escape had given way to a sober, dispassionate review of the experience. It was written with the purpose of promoting the reform of the Yahweh cult which was carried out by Hezekiah, and it is of great value as a contemporary source of this undertaking, conveying to us a clear idea of its incentive and object. The psalm is of extreme importance also in another respect inasmuch as, together with Psalms 48 and 76, it throws light on the rise of the belief in the inviolate sanctity of Zion.

As to the direct bearing Psalm 78 has on Hezekiah's reform, note that the psalmist's object is to make his escaped countrymen realize that the high places and image worship are the sin of the past for which Ephraim was destroyed and Judah "chastened sore," and that hence it behooves them not to offend God any longer by these sinful practices. In other words, the psalm bears out the records, II Kings 18:4, 22, and II. Chron. 29:4-16; 30:14, 6-12; 31:1,¹²⁴ as to the twofold object of Hezekiah's reform—abolition of the high places as well as of image worship. It thus furnishes conclusive proof that both parts of these records are authentic and refutes definitely the prevalent view that Hezekiah's reform was confined to the abolition of

¹²⁴ With Rothstein in Kautzsch-Bertholet, *Die Heilige Schrift d. Alt. Test.* (4th ed.), II, 660, I hold that in the source from which the record in Chronicles about Hezekiah's reform of the cult is derived there was no mention of the Passah celebration, that the story of such a celebration by Hezekiah got in Chronicles from another source.

image worship.¹²⁵ The record in II Chronicles is not a late, largely fictitious product, as it is commonly thought, but is derived from a reliable source and contains a considerable amount of trustworthy information.

Psalms 78 enables us to settle also another moot question. Owing to the fact that in both Kings and Chronicles the record of Hezekiah's reform precedes that of Judah's invasion by Sennacherib in 701 B.C., and that Chronicles, moreover, apparently speaks of it as an occurrence of the first year of Hezekiah's reign, it is commonly held that the reform was directly inspired by the downfall of Samaria in 722 B.C. and carried out soon after that event, the only dissenting opinion being Stade's, who considers it as having grown out of the happenings of the year 701, without giving any reason for his deviating view.¹²⁶ Now Psalm 78 shows not only that the rescue of Judah from Sennacherib was indeed the immediate incentive of Hezekiah's reform but also that prior to this the people were anything but predisposed to such an undertaking; for the lines,

Then, like a warrior drowsed by wine,
The Lord awoke as from a sleep,

make it plain that they reacted to the downfall of Samaria exactly as the pre-Exilic prophets declared again and again that they would to the nation's destruction.¹²⁷ They were bewildered at the blow which their God had dealt them, taking it as a demonstration of his impotence, and as a consequence of this they were spiritually unfit to give any thought to reform. It was not until Assyria's plan was frustrated at the gates of Jerusalem that the previous destruction of Samaria appeared in a different light. To point out this new aspect is the very task which the writer of Psalm 78 set to himself. In the conclusion which he reached regarding image worship he was, of course, influ-

¹²⁵ This is the view of all authorities, with exception of Steuernagel, *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes* (Halle, 1896), pp. 100-113; Kittel, *Geschichte . . .*, II, 475-81; and Rothstein, *op. cit.*, who hold that there is no valid reason for questioning the authenticity of any part of II Kings 18:4 and 22.

¹²⁶ *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Tübingen, 1909) I, 233 ff.

¹²⁷ See the discourse on Psalm 137.

enced by the ire and reproach which the prophets vented against this practice (cf. Hos. 8:5 f.; 14:4, 9; Isa. 2:8, 20). Similarly, he doubtless arrived at his conclusions regarding the high places by way of such prophetic utterances as Amos 5:4-5; 7:9, where Amos tells his audience that God cannot be sought or found at Bethel or Gilgal or Beersheba, the great sanctuaries of the country, and predicts their speedy destruction. Unable to understand the caustic words and prediction of Amos in the light of the prophet's preaching, he put the same wrong construction on them as did the Deuteronomists and Ezekiel later—a construction identical with the traditional interpretation as it prevailed through the centuries—that Amos spoke about these sanctuaries in this vein because they were illegitimate places of worship.

We have seen above that Isaiah, far from sharing or encouraging the conviction of the psalmist that

God has built his sanctuary [at Zion] like the hills,
Like the world which he has founded forever,

even denounced this belief as a fatal delusion, and that hence there is no basis whatever found for it in any of his prophecies. It remains, therefore, now to consider what factors really entered into the formation of the conviction which the psalmist voices in these lines. Had we only Psalms 48 and 76 to go by, we would have to conclude that his belief in Zion as the inviolate abode of Yahweh was inspired altogether by the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem; but by his reasoning in Psalm 78 a different aspect is put on the matter: verses 56-72 not only show that the previous destruction of North Israel was another contributing factor in maturing the belief but also make clear all that is implied by it. As defined in these verses, the belief means that God has chosen Zion for his abode not as one among many others but to the exclusion of all others. Had he not been offended by the other high places of the country, even as he had been by the images? And did he not surrender them to the hand of the enemy? The conviction thus reached meant a complete break with the previous belief in the sanctity of the high places. Thus the law of the Book of Covenant, governing each

and every one of them, including the Temple on Mount Zion, reads: "I will come to thee and bless thee in whatever place I deign to be worshipped."¹²⁸ And the story of Jacob's dream makes the same affirmation regarding Bethel as the people of their days, Micah and Jeremiah tell us, made regarding Zion: "Verily, Yahweh abides in this place."¹²⁹ Note also that Amos calls Bethel *miqdash melek*, "the royal sanctuary," and the high places in general *miqdēshē Yisrā'ēl*¹³⁰—a term otherwise used of the Temple on Mount Zion only. It will then be seen that Psalm 78 not only provides for the very reform which, the records in Kings and Chronicles tell us, Hezekiah carried out but also motivates it and so enables us to see Hezekiah's reform in the full light of history.

AUTHORSHIP

Psalm 78 has generally been underrated as a poem, being considered as on a par with Psalms 105 and 106, although it is, in reality, incomparably superior to both these psalms. By the nature of the case it has not the fire or the intense dramatic force of Psalms 48 and 76, but like these it is a finished poem. To illustrate this let us consider

And he has built his sanctuary there like the hills,
Like the world which he has founded forever.

In these lines we have the leading idea of Psalms 48 and 76 re-expressed, reduced to a single distich—re-expressed, moreover, in an entirely original form of perfect beauty. To my mind this superior quality of the two lines points to the conclusion that Psalm 78 is another product of the author of Psalms 48 and 76, for it is not well conceivable that another than their writer could have succeeded in reproducing the sum and substance of the two psalms with such signal effect. Its aesthetic effect may on analysis be seen to be due to the fact that the distich, notwithstanding the resemblance it bears to certain lines in Psalms 48 and 76, strikes home more by what differentiates it from these lines than by what it has in common with them. Thus *yēkōnēnehā* of Ps. 48:9 is in 78:69 changed to

¹²⁸ Exod. 20:24.

¹²⁹ Gen. 28:16; Mic. 3:11; Jer. 14:9.

¹³⁰ 7:9, 13.

wayyiben . . . miqdasho; further the adverbial phrase *'ōlām*, which in the former qualifies the pronominal suffix *hā*, that is, "His city," qualifies in the latter the comparison *kēmō 'areš*; finally, the comparison *rāmīm* calls to one's mind the comparison *meharērē 'ad* made with reference to God in Ps. 76:5. The rest of the poem is on a par with the distich analyzed: far from being diffuse (as is thought), it is vivid and spirited throughout, and it is to be classed as epic rather than as didactic poetry.

SOURCE OF THE REVIEW OF THE PAST

There has been much unnecessary speculation on the question of on which source or sources of the Hexateuch the lengthy review of the remote past rests. It has escaped the interpreters that light is thrown on the question by the piece of information which the psalmist himself furnishes in the opening lines of the poem:

I shall speak of the ancient wisdom,
I shall discourse on the mystical lore from the past,
Which from tradition we know:
Our fathers disclosed it to us,
They did not keep it concealed from their children,
But disclosed for future generations
The glorious deeds of the Lord and his might,
The wondrous things he did.

In these lines he tells expressly that what he relates of the lore of the past, of God's glorious deeds of old, he knows not from written but from traditional lore. This piece of information is of supreme value not only for the particular question which interests us here but also for the broader question bound up with it—the question, that is, of the final revision of the oldest saga material of the Hexateuch, that of the so-called Yahwistic and Elohist sources. This is, however, not the place for a detailed discussion of this complicated question; only some brief remarks can be made, chiefly for the purpose of elucidating the specific case under consideration. The obvious inference from the remark, "Which from tradition we know," is that as late as 701 B.C. neither the stories of the Yahwistic nor those of the Elohist source can as yet have been committed to writing but were still handed down by word of mouth only. This state-

ment is an important link in the chain of other evidence that bears on the question of their ultimate compilation and points to the conclusion that, in the form in which these stories have come down to us, they must be the product of the final metamorphosis which they underwent among the followers of the great literary prophets during the Exile. Thus Hosea's reference (12:3-5, 13) to the Jacob story presupposes a version quite at variance with that of Genesis—a version of a more primitive, mythical character. Thus, too, Ezekiel's characterization (chap. 16) of Israel's whole past as wicked and defiled, specifically his censure,

By birth and origin thou art Canaanitish,
Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother was a Hittite [vs. 3],

shows that the story of Abraham as told in Genesis could not have been current in the first decade and a half of the Exile—the date of his book¹³¹—as in that case it is not well conceivable that he would have spoken of the ancestry of the nation in this derogatory way. It is in Deutero-Isaiah that we find evidence for the first time of the existence of such a story: note how Deutero-Isaiah lays emphasis on Abraham's call by God for the good of humanity, how he speaks of him as the friend of God and holds him up as an ideal.¹³²

As proof that for his review of the remote past the psalmist draws neither upon the stories of the Yahwistic source nor upon those of the Elohist, and that hence the final redaction or compilation of both must date from a time later than 700 B.C., it may be noted that the version the psalm has of the story of the manna and the story of the quails is notably at variance with their versions in both the Yahwistic and the Elohist source as found in Exodus, chapter 16, and Numbers, chapter 11. Thus the psalm describes the manna as "heavenly grain," as "the bread of the mighty gods." Of the second description there is not even a trace in either the Yahwistic or the Elohist version of the manna; and as for the first—in addition to the

¹³¹ See my article, "The Date and Character of Ezekiel's Prophecies," *HUCA*, VII (1930), 1-7, 16 ff.

¹³² Isa. 41:8-9; 51:1-2.

statement, "When the dew that had fallen was gone, behold, on the surface of the desert there lay thin flakes, as tiny as hoarfrost on the ground"—the one says, "I will rain bread out of the heavens for you" (Exod. 16:4, 14), while in the other there is not even so much resemblance as this, since it merely says, "When the dew fell on the camp by night, the manna fell on it also" (Num. 11:9). Nor is there in either version any parallel to

He gave command to the skies above
And opened the gates of the heavens—

lines which satisfy all requirements of the epic style, reading like lines from Homer, and which, like "Men ate the bread of the mighty gods," are conspicuously primitive in character.

Also the version the psalm has of the story of the quails excels that of the Yahwistic narrative (Num. 11:4-6, 10-13, 18-24a, 31-34) in imaginativeness and picturesqueness of description and differs from it in detail. Thus note what contrast there is between

He let loose the east wind in the sky
And drove the southwind on with might

and "There arose a wind at Yahweh's command" of Num. 11:31; or between

While he showered meat on them like dust,
Winged birds as numberless as the sands of the sea

and the prosaic, hyperbolic statement in Num. 11:31 that two cubits deep the quails covered the ground around the camp to the extent of a day's journey in every direction; also between

They had not yet turned surfeited from their longed-for feast

and the corresponding "Ere it was devoured" of Num. 11:33. The lines of the psalm,

When the anger of God flared up against them,
And wrought destruction in their well-fed ranks,
And laid low the youth of Israel,

are not only incomparably superior in style to "The wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people, and the Lord inflicted a very heavy blow on the people" but also vary from it by the

modification that it was the youth of Israel that God laid low—a very accurate observation, without question—and by the touch of humor which there is in the phrase “their well-fed ranks.” Of other minor deviations in the version of the psalm from the Yahwistic narrative, note that this version knows nothing of quails but speaks only of “winged birds,” nor does it tell that “they were brought from across the sea,” as does Num. 11:31. What has been remarked in regard to the lines,

He gave command to the skies
And opened the gates of the heavens,

applies also to the lines,

He let loose the east wind in the sky,
And drove the south wind on with might—

they are highly picturesque and lend the description a distinctly primitive character. It should finally be noted that the description which the psalmist gives in verses 17–22 of how the people expressed their discontent and showed their lack of faith differs materially in content no less than in style from that of the Yahwistic writer in Exod. 16:2–3 and Num. 11:4–6, and also that he speaks of the cleaving of the rock for water as antedating the falling of the manna and the quails. His deviation from the Yahwistic and the Elohist versions of the story of the manna and the story of the quails could not well be more far-reaching. Though it is impossible to say how much of this is the creation of his own genius, and how much belongs to the story as it was current at the close of the eighth century B.C., yet the general character of his version, one would judge from analogies, was on the whole doubtless determined for the poet, shaped and fixed by the imagination of the past, while its literary form is in all probability largely his own. I may add that the reflections in verses 34–39,

When he slew them, did they turn to him?
Did they repent and seek God?
Did they remember that God was their rock,
The most high God their Redeemer?
Nay, they beguiled him with their mouth,
And lied to him with their tongue:
In their heart they were not true to him,

Nor were they faithful to his covenant.
 But he is merciful, he forgives transgression,
 And destroys not the guilty;
 He will often suppress his anger
 Rather than loose his wrath.
 So he remembered that they were flesh—
 A breath that passes out and comes not back—

lines which are illustrative alike of the poet's literary skill and spiritual insight—are without doubt altogether the work of his muse. Likewise the highly effective transition between the six Egyptian plagues and the cumulative seventh formed by the lines,

He loosed on them his fierce anger,
 Wrath and fury and misery—
 A legion of heralds of evil;
 He blazed a path for his ire
 And spared not even their lives,

is, it seems to me, original with him, even as are the boldly imaginative lines,

Then, like a warrior drowsed by wine,
 The Lord awoke as from a sleep—

two other lines worthy of a Homer.

Aside from their climactic effect, the lines by which the seventh plague is introduced serve still another purpose. They lead up to the real point toward which the description of the plagues has been moving—that by this display of his power God at last effected Israel's freedom from Egypt. This description of verses 42-53 is not a foreign element, an originally independent poem, inserted in the psalm by a later editor, as some critics have maintained, nor even an afterthought,¹³³ but it is an integral part of it, fitting in excellently with its general plan. To account for the destruction of Ephraim, the poet gives a review of Israel's waywardness and faithlessness to God, which began in the days of the wilderness and has persisted down to the present, though the people might have profited from the tragic experience of their fathers in the wilderness. But instead of this, they have been, like them, "a stubborn and unruly generation,"

¹³³ Rothstein, *op. cit.*; Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 187; Löhr, *Psalmstudien* (1922), pp. 10 ff.; Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

forgetful, like Israel in the desert, of what God did for them in the past, how he delivered them from their bondage in Egypt—

How that day . . . he displayed his portents to the Egyptians,
His wonders throughout the land of Zoan.

The psalmist thus emphasizes, with Amos and the prophets that followed him,¹³⁴ that Israel's disobedience to God, their refusal to live by his law, is the more unpardonable because of what God did for them in delivering them from Egypt, though he differs from these prophets in an essential point: instead of regarding the days of the wilderness as the ideal period of Israel's history,¹³⁵ he finds that the people's faithlessness and ingratitude to God began at that very time. It will, then, be seen that verses 42-53, far from marring the poetic unity, eminently satisfy it.

2. *I shall speak of the ancient wisdom*] The phrase *pathaḥ pîhû*, which is very common, must not be translated literally, being an idiom, which means *speak or utter*: cf. Prov. 31:26, *pîhā pathēḥa bēḥokma*, "She utters wisdom," and note that *hokma*, like *mashal* here, is construed with it with *bē*. *Minni qedem* is a case of brachylogy: it is to be construed with *mashal* as well as with *ḥidōth*. As to *mashal* meaning *wisdom*, cf. Prov. 1:6, where it is used synonymously with *dibrē ḥakamîm*; it may denote "visional" or "prophetic discourse," as in Num. 23:7, 18, *et al.*, "allegory," as in Ezek. 17:2, or "poem" of any other kind, as in Isa. 14:4.

Mystical lore] Cf. Num. 12:8, where *ḥidōth* means "mystic revelation."

3, 4. *Which from tradition we know*] It has heretofore escaped the translators, ancient and modern alike, that *shama'nū wannēda'ēm* is a syntactical unit, that *shama'nū* is complementary verb to *wannēda'ēm*, as the parallel stich, "Our fathers disclosed it to us," *sippērū lanū*, shows, as does also the following verse, which not only elaborates *'dbōthēnū sippērū lanū* but repeats *mēsappērîm* with emphasis: cf. vss. 29, 38, 41; Pss. 26:1; 45:5; 93:1.

They did not keep it concealed from their children] Since "their children" and "us" of vs. 3b are identical, it is self-evident that *nekaḥed* cannot be original reading; this follows also from the participial clause *mēsappērîm*, for the omission of the person of the first (or second) person in participial clauses would be contrary to rule.¹³⁶ Gr. and Hier. read *nikḥad*; I conclude from the participial clause and also on the strength of the parallel, Job 15:18 (which may possibly have been influenced by the verse of this psalm), that the text read originally כִּי־נִכַּחַד.

¹³⁴ See Amos 3:1-2; also 2:9-10; Mic. 6:1-4; Jer. 2:6.

¹³⁵ Cf. Hos. 2:17; 9:10; Jer. 2:2-3; Amos 5:25.

¹³⁶ As Gesenius-Kautzsch (28th ed.), § 116s, points out, the seeming exceptions are all found in doubtful texts.

12. *in the land of Zoan*] Other examples of *sēdē* denoting "land" are Num. 21:20; Ruth 1:1, *sēdē mo'ab*, "the land of Moab"; Hos. 12:13, *sēdē 'ārām*, "the land of Syria." Since Zoan—the later Greek name of which is Tanis—of Lower Egypt was in the day of the psalmist the capital of the Egyptian Empire (see Isa. 30:4), he uses the *land of Zoan* as another designation of Egypt.

15. *and gave them drink*] Read, with Gr. *αἰρούς*, אִירֹאִים after *wayyashq. in abundance*] As often, the fem. adjective *rabba* is an adverbial accusative; being singular, it cannot possibly be attributive of *tēhōmōth*, as Gr., Hier., and R.V. wrongly take it.

8. *Whose heart was not fixed on God*] The prepositional phrase '*eth 'ēl* of vs. 8b is to be construed also with *lō' hekīn libbō*, being a case of brachylogy.

19. *Yea, they affronted God*] Other examples of *dibber be*, meaning "af-front" or "insult" are Ps. 50:20; Num. 12:1, 8; Job 19:18.

when they said] '*Amērū* and *wayyēdabbērū* are not co-ordinated but are a temporal sentence, the protasis of which is formed with the perfect and the apodosis with imperfect with *waw consecutivum*.

22. *Though*] *Ki* is here concessive, not causal, conjunction.

25. *Men ate*] '*Ish* functions as a collective but is construed with the sing. of the verbal predicate—a construction of which there are numerous other examples: cf. Judg. 7:23; 12:1; 20:20, 39, 41; I Sam. 17:25; II Sam. 19:43 f.; 20:2.

of the mighty gods] There is nothing surprising about this connotation of '*abbirim*, since '*ābir* of '*ābir ya'ākōb* and '*ābir yisrā'el* is an old designation of God. The Jewish Alexandrian translators, who rendered '*abbirim* "angels," interpreted the word in accordance with the notions regarding heaven which held sway in their own days rather than in accordance with the notions current at the time that the psalm was written: Ps. 89A:6-8 can throw light on these.

He sent down] With Buhl-Kittel and Gunkel omit *lahēm* for reasons of rhythm.

26. *with might*] This is one of the instances where Hebrew uses the possessive pronoun, although English does not.

28. *He let them fall*] *Wayyappel* requires no emendation: the preceding collective '*ōph kanaph* of vs. 27 is to be construed as object also with *wayyappel*, being a case of brachylogy.

29. *So they did eat their fill*] *Wayyisbē'ū* is complementary verb to *wayyō'kēlū*: cf. vs. 3.

33. *like a breath*] *Bē of bahebel* is *bē essentiae*: cf. 39:7, *bēšelem*, "like a shadow."

34-37. *When*] '*Im* functions as a temporal conjunction, as again in Pss. 63:7; 94:18; 138:8; Job 7:4; 17:6.

did they turn to him? etc.] It is clear from vss. 36-37 that vss. 34-35 must be interrogative sentences, and not declarative, as they are generally taken.

true] This is the meaning of *nakōn* here: cf. Ps. 5:10, *nēkōna*, "truth"; Job 42:7 f., *lō' dibbartem nēkōna*, "Ye have not spoken truthfully"; Deut. 13:15, where *nakōn* is used as a synonym of '*emeth* and means "sure," "certain"; also the phrase '*el nakōn*, "for sure," I Sam. 23:23; 26:4.

38. The entire verse is a general reflection; the tenses as well as '*awōn*,

without the pronominal suffix *am*, shows this: the rendering "their iniquity" of R.V. is not correct.

the guilty] *Yashhith* is a case of ellipsis, the object being omitted for rhetorical effect.

41. *Time and again they tempted*] *Wayyashbū* is complementary verb to *wayyēnassū*, just as in vs. 38 *hīrbā* is to *lēhashīb*.

42, 43. *How that day he delivered them . . . How he displayed*] Note that *yōm* is clearly the antecedent of both relative clauses, that is, of '*āsher padām* and of '*āsher sām*; further, that *yōm*, with the two relative clauses, is in apposition to *yad*.

the land of Zoan] Cf. vs. 12.

45. *pester them*] Cf. Ruth 4:6, *pen 'ashhith*, "Lest I mar"; Jer. 49:9, *hishhithū dayyām*, "They do as much damage as they can."

46. *Their harvest*] This meaning of *yagī'a* follows from the parallel phrase *yēbūl*: cf. Hos. 12:9, where it connotes "wealth."

47. *frost*] *Hānamal* is so rendered by Gr., Aq., Syr., and Hier.

(48a) 50c, 48b. Verse 50c, as pointed out above, was originally a correction of 48a and read *ūbē'irām* instead of *wēhayyathām*.

to the pestilence] As in Hab. 3:5, where *yēšē resheph* is synonymous with *lēphanaw yēlek deber*, so here (and also in Deut. 32:24) *rēshaphīm*, "the heat rays" or "fire bolts" of Yahweh are conceived of as bringing pestilence, as are the heat rays or "missiles of Apollo" in Greek literature.

51. *of Egypt*] Omit, with two MSS and Syr., *bē of bēmišraim*.

The male first born] *Rē'shith 'ōnām*, as is to be read with three MSS, the Versions, and Ps. 105:36, has heretofore not been understood. As in the parallel Ps. 105:36, *'ōnām* means "manhood" in the sense of adult males: cf. Hos. 12:4, where, like here, *bē'ōnō* means "in his manhood," in the sense of when he was a grown-up man, in contrast to when he was in his mother's womb (*babeṭen*) mentioned first. Inasmuch as "all the first born" of the first stich was liable to be misunderstood, the writer specifies in the second stich that it was the male first born that were slain; the verse is a nice example of synthetic parallelism.

55. *And allotted their land . . . to the tribes of Israel*] The rules of English style demand this departure from the sentence structure of the original. The fact that *nahāla* is used without a pronominal suffix shows that it is not governed by *hebel*; *bēhebel*, the *bē* of which is *bē essentiae*, forms with *wayyappel* a grammatical unit which *allotted* renders accurately.

57. *they rotted*] Cf. Job 20:14, *lahmō bēmē'aw nehpak*, "The food in his bowels will be turned," that is, "will become putrid" (*mē'orath*, following *nehpak*, is an accusative of comparison). This specific meaning of *nehpak* developed logically from its general meaning "to turn," that is, "to be changed" or "transformed." The English intransitive verb "to turn" may be pointed out as an exact analogy to this development of meaning of *nehpak*.

Like a lifeless bow] Cf. Prov. 10:4, *kaph rēmīya*, "an indolent" or "lazy hand."

59a, 21. *God saw*] As often, *shama'* connotes "to pay attention" or "to observe": cf. Gen. 42:21; Jer. 8:6; Mal. 3:16; Ps. 66:19, *et al.*

The fire of anger] It follows from the directly preceding *wayyith'abbar*, as

well as from 'aph 'alā which follows, that 'esh is a case of ellipsis, the qualifying genitive 'ebra or hema being omitted: the full phrase occurs in Ezek. 21:36; 22:31; 38:19.

60. in which he dwell] Vocalize, with the Versions, שָׁכַן, instead of shikken.

9. The difficulty *nōshēqē qesheth* has given the translators is, in the first place, due to the fact that they have failed to see that *rōmē* was originally a marginal gloss on *nōshēqē* and, in the second place, to the further fact that they have not recognized that the participle *nōshēqē* (as well as *rōmē*) is used with potential force, and that hence *nōshēqē qesheth* means *noted as archers* or "expert archers." There cannot be any doubt that this is its meaning, since in I Chron. 12:2, where the exact term is found again, the explanation is added, "They were with the right and left hand alike skilful in slinging stones and in shooting with bows and arrows." Since the writer of Chronicles deemed it in place to add this detailed explanation to *nōshēqē qesheth*, it is not surprising to find that some later editor added to *nōshēqē* here the gloss *rōmē*, "wont to handle."

63. had no marriage song] There is nothing surprising about *hūllālū* being used in this specific sense, since Aramaic *hillūlā* means "wedding."

65. *Mithrōnen* is derived from *rūn* (not from *ranan*) and like the corresponding Arabic verb means "overcome with," "drowsed by."

66. He put his enemies to rout] It should hardly be necessary to mention that this translation (which is practically the same as that of R.V., "He smote his adversaries backward") is the only one possible were it not for the fact that the traditional interpretation, "He smote his enemies in the hinder parts," still predominates. The interpreters who uphold it have overlooked the fact that 'ahōr in the singular is used throughout as an adverbial accusative only, or with prepositions when it is likewise a mere adverbial phrase, and that only the plural 'dhōrīm (with either a pronominal suffix or a following genitive) is used as a substantive proper, meaning "the back." *Wayyak 'ahōr* is synonymous with *heshīb 'ahōr* (Ps. 44:11; Lam. 1:13); like this, it means "to beat" or "drive back" or "to put to rout."

69. like the hills] Note, first, that the adjective *rāmīm* is a case of ellipsis, the substantive *harīm* being omitted, just as in the similar well-known case of 'ālōth of vs. 71 the substantive *kēbasōth* is omitted; further, that *rāmīm* is an accusative of comparison.

PSALMS BY THE DISCIPLES OF THE GREAT PROPHETS

A. PSALM 29

THE THUNDER OF THE LORD

- 1* Give unto the Lord, ye gods,
Give unto him glory and praise;
2 Give unto the Lord the glory due his name,
Worship the Lord in holy array.
- 3 The voice of the Lord peals across the waters—
It is the God of glory thundering,
The Lord thundering over the mighty waters.
- 4 The thunder of the Lord is overpowering,
The thunder of the Lord is full of majesty,
5 The thunder of the Lord crashes down the cedars,
Yea, the Lord crashes down the cedars of Lebanon,
6 Making Lebanon leap like a calf,
And Siryon like a wild ox.
- 7 The thunder of the Lord hurls fiery bolts,
8 The thunder of the Lord makes the desert tremble,
The Lord makes the Desert of Kadesh tremble;
9 The thunder of the Lord splits the oaks,
And strips the forest bare:
In his temple everything calls out, Glory!
- 10 The Lord sits enthroned over the flood,
He is enthroned as King forever.

A LATER LITURGICAL APPENDIX

- 11 May the Lord give strength to his people,
May he bless his people with peace.

Psalms 29 is a poem of signal beauty, unique in kind. To appreciate the realism and force of the poet's portrayal of the thunder of the Lord, it must be borne in mind that thunderstorms in Palestine are of a fury and grandeur almost unknown in other countries. They are invariably accompanied by tor-

* A Psalm of David.

rential rain, which, deluging the country, augments the devastation following in the wake of the raging storm.

One hesitates to comment on a poem of such simple, consummate beauty as Psalm 29, feeling as one does that, no matter how much the poem is colored by the local characteristics of the storm, it makes such a universal appeal that it is as fresh today as it was when first written twenty-six or more centuries ago. On first thought one might be inclined to consider the psalm (with some interpreters)¹³⁷ as a piece of primitive contemplation of nature because the claps of thunder have taken such hold of the poet's mind that he seems hardly conscious of the flashes of lightning attending them. But the prominence which the peals of thunder occupy in the poem assume another aspect when seen in the light of the description R. W. Stewart gives of a thunderstorm in the Desert of Sinai as observed from the foot of Gebel Katharin:

The solemn stillness that pervades this wilderness, and the distance at which a man's voice may be heard has not failed to be remarked by everyone who has traversed it. . . . Some conception may therefore be formed of how majestic and awful a thunderstorm in such circumstances must be; but words are too feeble to describe the reality. Every bolt, as it burst with the roar of a cannon, seemed to awaken a series of distinct echoes on every side, and you heard them banded from crack to crack as they rushed along the wadis; while they swept like a whirlwind among the higher mountains, becoming faint as some mighty peak intervened, and bursting with undiminished volume through some yawning cleft, till the very ground trembled with the concussion. Such sounds it is impossible to forget; it seemed as if the mountains of the whole peninsula were answering one another in a chorus of the deepest bass. Ever and anon a flash of lightning dispelled the pitchy darkness and lit up the tent as if it had been day; then, after the interval of a few seconds, came the peal of thunder, bursting like a shell to scatter its echoes to the four quarters of the heavens, and overpowering for a moment the loud howlings of the wind.¹³⁸

This description throws unexpected light on Psalm 29, being, as a matter of fact, the best commentary on it. What makes it especially valid is the fact that by "the Desert of Kadesh," which, the psalm says, is made to tremble as the peals of thunder sweep across its expanse, is meant either the east part of

¹³⁷ Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Gunkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 f.

¹³⁸ *The Tent and the Khan: A Journey to Sinai and Palestine* (1857), pp. 139 f.

the Desert of Sinai, that is, the Desert of Sin, or, what is more probable, the entire Desert of Sinai. As proof of this, note, first of all, that the name "Desert of Kadesh" does not occur in Scriptures anywhere outside of this psalm; further, that while in Num. 20:1; 27:14, and Deut. 32:51 Kadesh or Meribath Kadesh,¹³⁹ as it is called in the two last of these three passages, is said to be located in the Desert of Sin, in Ps. 95:8 Meribath—with Kadesh omitted—is said to be "in the desert," that is, the Desert of Sinai, or as Deut. 1:19 calls it, "the great desert" that extends from Mount Horeb-Sinai to the oasis Kadesh; note, finally, that it accords with all this that verse 8 of Psalm 29 expressly speaks of "the Desert of Kadesh" as identical with "the desert." There can be no doubt, then, that it is the effect peculiar to a thunderstorm in the Desert of Sinai that is so masterfully portrayed in this psalm. This explains why the description is so entirely different from those given of a storm in Ps. 18:8-16 and in Job 36:27-30, 32; 37:3-5*a*, 6*b*, 11-13—two other masterpieces of description.¹⁴⁰ Though the peals of thunder receive due emphasis also in these, yet they are in no wise described as of all-absorbing interest, overshadowing all other phenomena of the storm.

But more vital than its literary excellence is the spirit that breathes through the psalm. Although the poet depicts in vivid colors the wild fury of the storm, it has lost all terror for him, having been transformed into a supreme revelation of the over-awing majesty of God:

In his temple everything calls out, Glory!

This is the keynote of the psalm. By "his temple," the context shows, is meant not an earthly or even a heavenly sanctuary but nature, which does homage to him as

The Lord who sits enthroned over the flood,
Enthroned as King forever.

From all this it is clear that the writer of the psalm is a true monotheist, and that hence "ye gods" of the exordium must

¹³⁹ Another name of Kadesh is Kadesh Barnea (see Num. 34:4; Deut. 1:2, 19; 2:4).

¹⁴⁰ See my *The Book of Job*, pp. 142 ff.; 276 ff.

not be pressed but is to be judged as a poetic license much the same as "all the gods" of Ps. 96:4, where

. . . . great is the Lord

August is he, transcending all the gods,

is followed by

All the gods of the nations are things of naught,
But the Lord made the heavens.

By "over the flood" the deluge of rain is meant, flooding the land, in particular the source from which it pours down, that is, the heavenly ocean, or "The stream of God which is full of water," as Psalm 65B puts it (cf. also Ps. 18:12):

He weaves a pavilion round him
Out of the pouring rain and the dark clouds—

a version of the notion met with again in Job's description of the thunderstorm (37:1 f., 36:27 ff.) referred to above, where

He distilleth rain from his mist,
Which the skies pour down

is followed by

Who can comprehend the poise of his pavilion?
Behold, he spreads out his mist around him
And covers with it the mountaintops;

to which "He has veiled his throne by spreading his clouds around it" (26:9) is to be added as another link in the chain of evidence.

From the fact that the notion met with in these various passages underlies and elucidates the words, "The Lord sits enthroned over the flood," it follows that also the lines,

The voice of the Lord peals across the waters—
It is the God of glory thundering,
The Lord thundering over the mighty waters,

are to be taken as referring to the water masses in the sky, the rain flood, pouring down from the thunderclouds, and not as picturing the storm as coming up from the sea. There is nothing in the least surprising about finding this notion referred to in a poem that ranks spiritually as high as Psalm 29 when it is remembered that the notion of a heavenly ocean held sway over

the minds throughout ancient and medieval times, astrological as well as general literature being full of it. Even the advanced writer of the Book of Job, who had outgrown the primitive notion which took the earth as a disk surrounded by the ocean, and who instead regarded it as a sphere suspended "in the vacuum,"¹⁴¹ entertained the notion of a heavenly ocean. We have also seen that the notion is found already in the ancient Psalm 65B, and that in ancient Egypt it is met with as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. in the Hymn to the Sun of Ikhnoton. All this shows how far afield Duhm is when he deduces from the reference to this notion in verses 3 and 10 that Psalm 29 is a late product.¹⁴²

With a number of interpreters I consider the line, "He is enthroned as King forever," the original end of the psalm. What follows now,

May the Lord give strength to his people,
May he bless his people with peace

mars the poetic unity, being conspicuously different from the psalm proper in both thought and diction. It is clearly a liturgical appendix: we know from the addition to the heading in the Greek, ἐξοδίου σκηνης, which, as the Syriac of Paul of Tella correctly interprets, is *diei octavae festi tabernaculorum*,¹⁴³ that in the time of the second Temple the psalm was sung in connection with the sacrificial service on the eighth, that is, the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles. This liturgical use of the psalm readily explains how verse 11 came later to be added.

DATE

If we had only its content and spirit to go by, it would be impossible to reach any definite conclusion as to whether Psalm 29 is a product of pre-Exilic or post-Exilic times. There is, however, a piece of indirect evidence which is of help in ascertaining the date—namely, the fact that the two opening verses are,

¹⁴¹ Cf. Job 26:7, "He has arched the North over the void,
He has suspended the earth over the vacuum."

¹⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁴³ Cf. Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35, where the Greek likewise renders ἡμέρη, ἐξοδίου.

except for one variation, quoted verbatim in Ps. 96:7-9. Since Psalm 96, with Psalms 93, 97, and 98, was written (as we shall see later) by Deutero-Isaiah on the occasion of Israel's rebirth in 538 B.C., it follows that Psalm 29 antedates Psalm 96. Now, it is on the face of the matter excluded that the psalm could be a literary product of the Exile, for if it were it would be bound to reflect somehow the deathblow dealt the nation in 586 B.C., as does, in fact, every one of the Exilic psalms. This, then, leaves room for one conclusion only—that Psalm 29 dates from pre-Exilic times. Equally certain it is that its author must at one time or another have been in the Desert of Sinai himself and have known from experience what a thunderstorm was like there. This datum enables us to limit the date tentatively still further inasmuch as it calls to mind, first, that not only the great pre-Exilic literary prophets but also the Rechabites, who preceded them by about a century and maintained their order down to the close of pre-Exilic times,¹⁴⁴ held the Desert of Sinai in high regard and considered the nomadic life of Israel in the desert as the ideal mode of living. And, what is still more important, it recalls the prophetic figure of Elijah, of whom we know that he made the desert his abode and that, when weary of the fruitless struggle and forced to flee from Ahab's wrath because he had predicted the overthrow of his dynasty, he sought refuge in the Desert of Sinai. It is also noteworthy that the later story of his flight to the desert tells that he even journeyed to Mount Horeb and received a revelation there. And the (prophetic) author of the younger version of the story goes so far as to make out that the revelation that came to him on Mount Horeb concerned the supreme prophetic truth, that it is not in the phenomena of nature but by "the still, small voice" that God reveals himself to man. All this provides the social and spiritual milieu for the creation of Psalm 29.

In conclusion it may be remarked that the Babylonian hymn to the thunder-god Adad¹⁴⁵ might be contrasted but cannot be

¹⁴⁴ Cf. II Kings 10:15 ff.; and Jeremiah, chap. 35.

¹⁴⁵ See H. Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete* (AO, IV [1905]); p. 12; M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1905), I, 482 f.

compared with Psalm 29, being poetically as well as spiritually conspicuously inferior to it.

3. *The Lord thundering*] *Yhwh* is another subject of *hir'im* and not, as R.V. takes it, the subject of *'al mayim*.

4. *is overpowering . . . is full of majesty*] *Bakoah* and *bēhadar* are nice examples of the use of *be essentiae* with a nominal predicate.

6. *Making Lebanon leap . . . And Siryon*] Omit, with Bickell and the majority of present-day interpreters, the suffix of *wayyargīdēm*, reading *וִירְקָד*, the objects of which are *lēbanōn* and *shiryōn*.

7. *hurls*] The text is intact: *ḥaṣab*, as explained by the Hebrew *Lexica*, Kirkpatrick and others, is "a poetical description of the forked lightnings darting from the clouds"; it can best be rendered by "hurls," though this is slightly free.

9. *splits the oaks*] The present vocalization *'ayyālōth* cannot be the original reading, for, in the first place, neither wild nor domestic animals are so affected by a storm that they calve prematurely and, in the second place, the parallelism, "And strips the forest bare," shows that the verse speaks of the destruction the storm works on the trees and in the woods. It is clear, then, that the vocalization *'ayyālōth* cannot possibly be defended and that *אֵילֹת* must be the original reading of the word, as Lowth and others have pointed out. *Yēhōlel* is Pō'el of *ḥalal*, which, used with reference to living beings, means "to pierce," while the passive participle *mehōlal*, Isa. 53:5, denotes "stricken," being used synonymously with *mēdukkā*.

10. *over the flood*] Cf. Ps. 9:5, where, as here for *'al*, the preposition *lē* is used with *yashab*: *yashabla lēkissē*, "Seat thyself on the [judgment] throne."

B. PSALM 104

- 1 Praise the Lord, O my soul!
Lord my God, thou art very great,
Thou art clothed with splendor and majesty.
- 2 He has wrapped himself in light as in a robe,
He has spread out the heavens like tent hangings;
- 3 The girders of his mansion he has built of water.
He has made clouds his chariot,
And he rides on the wings of the wind.
- 4 He has made the winds his messengers,
Flaming fire his ministers.
- 5 He planted the earth immovably upon its base
- 6 When it was yet covered with the deep as with a garment,

- When waters yet rose above the mountains.
7 At thy rebuke they fled,
At the sound of thy thunder they hastened away in
dismay;
8 They went past mountains, flowed down into the val-
leys,
As they receded to the place which thou hast assigned
to them:
9 Thou hast set bounds for them which they dare not
exceed,
So as never again to cover the earth.
- 10 He makes springs flow into the valleys,
Between mountains they wind their course,
11 Bringing drink to every beast of the forest
And stilling the wild asses' thirst.
13^a He waters the mountains from his mansion—
18 The lofty mountains where the wild goats have their
home,
The cliffs where the marmots find shelter.
13^b The earth has its fill from the moisture of thy clouds;
16 The trees of the Lord have their fill,
The cedars of Lebanon which he has planted:
12 In them live the birds of the air,
Perched amidst the foliage, they sing their songs.*
14 He makes the grass grow for the cattle,
And herbs for the beasts that serve man,
That out of the earth he may bring forth bread
15^c To sustain the heart of man,
15^{a-b} And wine, to cheer the heart of man
And to make his face shine brighter than oil.
- 19 He has made the moon to mark the seasons,
Assigned the sun his time to set.
20 When thou makest ready darkness, the night falls,

* 17 *Where the birds build their nests,
The stork has its home in fir trees.*

- And forthwith every beast of the forest is astir:
21 Lions roar for their prey,
From God they seek their food.
22 When the sun rises, they withdraw,
And lie down in their dens.
23 Then man goes forth to his work,
To his labor until night.
24 O Lord, innumerable are thy works,
Thou hast made them all in wisdom.
The earth is full of thy riches:
25 Behold, the great wide ocean,
Teeming with countless creatures,
Large and small.
26 Ships cross it,
And the Leviathan, which thou hast created to sport
therein.
27 They all look to thee
To give them their food in due season:
28 When thou givest it to them, they gather it in;
When thou openest thy hand,
They are filled with good things.
29 When thou hidest thy face, they are aghast;
When thou takest away their breath,
They die and return to dust.
30 When thou sendest forth thy breath,
They are brought into being:
So renewest thou the face of the earth.
31 May the glory of the Lord endure forever,
May the Lord rejoice in his works.
32 When he looks at the earth, it trembles;
When he touches the mountains, they smoke.
33 I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live,
I will sing praise to my God while I have my being.
34 May my meditation please him:
I find my joy in the Lord.†

† Vss. 35-36 belong to Psalm 103.

Psalm 104 is a poem of such grandeur that one hesitates to venture a synopsis. Alexander von Humboldt has aptly said of it: "We are astonished to find in a lyrical poem of such a limited compass the whole universe—heavens and earth—sketched with a few bold touches."¹⁴⁶ Like all great works of the creative imagination, this matchless sketch of the cosmos is graced with noble simplicity—no matter whether the poet describes God as wrapped in light as in a robe and riding on the wings of the wind; or whether, with sudden change of scene, he draws a picture of the earth when it was yet covered with the deep as with a garment and when, at God's thunder, the waters hastened away in dismay, rushing past mountains, flowing down into the valleys, as they receded to the place assigned to them; or whether he lets the earth, scene after scene, pass before our eyes in swift review—springs, winding their course between mountains, as they bring drink to every beast of the forest and still the wild asses' thirst; cloud-capped mountains, where the wild goats have their home and the marmots find shelter; the trees of Lebanon, with birds perched amid the luxuriant foliage and singing their songs; and, last, the great wide ocean, swarming with countless creatures, large and small.

All this diversity of phenomena the poet represents as but the image of the majesty of God revealed on every side—the measureless depths of the heavens, flooded with light, the eternal hills, soaring to sublime heights, and the vast expanse of the ocean, teeming with life. By the breath of God the world was created, and by his breath whatever stirs and moves is animated without end, and nature is ever renewed—even as it crumbles into dust whenever he takes away his breath.

In the entire Psalter there is no finer example of intimate communion with nature and profound sympathy with every living thing than this exalted description of the universe aglow with the splendor of God. To such a degree does the author look on all nature with human eyes that he hears in the roaring

¹⁴⁶ *Kosmos*, II, 47.

of the lion for prey a cry to God for food, and with true poetic feeling he says of men and animals alike:

They all look to thee
To give them their food in due season,

and "They are filled with good things" from his hand.

Verses 33-34 are, to my mind, the original ending of the psalm. Returning to the opening of his song, the poet vows to sing of God as long as he lives, to which he adds the wish that God may graciously accept his song. The wish expressed in verse 35a—that the sinners may disappear from the earth and the wicked be no more, which is generally thought to be sufficiently motivated by the writer's reflection in verse 32—seems to me to be a disturbing thought, foreign to the theme and spirit of the psalm.

This wish may be either of two things—an addition to Psalm 103, made originally in the margin, with the last line of the psalm, *barēkī naphshī 'eth 'ādōnai*, added to it as a cue (to indicate whereto the comment pertained), or a genuine part of Psalm 103, which in the course of transmission was omitted from it before the last line, *barēkī*, etc., and put in the margin, with this line added to it as a cue. However, whether it be the one or the other, it was put in the margin at the bottom of the page which presumably happened to end with the last line of Psalm 104. This explains how in the next copy it was with the cue mechanically joined to Psalm 104. As additional proof that verse 35 is not a genuine part of Psalm 104, note that the repetition of the words, "Praise the Lord, O my soul," with which the psalm begins, is, as some interpreters have observed, redundant after the poet's vow of verses 33-34.

RELATION TO THE HYMN OF IKHNATON

In recent years Psalm 104 has often been compared with the Egyptian Hymn to the Sun of Ikhnaton. It has even been maintained that the psalm was modeled after this famous hymn.¹⁴⁷ Such a view, however, grossly exaggerates the real relation between the two poems and is derived from a mechanical comparison rather than one based upon appreciation of inner meaning.

In both poems creation is described as continuous, as renewed day by day. But while in the Egyptian hymn the sun

¹⁴⁷ Gressmann, in *The Psalmists*, pp. 18 ff.; Blackman, *ibid.*, pp. 177 ff.; J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (2d ed.; New York, 1909), pp. 371 ff.; Kittel, *Die Psalmen*, p. xxv; Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

is deified, is described as the force behind all forces, as Creator and All-father, in the psalm the sun is looked upon as the handiwork of God, whose will it must obey like all other forces of nature. Further, the highly imaginative description in the psalm of how the earth emerged out of the deep is not found in the hymn. Vice versa, the thought on which much emphasis is laid in the hymn—that all men are children of God, who provides for their needs, be they Egyptians or Syrians or Nubians—is contained in the psalm only implicitly and is not expressly stated. And in the minor points of resemblance, as in the plan and general contents, the differences are more striking than the similarities.

Take, first, the following lines of the hymn:

When thou goest down in the western horizon,
The earth is in darkness as if it were dead.
They sleep in their chambers,
With their heads wrapped up,
And no eye sees the other.
If all their things that are lying under their heads were stolen,
They would not know it.
Every lion comes forth from his den,
All worms that bite.
Darkness is . . . the earth is silent,
He who created it has gone to rest in his horizon.

The corresponding lines of the psalm read:

When thou makest ready darkness, the night falls,
And forthwith every beast of the forest is astir:
Lions roar for their prey,
From God they seek their food.

It will be noticed that in the psalm the thought which the two passages have in common is expressed not only in different language but also with much greater effect than in the hymn, where the diffuse description of how mankind is wrapped in sleep separates the first and the second part of the thought that, when night falls, the wild beasts are astir. Note also that in the hymn there is no trace of the fine point made in the psalm by the words, "From God they seek their prey," which follow "Lions roar for prey." How the lines of the hymn,

The birds fly out of their nests [at sunrise],
With their wings outspread, they praise thee,

could possibly be a parallel reflection, as Gressmann argues, one is at a loss to see.

Next in order is the following passage of the hymn:

When it dawns,
And thou risest in the horizon
And shinest as sun by day,
Thou dispellest the darkness
And sheddest thy rays.
The two lands¹⁴⁸ keep festival,
Awake, and stand on their feet,
After thou hast raised them up.
They wash their bodies,
They take their clothes,
And with arms uplifted, praise thy rising.
The whole land does its work.

The corresponding lines of the psalm read:

When the sun rises, they withdraw,
And lie down in their dens.
Then man goes forth to his work,
To his labor until night.

What has been remarked about the previous parallel passages holds good also of these. In the psalm the thought is expressed forcibly and concisely, while in the hymn the lines suffer from redundancy, and the main idea, that at sunrise men go to their work, is shoved into the background by the mention of various trivialities—such as their awaking, standing on their feet, washing, and putting on their clothes.

Finally, with the following lines of the hymn,

Innumerable are thy works;
They are hidden from the vision of man,
Thou sole God, besides whom there is no other,

may be compared the psalm lines,

O Lord, innumerable are thy works,
Thou hast made them all in wisdom.
The earth is full of thy riches.

In this instance the first part of the thought in the psalm is practically identical with that of the hymn; the second part is, however, altogether different.

¹⁴⁸ That is, Upper and Lower Egypt.

These are all the points of resemblance between the two poems. The description the psalm has of the ocean, teeming with life and crossed by ships, cannot possibly be considered as modeled after the picture the hymn gives of the life and traffic on the Nile (Gressmann and others to the contrary). For not only do the two differ widely in scope and picturesqueness but also in their general drift: in the psalm the description serves the purpose of illustrating how innumerable the works of God are and how they fill the mind of man with wonder, while the lines in question of the hymn form a part of the sketch of the busy life on earth by day.

Our analysis, then, of the points of contact the psalm has with the hymn shows that there is not a single instance of mere copying but rather that the psalmist has assimilated whatever he appropriated from the hymn and has recast it to serve his own purpose. This, it cannot be emphasized strongly enough, is the all-essential aspect of the case: it but accords with this that, its dependence upon the Hymn to the Sun notwithstanding, Psalm 104 is poetically incomparably superior to it, being in fact a new creation which bears throughout the stamp of the distinct genius of Israel.

DATE

On first thought one might wonder how knowledge came to Israel of the Hymn to the Sun of Ikhnaton—the more so since on the death of its illustrious author the hymn was put under ban and literally blotted out from the walls of the many temples of the land, on which it had been inscribed. Yet from the acquaintance of the writer of Psalm 104 with this hymn, one can but conclude that priestly fanaticism cannot after all have succeeded in effacing all memory of it but that it must have continued to live through the many centuries down to the time of this psalmist, or that it must have been rediscovered in his days, although we have no evidence of this. Might not a copy of the hymn have come to light toward the close of the eighth century B.C., when another document, nineteen centuries older and of still more advanced thought—known as “A Monument

of Memphite Theology"—attracted the attention of Shabako, the founder of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and was at his order recopied on stone from a worm-eaten papyrus to insure its preservation?

In any case, we can readily understand how the writer of Psalm 104 and other true Hebrew minds must have been attracted by the great hymn of Ikhnaton, with its broad though crude monotheism and its noble universalism—the thought of an All-father who provides for the needs of all men, irrespective of race and creed. Did not Amos assail the belief of his contemporaries that they enjoyed a monopoly on God's favor and tell them,

Verily, ye are not any more to me, O Israelites,
 Than the Ethiopians [the despised Negro race], says the Lord:
 I did indeed bring the Israelites out of the land of Egypt,
 But I also brought the Philistines out of Kaphtor and the
 Syrians out of Kir.¹⁴⁹

In pre-Exilic times, from which the psalm dates, the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Egyptian thought and literature was hardly ever lacking in Israel. Most of the time of the Kingdom the country had political and commercial relations with Egypt. Solomon even married an Egyptian princess, who brought him as dowry Gezer, conquered by her royal father shortly before.¹⁵⁰ Jeroboam I, when he had to flee from the country after his attempted revolt against Solomon, sought refuge at the court of Sheshonk of Egypt.¹⁵¹ Further, from biblical records, supplemented by Egyptian, we know that after the division of the Kingdom on the death of Solomon, the armies of Sheshonk overran not only Judah but also Israel.¹⁵² And the recent find of a vase of Osorkon II in the royal palace of Samaria¹⁵³ shows that there was no break in the relations with Egypt even in times for which there is no mention of them in the records on hand. Finally, after the rise of the great pre-Exilic prophets, with whom the author of Psalm 104 shows

¹⁴⁹ Amos 9:7.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. I Kings 9:15 f.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 11:40.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 14:25 f., and the Sheshonk inscription on the walls of the temple at Karnak.

¹⁵³ See ZDPV, xxxvi (1913), 49 ff.

kinship of spirit, relations with Egypt were maintained more than ever. Thus we know from the prophecies of Hosea that during the civil war which raged in the Northern Kingdom after the death of Jeroboam II, Menahem's opponents sought the support of Egypt.¹⁵⁴ And Judah kept up friendly relations with Egypt from the reign of Hezekiah down to the fall of the nation in 586 B.C.¹⁵⁵ Still more opportunity of direct contact with the life and thought of Egypt was offered by the maritime trade which Judah maintained with Egypt by way of the Edomitish seaport Elath from the days of Solomon down to the time of Ahaz, except for the brief interval of the reign of Jehoram and his two successors, when Edom enjoyed independence.¹⁵⁶ As a final link in this chain of evidence it may be noted that the law of Deuteronomy (23:8 f.), that as the third generation of Edomites, so the third generation of the Egyptians may be admitted into the community of Yahweh, leaves room for one conclusion only—that at the time of the Deuteronomic legislation (622 B.C.) Egyptians must have lived in the midst of Israel in considerable numbers. All this shows that Gressman¹⁵⁷ and Gunkel¹⁵⁸ are far afield in arguing that knowledge of the hymn of Ikhnaton did not reach Israel directly but through the medium of Phoenicia. Besides, was not Canaan an Egyptian province and as such under the direct influence of Egypt at the very time Ikhnaton wrote his Hymn to the Sun and had it broadcast throughout the confines of his empire? And was not Israel living in Canaan even at that time?¹⁵⁹

But while from the close relations between Israel and Egypt throughout the time of the Kingdom it follows only that Psalm 104 may be a product of pre-Exilic times, there is positive proof that it is indeed pre-Exilic. First of all, the prevailing view to the contrary, the psalm shows no dependence upon the story of Creation as found in Genesis, chapter 1—a document of the priestly code (dating from the first post-Exilic century). As a

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Hos. 7:11 and 12:2.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. II Kings 18:21; Isa. 20:3-6; 30:1-7, 16; 31:1 ff.; Jer. 2:18; 37:7.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. I Kings 22:48; II Kings 8:20 ff.; 14:7, 22; 16:6; II Chron. 28:17.

¹⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 19 f.

¹⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 453.

¹⁵⁹ See above, p. 57.

matter of fact, the description of the earth's emerging out of the deep excepted, the psalm does not deal with primeval creation but describes creation as continuous, as daily renewed. The lines,

He has wrapped himself in light as in a robe,
He has spread out the heavens like tent hangings;
The girders of his mansion he has built of water,

do no more resemble the description of the work of the first and second day of the hexaemeron than do the lines which precede and follow them:

Thou art clothed with splendor and majesty,

and

He has made clouds his chariot,
And he rides on the wings of the wind.
He has made the winds his messengers,
Flaming fire his ministers.

Nor can it be argued that the place of the lines,

He has made the moon to mark the seasons,
Assigned the sun his time to set,

was in any way determined by the account of the fourth day's work of the hexaemeron: the writer's sole object in speaking of moon and sun where and in the way he does is for the purpose of pointing out that, while the wild animals are astir at night, man is engaged in work by day.

As to the description of the earth's emerging out of the deep, it may be noted that poetically it excels the cut-and-dried account of Gen. 1:9: "And God said, Let the waters under the heavens be gathered in one place that the dry land may become visible; and it was so," being infinitely more imaginative. What has been remarked above of the more poetic version of the stories of the manna and the quails, as found in Psalm 78, holds good also of the version of how the earth rose into existence of Psalm 104: it is the older version and dates from the time when the sagas of Genesis and Exodus were still in the process of flux and growth, not having as yet received their later fixed literary form and being handed down orally—a state of things which left any true poet free to enrich them either in style or in

content. Now, since in Psalm 78 we have express mention of the fact that in 700 B.C. these sagas were still transmitted by word of mouth only and since we have further seen that this method of transmission remained prevalent down to the close of pre-Exilic times, and that it was during the Exile that these ancient sagas began to receive the fixed literary form in which they have come down to us,¹⁶⁰ it follows that Psalm 104 must be pre-Exilic.

Still more conclusive proof of this date is furnished by two Exilic products, Ezekiel, chapter 31, and Psalm 80. Verses 6 and 13 of Ezekiel, chapter 31, have in common with verses 17 and 13 of Psalm 104 the words *qinēnū* (*kol*) 'ōph hashshamāyīm, "The birds of the air built their nest," and *yishkēnū* (*kol*) 'ōph hashshamāyīm, the second of which clearly betrays itself as copied from Ps. 104:13: for, "Upon its felled trunk will live all the birds of the air," as the full passage reads in Ezekiel, is not true to fact or nature: birds do not live in trees that have been felled. A blunder such as this is always a sure sign of thoughtless, mechanical copying from another writer. And since *yishkēnū* 'ōph hashshamāyīm is copied from Ps. 104, it is self-evident that *qinēnū* 'ōph hashshamāyīm is copied from it too. Likewise *shillēḥa*, "He makes . . . to flow" of verse 4 of Ezekiel, chapter 31, gives the impression of being copied from *hammēshalleaḥ* of verse 10 of this psalm, since outside of these two passages there is no other example of the use of *shallaḥ* with the connotation "make to flow." But we need not press this point, for verses 13 and 6 constitute a clear case of dependence upon Psalm 104 without it.

Equally certain it is that 'arzē 'ēl, "the cedars of God," of "Its shoots climbed to the cedars of God" of Ps. 80:11 is copied from 'āṣē 'ādōnai 'arzē lēbanōn of Ps. 104:16 for the following reason: "the cedars of God" of Psalm 80 is by itself mystifying, leaving us in the dark as to what is meant by it; it is only from the words, "The trees of the Lord . . . The cedars of Lebanon," of Psalm 104 that it becomes clear that by the words, "Its shoots climbed to the cedars of God," the writer of Psalm 80

¹⁶⁰ See above, pp. 139-42.

means to say that the vine in its growth spread as far as the cedars of Lebanon. It will thus be seen that "the cedars of God" is just as typical an example of the slipshod method of the plagiarist as is "Upon its felled trunk will live all the birds of the air" of Ezek. 31:13. And since Ezekiel, chapter 31, and Psalm 80 both date from the first decade of the Exile,¹⁶¹ it follows that Psalm 104 must be pre-Exilic.

From the dependence of Ezekiel, chapter 31, and Psalm 80 upon Psalm 104 it is further clear that the verbatim recurrence of the words, "He has spread out the heavens," of Ps. 104:2 in Isa. 40:22 and 44:24 is attributable to Deutero-Isaiah's acquaintance with this psalm, and that not the reverse is the case, as is generally argued. Similarly Job 40:10, "And clothe thyself with splendor and majesty," is modeled after Ps. 104:1. Job 38:9 f. is only in thought related to Ps. 104:9; in language the two have nothing in common.

The fact that Psalm 104 is pre-Exilic disposes of the prevailing view that it is the companion piece to the post-Exilic Psalm 103. This astonishing view would never have suggested itself to the interpreters were it not for the incidental feature that both begin and end with "Praise the Lord, O my soul," and the further incident that verses 20-21 of Psalm 103 are dependent upon verse 4 of Psalm 104. In content the two psalms have nothing whatever in common, the subject matter of Psalm 103 being Israel's redemption from sin and engulfing ruin.

One other word! If Gressmann and Blackman remark with regard to Psalm 104 that "the Hebrew psalmists in all probability learned from the Egyptian singers" to import into their hymns not only mythological motifs but also a real love of nature" or that "the Songs of Zion were sung in a strange land before they were sung in Zion,"¹⁶² they have overlooked that love for nature is inborn, that unlike book knowledge it cannot be acquired or affected: any simulation of it is at once detected as what it is—untrue. Their surprising underestimation of the psalm can best be countervailed by quoting Aglen, who aptly has called the author of Psalm 104, "the Wordsworth of

¹⁶¹ See above, p. 140.

¹⁶² *Op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 197.

the ancients, penetrated with a love for nature, and gifted with the insight that springs from love."¹⁶³

3. *The girders of his mansion he has built of water*] Regarding the underlying notion, see the remarks on *The stream of God* of Ps. 65B:10 and on Ps. 29:10.

5. *He planted the earth immovably upon its base*] *Bal timmōṭ* is not, as customarily rendered, a final but a circumstantial clause modifying *yasad*. The notion met with here, which recurs not only in Job 38:6 but also in 9:6, as well as in Prov. 8:29 and Ps. 24A:2 and 75:4, finds its explanation in the idea which men in antiquity had of the earth. Owing to the fact that the Eastern hemisphere alone was known, the earth was conceived of as a disk surrounded by the sea and resting on pillars—the pillars of Hercules of Greek cosmogony—erected on the bottom of the sea in the Straits of Gibraltar, the gap between Africa and Eurasia. Inasmuch as this notion was a matter of general knowledge in those days, none of these passages constitutes a case of dependence of one author upon another—the less so, since the notion is differently phrased in every one of them.

6. *When it was yet covered*] Instead of *kissītho* read, as Duhm and others have correctly emended, כִּסְיָתוֹ, *kēhōm* being the subject. In translating *i.k.k.*, I have purposely deviated from the sentence structure of the Hebrew.

7. *they hastened away in dismay*] This is the meaning of *yēhaphēzūn*, and not simply "They hastened away," as R.V. renders; nor is the rendering "ängstlich fliehen sie" of Ges.-Buhl quite accurate: cf. the inf. *Qal bēhophzī*, Ps. 31:23 and 116:11, denoting "in my alarm" or "in my dismay," and note that in the Semitic languages verbs expressing haste may, in addition, denote fear and excitement, as vice versa verbs expressing fear and excitement may also denote "haste": cf. Hos. 11:11, *yēherdu kēšippor mimišrayīm*, "Like birds they shall hasten back from Egypt excitedly." The psychological explanation of this twofold meaning is obvious.

8. *They went past mountains, flowed down into the valleys*] This, which, except for one change, is practically the rendering of A.V., and, what has still more weight, also that of Gr., is the only possible meaning which vs. 8a can have. The translation at present prevalent, "The mountains rose, the valleys sank down," is untenable for the reason that the rules of Hebrew sentence structure do not permit us to construe 'el *mēqōm* with *yēhaphēzūn* any more than would the rules of English or, for that matter, of any other language—a fact in reality admitted by the interpreters, who have either deleted vs. 8a as a gloss or emended it. Either procedure, however, is unwarranted, for as soon as we follow Gr. and A.V. in rendering vs. 8a, the text of vs. 8 is without any hitch: note, first of all, that *yērēdū* is a case of *zeugma*: it is to be construed also with 'el *mēqōm*; note, further, that *harīm* and *bēqa'ōth* are accusatives of direction and that *ya'ālu* and *yērēdū* are nice examples of imperfect of progressive duration; note, finally, that 'alā does not invariably mean "to go up" but is often used with the meaning "to go," as a synonym of *halak*, and that there are not a few other examples in which, with an ac-

¹⁶³ In Bishop Elliot's *O.T. Commentary for English Readers* (1884).

cusative of direction, 'alā means, as in the verse here, "to go by" or "go past": cf. Num. 20:19, *bammēsilla na'ālē*, "We will go by the highway," which is synonymous with *derek hammelek nēlek* of vs. 17 and of 21:22; 21:33 and Deut. 3:1, *wanna'al derek habbashān*, "We went by the road to Bashan"; and especially II Kings 3:7, *hāthēlek 'itti 'el mō'ab . . . wayyōmer 'e'lē*.

11. *of the forest*] The word *sadē* denotes "the open country," then specifically "woodland," "forest": cf. Jer. 17:3, *hārārī bassadē*, "my wooded mountain"; 13:27, *gēba'ōih bassadē*, "the wooded hills"; Judg. 5:18, *mērōmē sadē*, "wooded heights."

Still the thirst] Lat. *frangere sitim* is the exact analogy to this figurative use of *yishbērū šema'ām*.

12-18. Vss. 12-18, it is obvious, have suffered text disorder in the course of the psalm's transmission. In the first place, *dlēhēm* of vs. 12 is without antecedent in the present position of the verse. The attempts on the part of the interpreters to make out that "springs" or even "wild asses" is its antecedent but shows what exegetical ingenuity can do. The original place of the verse must have been after vs. 16, which in its turn, its content shows, must have followed vs. 13*b*. Vs. 17*a* is apparently another version of vs. 12*a* by the author's own hand, as may be deduced from the fact that both are copied in Ezek. 31:6, 13, while the detached vs. 17*b* is clearly the later addition of a glossator. Further, vs. 18 is disjoined where found now; it fits excellently after vs. 13*a* as an apposition to "the mountains." Finally, *lehem* of vs. 14 stood originally at the end of this verse after *min ha'areš*, and vs. 15*c*, *lēbab 'ēnōsh yis'ad*, followed it directly. This time there is external evidence that this was the original order of the verses; for when the words *lēbab 'ēnōsh yis'ad* were omitted and put in the margin, the immediately preceding word *lehem* was prefixed to them as a cue to show where they belonged, and in addition a *pasek* was put in the text after *wēyayin* as a further sign that it was before this word that they were to be inserted. But as usual, the omitted words with their cue were in the next copy taken into the text at random. The *waw* of *lehem* of vs. 15*c* was subsequently added: note that Syr. does not read it.

13*b*. *from the moisture of thy clouds*] Instead of *ma'āsēka*, read נשיאך, as Dyserinck and others have emended: cf. Ps. 135:7; *pēri* is used figuratively for rain and mist: other examples of the figurative use of *pēri* are Ps. 58:12, where it stands for "reward"; Prov. 31:16, where it denotes "earnings."

16. *The trees of the Lord . . . The cedars of Lebanon which he has planted*] There is no mythological speculation at bottom of these words; their explanation is very simple: in contrast to fruit trees planted by the hand of man, virgin forests like Lebanon were in the days of the psalmist regarded as the work of God, much as we regard them as the work of nature.

14*a-b*. *For the beasts that serve man*] Vocalize לעבדת (Graetz and others): 'abūdath is a case of the use of the abstract for the concrete noun; another such case is 'abūda, Job 1:3, where it denotes "servants" or "slaves."

19. *Assigned the sun*] Instead of *yada'* read, with Aq. and Sym., יָדָע: cf. Job 38:12*b*, "Hast thou assigned (*yidda'ta*) the dawn its place?"

20a. *When thou makest ready darkness, the night falls*] Vs. 20a is a temporal sentence, not introduced by any temporal particle; *shith*, with the meaning "make ready," "prepare," occurs again in Ps. 9:21 and Jer. 51:39.

21. *From God they seek*] *Llbaqqesh* is an emphatic infinitive, by which the writer means to express that even lions depend for their food upon God; in my translation I have tried to bring out his idea by placing "from God" at the head of the sentence. There are numerous examples of the use of the construct infinitive with this force in the Psalms as well as elsewhere: cf., for example, Ps. 32:9; 85:10; Hos. 9:13, "Ephraim must lead out (*l'ehōṣī*) its children to slaughter."

24. *innumerable are*] As in Arabic, so in Hebrew, *mā*, used with adjectives and verbs describing quality, often functions as an emphatic particle, expressing superlative degree: cf. Pss. 31:20; 92:6; 133:1, *et al.* For Arabic examples of emphatic *mā* see Nöldeke.¹⁶⁴

25. *Behold, the great wide ocean*] *Zē* is interjectional *zē*: cf. the note on *zē sinai*, Ps. 68B:9c. The adjective phrases *gadol* and *r'hab yadayim* are the predicates of *hayyam*—a function which cannot be brought out in the translation, just as the idiom *r'hab yadayim* does not admit of literal translation.

Teeming with countless creatures] *Remes w'ēn mispar* is a nice case of hendiadys.

and the Leviathan] Leviathan is another subject of *y'hallekūn*. To ascertain what is meant by Leviathan, one must not rest the case on the interpolation, Job 40:25-33, and ignore all other passages where the name recurs, as Gressmann¹⁶⁵ has done, regardless of the fact that there is no other instance, either in the genuine Book of Job (see 3:8) or anywhere else of "Leviathan" being a name of the crocodile. Rather the prevailing view still stands that by Leviathan is meant either the fabulous sea serpent of the ages, referred to in Amos 9:3, or sea monsters collectively, which in Gen. 1:24 are spoken of as dragons. This explanation is further confirmed by the fact that in Isa. 27:1, where Leviathan is the name of Tiāmat (of the Babylonian myth of Creation), Leviathan is called "the dragon in the sea," also "the fleeing" and "the coiled serpent."

to sport therein] The context shows that this, and not "to play with him," is the meaning of *leṣaheq bō*, as Kirkpatrick has pointed out: "The thought required is not that the wildest and strongest of God's creatures are but as it were His tame pets, but that the sea is the playground of the mighty monsters which display His power and goodness as they disport themselves there."

28. *When thou givest it to them, they gather it in*] The rendering of A.V., "That thou givest unto them they gather," is grammatically untenable; were this the sentence construction, *titten lahem* would have to be introduced by 'dsher or 'eth 'dsher: the line is a temporal sentence not introduced by any temporal conjunction, as are also vss. 28b and 29-30. The object of the verbs of vs. 28a is 'oklām of vs. 27b, which is a case of brachylogy.

¹⁶⁴ Beiträge zur Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch, § 51.

¹⁶⁵ Op. cit., p. 19.

C. PSALM 19A

*

- 2 The heavens declare the glory of God,
The skies proclaim his handiwork;
3 Daily they speak,
Nightly they make revelation.
4 It is not a speech, it is not a revelation,
That cannot be heard:
5 Their range is o'er all the earth,
Their message carries to the ends of the world—
The world wherein he has set up a tent for the sun.
- 6 Radiant as a bridegroom,
He rises above the horizon that covered him,
He exults like a hero to run his course.
7 He sets out at one end of the skies,
And round he moves to the other;
And nothing from his heat is hidden.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PSALM 19

The two parts which constitute the present Psalm 19 differ so radically not only in subject matter and diction but also in cadence that it is obvious that they must be two separate psalms. Verses 1-7 are marked by a picturesque, highly original style: in every case, the language is a fitting vehicle of the thought, portraying it vividly. Of such combinations as of *'omer* with *yabbi'a*, of *qawwām* with *yaṣā'*, or of *rūṣ* *'ōrah* no examples occur anywhere else; they are peculiar to Psalm 19A; and no less individual is the style of almost every other line.

In contrast to the animated, vivid style of verses 1-7, that of verses 8-15 is labored and hackneyed. Note what monotony of style there is in the five first distichs, each of which consists of a nominal sentence followed by a participial clause, without even an attempt at variation. The whole of verses 8-15 is commonplace and artificial, void of warmth or depth of emotion. In literary character it resembles Psalm 119, with which

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David.

it is to be grouped also by reason of its subject matter—glorification of the Divine Law. In the face of such palpable difference in their literary qualities, it is precluded that verses 8–15 could have originally been a complement to verses 1–7, as some interpreters still hold.¹⁶⁶

PSALM 19A—THEME

Unlike Psalm 19B, which is complete, Psalm 19A, as some interpreters have observed, is a fragment. For from the opening strophe it is clear that the object of the original poem must have been twofold—to tell of the majesty of God as revealed by the fiery sunball shining by day and the starry sky illuminating the night. But in the poem as we have it, there is no mention of the wonders nightly displayed in the sky. Nor does even the first part seem to be complete but ends abruptly. The loss of the other portions of the psalm is inestimable, for the lines left are of singular beauty—on a par with Psalm 104. Like all true poetry, they combine simplicity of expression with depth of emotion. Their language is the simplest imaginable, indeed. There is nothing in the least dark and mysterious about the opening strophe, as Gunkel, strange to say, would have us believe. Nor is there even remotely any allusion to the notion of the “harmony of the spheres” met with centuries later in Hellenistic literature, when verse 4 is correctly translated,

It is not a speech, it is not a revelation
That cannot be heard—

a rendering demanded by the rules of grammar as well as by the content of the following verse. But even the customary translation of the verse does not admit of such an interpretation any more than do the famous lines in Job (38:7):

Or who laid its cornerstone,
The while the morning stars sang,
And the gods shouted for joy—

lines which are but an excellent illustration of how the poet of every age and clime sees nature as what it truly is—animated.

¹⁶⁶ The latest writers who have argued this view are O. Schroeder, “Zu Psalm 19,” *ZATW*, XXXIV (1914), 69 f.; Barnes, *The Psalms* ([Westminster Com.], 1932), pp. 90 ff.

What has been said of the writer of Psalm 104 applies also to the author of Psalm 19A. Though penetrated with real love for nature, he does not sing of it per se but looks upon nature as a great anthem proclaiming the glory of God, the Creator. In this deeply spiritual poem, the interpreters of recent years have read all sorts of mythological notions and even maintained that its second part (vss. 5c-7) "is a genuine Oriental sun hymn."¹⁶⁷ To sustain their theory they found it necessary, however, to emend arbitrarily the sound text *bahēm*, "wherein," of verse 5 to *bayām*, "in the sea," and to press unduly the traditional, though erroneous, translation "out of his chamber" of *meḥuppathō* of verse 6. The words, "The world wherein he has set up a tent for the sun," find their explanation in the well-known, naïve picture which men in ancient times entertained about the world:¹⁶⁸ in accordance with this picture, the writer speaks of the dome of heaven, around which the sun moves from rising until setting, as the tent of the sun. Similarly, Isa. 40:22 says of the heavens that God "has spread them out like a tent to dwell in." It is clear then that "wherein he has set up a tent for the sun" contains no mythological notion whatever. Nor is there in verse 6 any parallel to the Babylonian hymn in which Shamash, conceived of as passing the night with Aya, his beloved wife, is called bridegroom, and Aya, bride; nor is there even to the expression "who comes forth," said of Shamash in two other Babylonian hymns,¹⁶⁹ as soon as *yōšē' meḥuppathō* is taken as what it means:

He rises above the horizon that covered him.

Far from employing the obscure language of ancient mythology, the psalmist speaks, in reality, in terms still familiar to us today. And this brings us to the heart of the matter. The reason that Psalm 19A makes such a universal appeal is that, after all

¹⁶⁷ See Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalmen* and *Die Psalmen*; Staerk; Briggs; Kittel; Kautzsch-Bertholet; Schroeder, *ibid.*; Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 16 f. Eisler's treatment of the psalm in "Jahves Hochzeit mit der Sonne" (*Orientalische Studien* [Leipzig, 1918], II, 21-70) is, to say the least, fanciful in the extreme.

¹⁶⁸ See the note on Ps. 104:5.

¹⁶⁹ One of these is given in translation by Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*, A.O., IV (1905), No. 3, p. 14, and the other by Schroeder, *ibid.*

the lapse of centuries since it was first composed, it is still as fresh as if it had been written but yesterday. What moved the writer of the song still stirs us today. The fiery sunball, the light and warmth of which illumines and animates the universe, he regards as the greatest wonder of nature, and his rising and setting as the high points in the course the sun runs day by day. These never ceased to fill his heart with awe. How could he have better depicted this daily wonder than by carrying into unfeeling nature his own emotions over the golden splendor of sunrise and sunset, than by describing the sun as rising above the horizon "radiant as a bridegroom" and "exulting like a hero to run his course"?

The reason that he goes into a detailed description of sunrise and not also of sunset is very evident. Sunrise is by far the more fascinating and overawing phenomenon of the two. As another illustration of how it impressed the minds of ancient Israel, Job 38:12-14, may be quoted:

Hast thou ever given orders to the morning,
Assigned the dawn its place,
That it graspeth the wings of the earth,
And the stars¹⁷⁰ are shaken out of it,
And it turneth red as sealing wax,
Standeth robed as in a garment?

This daily rebirth of the sun fired the imagination not only of the ancient Hebrews but also of men all over the ancient world. Thus we have seen above that as early as the fourteenth century B.C. the hymn of Ikhnaton conceived of the sun as the force behind all forces, as *natura naturans*. But while this remained an isolated movement, the related one of the eighth century B.C., when the astral religion of the valley of the Euphrates constituted the star of the day, the almighty Lord of the universe, was of far-reaching consequences. From that time on sun worship gradually obtained ever greater popularity in the countries of the East and the West alike, until at the time of the Roman Empire it reached its climax in the cult of *Sol invictus*, the chief seats of which were Emesa on the edge of the Syrian desert and (under the Severi) Rome. The cult held

¹⁷⁰ Read *kōkabīm*.

sway over the minds of enlightened men and those of the masses alike, and, what is of especial importance for our purpose, sunrise was universally considered the logical time for adoring the sun. Not only do the various Babylonian and Egyptian sun hymns show this but also the following lines from Job:

If my heart was ever mysteriously enticed,
And my hand touched my lips to waft a kiss
When I saw the sunlight flashing forth brightly,
Or the moon growing luminous—
That too would have been a grave sin,
For I should have been denying God above [31:26-28].

These lines are pertinent also for another reason: they show that even as late as 400 B.C.—the approximate date of the Book of Job—sun worship must have been a temptation to many a man of Israel, or the writer of the drama would not have deemed it necessary to let Job in his asseveration of innocence affirm that this worship never had any sway over him.

PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION

In the light of all this, the significance of Psalm 19A and the place it has in the religious evolution of Israel stand out clearly. Its author, like the writer of Psalm 104, has completely outgrown the deification of nature, which prevailed generally in his age. He regards the skies, sun, and moon as the handiwork of God and, what is still more important, declares that day after day and night after night the heavenly luminaries make revelation to men the world over of the one and only God, who created and governs them all. The lines analyzed are related to the reflection,

He has made the winds his messengers,
Flaming fire his ministers,

in Psalm 104, expressing the same thought far more completely. They, in their turn, have inspired, I am convinced, Isa. 40:25, 22, 21, and 26:¹⁷¹

To whom then will you liken me, or am I equal,
Says the Holy One,

¹⁷¹ Isa. 40:21-26 shows such a patent lack of sequence—the relative clauses of vss. 22-23 do not even have an antecedent—that it is obvious it must have suffered text disorder in the course of transmission. Their sequence is restored when the verses are rearranged as follows: 25, 22-24, 21, 26.

Who is enthroned above the dome over the earth,
 Who has stretched out the heavens like a curtain,
 Has spread them out like a tent to dwell in?
 Do you not know it, do you not perceive it?
 Is it not revealed to you
 When you consider the origin,
 Reflect on the creation of the earth?¹⁷²
 Lift up your eyes to the heavens,
 And consider who created these.
 Did not he, who brings forth their hosts in full number,
 Calling each by name,
 So that out of obedience to the Omnipotent and the Almighty
 None lags behind?

This parallel thought to the opening strophe of Psalm 19A is for our purposes of supreme importance because Deutero-Isaiah, its author, was a monist of the truest type. Not only does he emphasize again and again his belief in divine unity, but he also protests against dualism and declares that God is the Creator of light and of darkness, of peace and of evil.¹⁷³ But while in Psalm 19A there is no express statement of the kind, the lines,

He has made the winds his messengers,
 Flaming fire his ministers,

of Psalm 104 are very explicit on this point: for in these lines the writer employs the term *mal'akaw*, using it, however, not with the meaning "His angels," which the phrase has everywhere else when used in connection with God, but in order to characterize the forces of nature as agencies in the service of God. The obvious inference from this is that he no longer can have held the belief in angelic beings generally associated with the term in those days. By this we have touched on another important point. The advance of religious thought met with in Psalm 104 and in Deutero-Isaiah does in no wise reflect the general spiritual outlook in Israel of those days. The masses of Israel, unaffected by the absolute monism of Deutero-Isaiah and the writer of Psalm 104, continued to believe in angels and evil demons as heretofore. In this connection it is interesting to note that the post-Exilic author of Psalm 103 uses in verse 20,

¹⁷² Omit *hālō'* before *hābînōthem* as dittography.

¹⁷³ See Isa. 40:12-14; 42:8; 43:11 f.; 44:6; 45:6-7, 18, 21; 46:9.

for which Ps. 104:4 was the model, the term *mal'akaw* not with the connotation it has in his model but with the meaning "angels."

DATE

I agree with Gunkel and Kittel that Psalm 19 is old, not, however, because of a pagan aura which they suppose surrounds the psalm but rather because in spirit and in contemplation of nature it is so closely related to Psalm 104 that it seems to have been written not long after this poem. More positive evidence of its pre-Exilic origin may be seen in the influence it had upon Isa. 40:25, 22, 21, and 26. The similarity in language between these verses and the first strophe of Psalm 19A is as marked as their resemblance in thought: *hūggad* of verse 21 is doubtless modeled after *maggīd* of verse 2 of the psalm, and verse 22 has in common with verse 5 of the psalm the comparison of the skies to a tent. Additional weight is lent to this comparison by the fact that there is no other example of it anywhere else in biblical literature and that, furthermore, the verse in Deutero-Isaiah accords with the verse of the psalm also in another detail—it does not describe the heavens as a tent set up for humankind to dwell under: the infinitive *lashebeth* in Isa. 40:22 is complementary to *'ohel*, being part of the simile, as the customary translation, "like a tent to dwell in," takes it, in fact. But it may be asked, "What evidence is there that Psalm 19A is the original and the passage of Deutero-Isaiah is the imitation, and that not the reverse is the case?" The answer is that Psalm 19A is more direct and simple—more spontaneous—while the passage of Deutero-Isaiah is more elaborated and complex, reflective in character: the obvious inference from this is that the former must be the original composition and the latter the copy. Since, then, Psalm 19A is earlier than Deutero-Isaiah, it is equally clear that it must be pre-Exilic, for it would be psychologically inconceivable that an exultant poem like Psalm 19A, wholly unaffected by the death-blow the nation had suffered in 586 B.C., could have been written during the Exile. The conclusion reached regarding the dependence of Deutero-Isaiah upon Psalm 19A and its direct

bearing on the date of the Psalm is accentuated by the fact that Deutero-Isaiah was influenced also by Psalm 104.

3. *Daily they speak, Nightly they make revelation or Day after day . . . night after night . . .*] *Yōm* and *laylā* are not, as customarily taken, subjects of *yabī'a* and *yēhawwē*, but *yōm lēyōm* and *laylā lelaylā* are adverbial phrases, like *yōm bēyōm*, Neh. 11:23, II Chron. 24:11, or *yōm yōm*, Gen. 39:10, Ps. 61:9: *shamāyīm* and *raqī'a* of vs. 2 are the subjects, the predicates of which, *yabī'a* and *yēhawwē*, are construed with the nearest subject.

4. *It is not a speech, it is not a revelation That cannot be heard*] The prevailing translation, "There is no speech nor language, their voice is not heard," is, first of all, refuted by the content of the following verse, which maintains the very opposite. Further, it is grammatically untenable, for *bēlī nishmā' qōlām* is plainly a relative clause the antecedent of which is 'omer and *dēbarīm*, as understood, in fact, by Gr.: cf. Hos. 7:8, *E. hayā 'ūga bēlī hāphūka*, "Ephraim is like a griddle cake that has not been turned over"; *nishmā'* functions as a potential participle, which, it is important to remember for the adequate interpretation of biblical texts, is its predominant use in Hebrew as well as in Arabic. Finally, 'ēn with the meaning "it is not" occurs again in I Sam. 20:2, 'ēn zō'th, "It is not so," also in I Kings 18:43, 'ēn mē'ūma, "There is not a thing."

their range] This obvious connotation of *qaw* shows that its emendation by a number of interpreters is unwarranted.

5. *wherein*] The plural suffix of *bahēm* finds its explanation in the fact that it refers to both 'ereš and *tēbel*.

6. *above the horizon that covered him*] Proof of this meaning of *huppathō* I find in the fact that Syr. *hūphāyeh dēkawkebā* means "concealment of a star beneath the horizon."¹⁷⁴ Note further that Arabic *hifāfun* and *hāffatun* mean both "side," "border," "rim,"¹⁷⁵ and also that our word "horizon" is Gr. *ὀρίζων* (sc. *κύκλος*), which means "the bounding circle." It may finally be noted that the symmetry and finished style which mark the psalm would be marred if, unlike *yasīs*, *yōšē'* were predicate of *hathān*, and not what it in reality is, of *hū'*.

D. PSALM 8

*

2 O Lord our God, how glorious is thy name over all the earth—

Thou whose majesty is reflected in the skies.

3 Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou founded strength

To refute thine enemies, to silence unbelievers and doubters.

¹⁷⁴ See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.

¹⁷⁵ See Freytag, *Arabic Lexicon*, s.v.

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the strains of the *gittith*. A Psalm of David.

- 4 When I behold the sky, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars which thou hast created,
5 I reflect, What is man that thou art mindful of him,
Mortal man that thou heedest him?
6 Yet thou hast made him but little lower than God,
And hast crowned him with glory and majesty.
- 7 Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy
hand
And hast placed everything at his feet:
8 All sheep and oxen, even the beasts of the forest,
9 The birds of the sky, and the fish of the sea—
Whatever swims through watery paths.
- 10 O Lord our God, how glorious is thy name over all the
earth.

Psalm 8 reads as if written as a counterpart to Psalm 19A. It begins and ends by declaring that it is on earth, the abode of men, that God is revealed most gloriously. However wonderful the measureless depths of the starlit sky may be as a reflection of the grandeur of God, man is more wonderful still. That power by which God's enemies are conquered, by which the skeptics and unbelievers are silenced, is renewed in every newborn child, with his heavenly vision yet unblurred, his soul yet unsullied by the evil contact of the world. As Wordsworth puts it:

Thou whose exterior semblance doth belie
Thy soul's immensity;
Thou best philosopher, who yet dost keep
Thy heritage, thou eye among the blind,
That, deaf and silent, read'st the eternal deep,
Haunted for ever by the eternal Mind,—
Mighty Prophet! Seer blest!
On whom those truths do rest
Which we are toiling all our lives to find.
.
.
.
Thou little child, yet glorious in the might
Of heaven-born freedom on thy being's height.

Or as Schiller expresses it more epigrammatically:

Und was der Verstand der Verständigen nicht sieht
Das übt in Einfalt ein kindlich Gemüt.

Then the author of the psalm goes on to say that, compared with the starry depths of the skies, man must dwindle to insignificance and seems unworthy of God's notice. Yet he bears the greatest likeness to God; in him the Divine shines forth more radiantly than in the whole universe besides. The psalmist says in effect that, created in the image of God, man has intimations of infinity and immortality, has the creative spirit whereby he holds mastery over the universe; but above all does his God-likeness manifest itself in the conscious putting forth of his soul for the promotion of everything that is noble and good, in the passionate desire of his heart to do right. In a word, the moral law within us, the dignity of man, is for this psalmist the supreme revelation of God.

We are on familiar ground. The theme of the psalm is the divine immanence, the basic truth of the preaching of the prophets, who were one and all convinced that the place where man finds God, where he discovers the eternal verities of God, hears God speak, is not among the stars but in his own inmost self—his inward experience of the power and the reality of the good. This conviction was the foundation upon which they built. Rightly defined, their ethical monotheism is essentially this: that it is in man's moral nature that religion has its roots, that it is from the spiritual, not from the material world, that the idea of the Divine flows into man's soul, that it is the sense of right and justice innate in man that brings him ever new assurance of the existence of God and of his control of the universe toward a moral goal; or, as the prophetic author of *Elijah* on Mount Horeb puts it, that it is by "the still, small voice" that God reveals himself to man.¹⁷⁶

Thus more than twenty-six centuries ago the genius of Israel's prophets and singers divined what the speculative mind of the human race did not succeed in reasoning out until a century and a half ago. It was Kant who exposed the fallacy in which the philosophy prior to him was involved in seeking to

¹⁷⁶ This definition which I have restated from *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 326, rests on the prophets' view of revelation and also on their view of worship or spiritual religion versus ritualistic piety, discussed, respectively, *ibid.*, pp. 138-63 and 308-23.

prove the existence of God and of the soul by pure reason, that is, from empirical and speculative knowledge. He showed instead that it is from the moral sense alone, from our conscience, with its categorical ought, that we receive immediate knowledge of God, of the immortality of the soul, and of our freedom of will; for in contrast to the external material world, of which we become conscious only through the inadequate medium of the senses, it is of the moral, spiritual world, the world within us, that we are immediately conscious: it alone is absolutely real.

2. *is reflected*] I am inclined to consider *lēnā* as correct text and to take it, with Sym., Hier., and Syr., as an infinitive, formed like that of the *primae Yod* verbs, and used, not in the active, but in the passive sense. Further evidence of this may be seen in the rendering ἐνῆργη of Gr.

3. *To refute*] This meaning of *lēma'an* not only follows from the parallelism *lēhashbīth*, "to silence," but is also etymologically well substantiated: it must not be confused with the preposition and conjunction *lēma'an*, but is an infinitive, which, like the substantive *ma'ānē*, "answer," is derived from *'anā*, "to answer," whereas the conjunction *lēma'an* is, like *ma'ānē*, "purpose," derived from *'anā*, "to be occupied with," "to be engaged in," "to be concerned with." The infinitive *lēma'an* occurs again in Pss. 5:9; 27:11; 69:19.

6. *than God*] This, and not "than angels," is the meaning of *me'ēlōhīm*, which was in fact so understood by Aq., Sym., Theod., and Hier., while the customary rendering "than angels" rests on the erroneous interpretation of Gr., Syr., and Targ.

AUTHORSHIP OF PSALMS 8, 19A, AND 104

The fact that Psalm 8 seems to be a companion piece to Psalm 19A makes it highly plausible that like this psalm it is pre-Exilic and was written either by the same author or by one who was very close to him, belonging to the same circle as he. The further fact that Psalm 19A is, in its turn, closely related in thought to Psalm 104, and that all three psalms are permeated with the spirit of the prophetic preaching, at once links them with the great religious movement which began with Amos, the shepherd of Tekoa, around the middle of the eighth century B.C. This being the case, this group of psalms, in turn, lends color and prominence to an integral part of the movement, to which but little, if any, attention is usually paid—the disci-

ples of the pre-Exilic prophets. Not only have we the express statement of Isaiah that he had disciples on whom he pinned his hope that his message would live, whom he regarded as the nucleus of the future regenerate Israel to rise out of the ruins of the present decadent nation threatened with extinction,¹⁷⁷ but we also know of Jeremiah that he had devoted friends and followers. When sentenced to death for his famous Temple sermon,¹⁷⁸ delivered in the first year of the reign of Jehoiakim, he was saved from execution by Ahikam ben Shaphan, who helped him to escape into hiding. And when four years later Nebuchadnezzar had won his decisive victory over Pharaoh Necho in the battle at Karkemish and had thus established his supremacy over the Orient, Jeremiah was burning to bring his message to the people, but, as he dared not appear in public because of the death sentence hanging over his head, he dictated all his past prophecies, with one written specially for the occasion, to Baruch ben Neriah, who at the risk of his own life read them before the people assembled from all over the country in the Temple of Jerusalem for fast and prayer.¹⁷⁹ Devotion such as that shown by Baruch ben Neriah and Ahikam ben Shaphan presupposes that they must have been bound to Jeremiah by kinship of spirit and deep understanding of his message. And this, as the trust he put in them shows, holds true also of the disciples Isaiah had gathered around him. What more natural, therefore, than to look among the disciples of the great pre-Exilic prophets for the author or authors, as the case may be, of these three psalms.

THE PROPHETIC IDEA OF DIVINE IMMANENCE NOT INFLUENCED
BY ANCIENT MEMPHITE SPECULATION

But it may be asked, Does the fact that these psalms are dominated by the ethical monotheism of the prophets preclude any other conclusion? Or does the fact that Psalm 104 bears relationship to the hymn of Ikhnaton not leave room for an-

¹⁷⁷ See Isa. 8:16 f.; 28:16.

¹⁷⁸ Jer. 7:1-15, 21-26.

¹⁷⁹ See Jer. 26:1-24 and 36:1-26; cf. *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 24-49, where I have shown that these are the facts of the case.

other aspect of the case? May it not be possible that Psalm 104 antedates the appearance of Amos as prophet, that the monotheism of this psalm was directly inspired by the famous Egyptian hymn, and that the psalm, in its turn, was a prominent factor in the rise of spiritual prophecy in Israel? This question, it must be admitted, is entitled to careful consideration, especially so because of the discovery in recent years of another, still more remarkable Egyptian document than the hymn of Ikhnaton. In this document, which is known as "A Monument of Memphite Theology" and which dates from the earliest historical period of Egypt, from the time of Menes, the founder of the First Dynasty and the United Kingdom, the idea of divine immanence is met with for the first time in the history of the human race, being expressed as follows:

It came to pass that the heart [the mind, we would say] and tongue obtained power over all other members in that they taught that he [Ptah] was as heart in every body, as tongue in every mouth of all gods, all men, all animals, all reptiles, and whatever else there lives, thinking [as heart] and commanding [as tongue] whatsoever he wills.¹⁸⁰

In the last decade of the eighth century, about fifty years after Amos' appearance at Bethel, this ancient document, as mentioned before, was at the order of King Shabako copied on a granite stone from a mutilated, worm-eaten papyrus, falling to pieces.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, I can see no ground for departing from the view I expressed above as to the probable authorship of the three psalms under discussion. First of all, we have seen that Psalm 104, though influenced by the hymn of Ikhnaton, is a new creation, transcending the hymn in religious spirit as well as poetic qualities. Whatever the author appropriated from the hymn he recast and transformed to make it harmonize with his own spiritual outlook, in particular with the monotheism that stirred his soul. This monotheism, which

¹⁸⁰ This document was published first by James H. Breasted in 1901 in *ZÄS*, XXXIX, 39 ff., and in *The Monist*, XII, 321 ff. Following Breasted, it was republished by A. Erman in *Sitzungsber. der Berliner Akademie* (1911), pp. 916 ff., and most recently, with an exhaustive commentary, by Kurt Sethe in *Dramatische Texte zu Altägyptischen Mysterienspielen* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 1-80. The foregoing translation of l. 54 rests on Sethe's German translation, p. 55.

is of a higher order, fundamentally different from the crude, materialistic monotheism of the Egyptian hymn, cannot possibly have been awakened by it but must have arisen from a more advanced world of thought, which can have been no other than spiritual prophecy. It is the *sine qua non* of the fundamental difference in spiritual outlook between the Hebrew psalm and the Egyptian hymn, the dependence of the former upon the latter notwithstanding.

Further, the belief of the prophets in divine immanence proceeds from an inner experience—from their realization of the power and reality of the good within themselves. It was the immediate result of their sounding the very depths of their own moral and spiritual nature. Because of this exalted origin, this belief was in their case of the most far-reaching consequences, revolutionizing as it did their entire religious outlook and effecting a complete departure not only from the religious beliefs but also from the religious practices which universally prevailed in their days. Their novel idea of revelation, their revolutionary idea of worship, as well as their ardent belief in the future, that is, their hope that the process of history was bound to end with the final triumph of good over evil—these are all the direct outcome of their primary conviction that the Divine is inherent in man, constituting his truest, inmost self. In the case, however, of the idea of immanence as met with in the Memphite monument of the time of Menes, the discovery of this truth was not attended by any such far-reaching consequences. The lines that follow the exposition of the truth are proof of this:

He [Ptah] is *T-mn*, who created the gods. All things issued from him, produce, providing food, food even of the gods, and all other good things. . . . He created the gods, he made the cities, and founded the nomes. He installed the gods in their sanctuaries, he ordained their offerings, and equipped their sanctuaries. He made likenesses of their bodies to the delight of their hearts. Thus the gods entered into their bodies of every kind of wood, and every kind of stone and metal, and all sort of other things which hold them embodied.¹⁸¹

All of which shows that, in spite of their theoretical advance, the Memphite theologians of old, unlike the great prophets

¹⁸¹ Ll. 58-61, Sethe, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

of Israel twenty-six centuries later, never actually succeeded in rising out of the spiritual atmosphere in which they were born and reared but always remained subject to the limitations of their own times. Not only did they look upon the temple and the sacrificial cult as divinely instituted but they even clung to fetishism, believing the deity to be embodied in images of wood and stone. In brief, the Egyptian idea of immanence had no power of conviction back of it but was the outgrowth of speculation, arrived at by cold reasoning.

Our findings concerning the date and authorship of Psalm 8 can in no wise be impugned by the fact that the reflections in verses 6-9 as to the place man holds in the universe show a certain resemblance to those of verses 26 ff. of Genesis, chapter 1 (the final redaction of which is the work of the first post-Exilic century); for they are expressed so originally and are at such variance in parts with the Genesis story that their literary dependence upon it is out of question. Note that

Yet thou hast made him but little lower than God

is more expressive than "God created man in his own image . . . after his likeness," and that there is no parallel in the Genesis story to the line of the psalm,

Thou hast crowned him with glory and majesty.

These reflections, then, confirm rather than contradict the conclusions reached regarding its date and authorship. Like the version of the earth's emerging out of the deep of Psalm 104, or the version of the manna and the quails of Psalm 78, they show that the psalm was composed at a time when the sagas of the Hexateuch were still in the process of flux and growth, in which, we have seen earlier in this study, they remained down to the close of pre-Exilic times.¹⁸²

THE DISCIPLES OF THE PRE-EXILIC PROPHETS

The conclusions reached regarding the date and authorship of the three psalms under consideration give us a new picture

¹⁸² See above, pp. 139-42, 164 f.

of the disciples of the pre-Exilic prophets which is of utmost importance. The disciples cease to be what they have hitherto been taken for—men of no literary prominence or fame: out of their former obscurity they emerge as distinct personalities of no mean achievements. Above all will it now be seen that they were not eclectics, not second- or third-class men, but that, like the prophets, they were original, creative minds, men of genius, who cherished the same advanced views and broad outlook as Amos and his successors. Most conclusive proof of this is Psalm 8, the theme of which is the dignity of man—his heaven-born heritage, ever renewed in undimmed glory with every newborn child. What a prophetic thought par excellence! Was it not their abiding faith in man's true, spiritual self which filled the prophets with hope, even though they lived in a materialistic age, sunk in moral and political decay? Thus Jeremiah's opinion of his own contemporaries was that "being addicted to evil," they could no more reform than "the Ethiopian can change his skin, or the leopard his spots."¹⁸³ Yet, this condemning verdict notwithstanding, he affirmed even as positively his hope that after the lapse of seventy years, the lifetime of man, the nation would be restored: by which time limit, it follows from his previous utterance, he meant to emphasize that the restoration could not be hoped for until the present generation, corrupt to the core, had all died off, and a new generation, uncontaminated by the evil of the present, had arisen in its place. Positive proof that this is the meaning of Jeremiah's exposition of his future hope (29:10-14; 25:11) is found in Isa. 23:15-17, where it is similarly predicted of Tyre that she will be restored after the lapse of seventy years, and the prediction is expressed also conversely that "Tyre will be forgotten seventy years," with the explanatory words, "As long as are the days of a king," added to it: which addition, as the Greek shows, read originally "as long as are the days of a man." The prevailing view—that "seventy years" in Jeremiah 29:10 and 25:11 are not original readings but post-Exilic editorial additions—cannot be argued, since by no calculation, no mat-

¹⁸³ Jer. 13:23.

ter how forced, can it be shown that the Babylonian Exile lasted seventy years.

Psalms 50, 51, 15, and 24A, four other pre-Exilic Psalms by disciples of the prophets, confirm what has just been said of them—that they were the peers of their masters, towering like them above their contemporaries. Psalm 50 is especially illustrative of this. Although the influence which the prophetic preaching exerted on the writer is most pronounced, the psalm is marked by originality of style, and the prophetic ideas expressed in it have taken on a new form and received a fresh interpretation.

These pre-Exilic psalms, imbued with the spirit of the prophetic teaching, show that, though this teaching was bound to be ineffectual for the blind masses of those days, being too profound in its simplicity to be within their comprehension, yet it fell on fertile soil and bore abundant fruit no sooner than it was uttered. The blind materialism of the degenerate masses of those centuries from the rise of Amos in the fourth decade of the eighth century B.C. down to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. was offset by the idealism of a small band of men, the prophets and their disciples, whose ardent faith paved the way for the great miracle of the Exile when another of their disciples—the greatest perhaps—Deutero-Isaiah, arose and single-handed set himself to the task of breathing a new life into the dead body of Israel.

E. PSALM 51

— see Apple
note

- *
3 In thy love, O God, have pity upon me:
Blot out my transgressions in thy boundless mercy.
4 Cleanse me thoroughly of iniquity,
Purge me of all sin.
5 I know my transgressions,
I am ever aware of my sins.
6 Against thee, thee only, have I sinned,
And done what is evil in thy sight:

* 1-2. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David when Nathan, the prophet, came to him after he had gone in to Bathsheba.

- Wherefore thou art just in thy sentence,
Fair in thy judgment.
7 Yea, in iniquity was I begotten,
In sin did my mother conceive me.
- 9 Purge me with hyssop that I may be pure,
Wash me whiter than snow.
- 10 Fill me with gladness and joy,
That my being which thou hast crushed may exult.
- 11 Hide thy face from my sins,
And blot out all mine iniquities.
- 12 Create in me a clean heart, O God,
And put a new, steadfast spirit in me.
- 13 Cast me not away from thy presence,
Take not thy holy spirit from me.
- 14 Restore to me joyous faith in thee,
And sustain me with a willing spirit,
15 That I may teach transgressors thy way,
So that sinners may return to thee.
- 16 Deliver me from all my transgressions,
O God, who art my salvation,
That my tongue may sing aloud of thy righteousness:
- 17 Open my lips, O Lord,
That my mouth may proclaim thy glory.
- 18 Thou desirest not sacrifices, else would I give them;
Thou delightest not in holocausts.
- 8 Thou desirest truth welling from the inmost soul,
In hidden depths thou revealest wisdom to me.
- 19 A broken spirit is the sacrifice God desires:
A broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not
despise.

ADDITION OF LATER EDITORS

- 20 In thy grace, O God, show favor unto Zion,
Rebuild the walls of Jerusalem:
- 21 Then wilt thou desire right sacrifices, holocausts and whole burnt
offering;
Then will bullocks be offered on thy altar.

Psalms 51 ranks among the profoundest psalms, and as a piece of searching self-analysis it is almost unequaled. The author is weighed down by the consciousness of his inherent sinfulness, crushed as he thinks of his moral instability, his weak, imperfect human nature.

Yea, in iniquity was I begotten,
In sin did my mother conceive me,

he exclaims in despair. Not for a moment does it occur to him to justify his human weakness, or to shirk his personal responsibility and lay the blame for it on God, who chose to make him as he is—frail and unstable of nature, full of passion and lust. Such a thought is entirely remote from him. He confesses instead that, by the sins which his flesh is heir to, he has debased his noble self, has defiled God's holy spirit within him. Accordingly, he prays God's forgiveness and mercy for having sinned against him, sinned against his holy will by such self-degradation. Growing more passionate, he entreats God to hide his face from his sins and blot out all his iniquities, which have robbed him of the true joy of life.

Since through experience he has come to realize the power of sin, has learned to know the unrest and torment of a guilt-laden conscience, he craves above everything a clean heart and a steadfast spirit, without which, he confesses, he is cast away from the presence of God. In true humility of heart he implores God to give him the strength and willing heart to find this supreme rest of soul that he may be fit to teach transgressors the way of God and bring sinners back to him, that through redemption from sin he may acquire the understanding heart to sing to all the world of the righteousness of God and proclaim his glory. And he directs his mind at once to this noble task, undertakes to enlighten men about those religious delusions that warp their judgment and becloud their vision as to the real issues of life, in particular, the problems of the relation between the human and the Divine and of what God demands of man, or how man can live in conformity with the will of God and promote his divine purpose. He tells his fellowmen that God desires not sacrifices, delights not in holocausts, that a

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 contrite heart and broken spirit for having strayed from the path, having been heedless of the divine promptings within—this is the sacrifice God cares for. Then he turns to the more basic illusion of those days, the belief which then prevailed the world over that the human mind was destitute of inherent truth and that it must get its truth not from inward but from outward revelation. And in opposition to this worldwide delusion he declares that in the hidden depths of the human mind God reveals wisdom to man, that he makes truth known to him in the inmost recesses of his soul:

Thou desirest truth welling from the inmost soul,
 In hidden depths thou revealest wisdom unto me.

The supreme prophetic truth expressed in these lines requires no further discussion after the discourse on Psalm 8. Note, however, how deeply conscious the writer is of the initial mystery, of the mysterious activity of the universal, infinite mind in the finite mind of man—of those fathomless depths from which the conscious and moral life of the soul emerges. Stimulated in all probability by these lines and the two which follow them, the later, post-Exilic writer of Isa. 57:15 pondered on this mystery in the following words:

Thus says the High and Sublime One,
 Who is enthroned through eternity,
 Whose name is Holy,
 I abide as the Sublime and Holy One,
 Even as I abide with him that is contrite and humble in spirit,
 To revive the spirit of the humble
 And to reanimate the heart of the contrite.

Also the psalmist's consciousness of the sinful nature of man and the torment of soul he suffered in consequence has its antecedent in prophetic literature. It recalls Isaiah's "vision of consecration," where the prophet describes how the immediate effect of his vision of God was a state of anguish and disturbance of mind, so that he calls out,

Alas! I am undone—
 Man of unclean lips that I am,
 And living among a people of unclean lips!
 For mine eyes have beheld the King, the Lord of hosts.

His sinful past, he felt at first, made him unfit to endure the presence of God. It was not until he felt himself purged of sin, felt that he had broken with the past, and saw a new life marked out for him, that he found himself at last worthy of God's service. In the same manner the author of the present psalm realizes that ere he may teach men the way of God and bring sinners back to him, the holy spirit of God must be revived in him, joyous faith must reanimate his whole inner life.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

The psalm is the work of a disciple of the pre-Exilic prophets, who had been stirred to the depths of his being by their preaching and had assimilated it so completely that he was able to express its vital truth in his own original way.

There is such a contradiction between the psalmist's affirmation, in verses 18 ff., that God neither desires sacrifices nor delights in holocausts and the prayer of verses 20-21 for the restoration of the sacrificial cult, that it is conceded even by conservative interpreters that this prayer cannot be a genuine part of the psalm, but that it must be the addition of later editors, made for the purpose of taking the sting out of the psalmist's condemning the sacrificial cult. Indirectly the addition is an important clue to the date of the original psalm, for from the petition addressed in it to God that he rebuild Zion, so that sacrifices may again be offered to him, it is obvious that the addition can date from no other time than the Exile, when Jerusalem was in ruins and the sacrificial cult suspended by force of circumstance. It cannot be argued from "rebuild the walls of Jerusalem," as many interpreters have done, that the verses might have been added after the Restoration of 538, any time before the year 444 B.C., when at last, owing to the efforts of Nehemiah, the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt: for the words, "Then wilt thou desire right sacrifices, holocausts and whole burnt offerings; then will bullocks be offered on thy altar," show that all stress is laid on the restoration of the sacrificial cult. We know, however, from Ezra 3:1-6 that the sacrificial cult was re-established in the very first year of the

Restoration, "ere the foundation of the Temple was yet laid," as the record expressly says, and we know further that, ever from that time on, the sacrificial cult was kept up uninterrupted, notwithstanding all opposition and interruption the building of the Temple suffered after its foundation had been laid in 520 B.C. Since, then, verses 20-21 were added during the Exile, the original psalm must be a product of pre-Exilic times. The conclusion is borne out further by the fact that there is not any reference in it, not even a veiled one, to the deathblow the nation suffered in 586 B.C. Yet, had the psalm been written during the Exile, this catastrophe would have been bound to loom large by reason of its very content—the author's consciousness of human sinfulness as well as his passionate desire to lead men in the way of God.

Likewise the resemblance between verse 12,

Create in me a clean heart, O God,
And put a new, steadfast spirit in me,

and Ezek. 36:26,

I will give you also a new heart,
And a new spirit will I put in you,

confirms rather than contradicts the conclusion reached, for the verse of the psalm is in literary qualities as well as in spiritual content so markedly superior to Ezek. 36:26 that there can be no doubt that the psalmist is the original writer and Ezekiel the imitator. The same holds good of the resemblance between verse 5,

I know my transgressions,
I am ever aware of my sins,

and Isa. 59:12b,

For our transgressions are with us,
And our iniquities we know,

which, besides, makes the impression of being a later (originally marginal) addition, suggested by the verse of the psalm; for note that verse 13 (of Isa., chap. 59) elaborates verse 12a and takes no cognizance of verse 12b. The recurrence of the expression *rūah qodesh* of verse 13 in Isa. 63:10, 11, permits no infer-

ence either one or the other way (other interpreters to the contrary), since there is nothing further that this passage of Tritto-Isaiah has in common with verse 13 of the psalm and since, moreover, in the second verse of this passage, *rūah qodesh* denotes "gift of prophecy" and not as in Psalm 51 "the divine spirit" or power of the good within man.

The twofold bias with which the psalm has been approached in the past as a result, first, of the spurious heading and, second, of the collectivistic interpretation, which started with Theodore of Mopsuetsia in the fifth century A.D., and which has adherers still today, could not but interfere seriously with a true estimation of the surpassing spirituality of the psalm and the rare introspection of its author. A good illustration of the mischief the collectivistic interpretation has done is Baethgen's attempt to defend verses 20-21 as genuine and to harmonize them with the rest of the psalm.

David's authorship, which some interpreters are still averse to giving up, is plainly excluded by the advance in religious thought met with in the psalm, which presupposes the advent of the great prophets. Aside from this, it is psychologically inconceivable that David could be the author: the writer of the psalm is not oppressed because he has been guilty of a heinous crime—such as David committed on Uriah—rather he is shaken, body and soul, because of his moral infirmity. Had David been capable of such spiritual experience, he might not have had the moral strength to conquer his lust for Bathsheba, but he could not possibly have followed up this sin with a darker plot—the murder of Uriah. His real character is faithfully portrayed in the record, II Sam. 11:16-25, which tells of the report Joab sent David to the effect that he carried out his orders concerning Uriah, at the cost, however, of many other victims. He instructed the messenger to keep for the last the news that among the fallen there was Uriah in order to circumvent any outbreak of anger on the part of the king at his reckless conduct of the war. And the record adds that it all worked out as Joab, who knew David, had calculated. When the messenger had ended his report with the words "And thy servant Uriah the

Hittite is dead also," David said to the messenger to tell Joab that "he should not let this matter worry him, for the sword may devour one army as well as the other." Since it is clear from all this that David did not feel any compunction even for having sacrificed so many others along with Uriah in order that he might satisfy his carnal desire, it is psychologically unlikely that he should have been suddenly stricken with remorse when Nathan reproached him for his wrongdoing by the parable he told him (II Sam. 12:1-7a).

5. *I know*] *Ki* functions as an emphatic particle.

my sins] From the parallel phrase *pēsha'ai* it follows that either *ḥalla'thi* is used as an abstract term, meaning "sinfulness" or the plural חַטָּאתִי is to be read with Syr.

6. Wherefore] Note that *lēma'an* frequently denotes not the purpose or object in view but the result or effect, the consequence of the action: cf. Hos. 8:4, *lēma'an yikkarethū*, "Therefore shall they be destroyed."

10. *Fill me*] Read, with Syr., חֲשִׁבֵנִי instead of *tashmī'enī* (Nowack and others).

16. *Deliver me from all my transgressions*] The present reading *middamīm* cannot be original text: the word can only mean "murder" or "bloodguiltiness," but for the psalmist to pray that he be absolved of murder he committed or that he be protected against incurring bloodguiltiness would be out of harmony with the profound spirituality of the psalm. The word cannot possibly mean "attack on one's life" nor "deadly peril," as Hitzig and others have interpreted. Equally forced is the interpretation "mortal sin" given by still others, and which has no support in Ezek. 18:13. *Middamīm*, instead of which, *nota bene*, Syr. reads singular: *men dmā'*, which is the original reading, was, to my mind, originally a marginal gloss, pertaining to *bē'ēzōb* of vs. 9, that has been wrongly inserted here and has displaced the original complement of *ḥaššilenī*. Proof of this I find in the well-known addition ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ξύλου, which Gr. in the Upper Egyptian text reads supplementary to ὑσσώπω of vs. 9,¹⁸⁴ and also in the version Targ. has of the verse. As to the addition in Gr., I am of the opinion (the prevailing view to the contrary) that, as in the similar case of Ps. 95:10 (Heb. 96:10), τοῦ ξύλου only was added by Christian hand, and that *middām* is an addition which the Jewish Alexandrian translators read in their Hebrew copy. Further evidence of this may be seen in the version Targ. has of the verse: "Sprinkle on me as the priest who sprinkles with hyssop the blood of the sacrifice on the leper or the water of the ashes of the red heifer on the person defiled." As complement of *ḥaššilenī*, I conjecture that the text read originally מַכֵּל פֶּשַׁע: cf. Ps. 39:9.

18. *else would I give them*] The collective *zebah* of the preceding clause is to be construed also with 'ettena, being a case of brachylogy.

¹⁸⁴ See Rahlfc, *Septuaginta*, X, 31; *Septuaginta Studien*, Vol. II: *Der Text des Septuaginta Psalters* (Göttingen, 1907), 157, 160, 200, 223 f.

8. The verse where found at present disturbs the sequence, but when put after vs. 18, the sequence leaves nothing to be desired.

truth welling from the inmost soul] There is no ground for questioning the traditional interpretation of *baṭṭūhōth*: it is borne out by the synonym *bēsa-ṭhūm* of the parallel clause. It may likewise be noticed that there is practically no difference between Jerome's rendering of the phrase, *absconditum*, and the rendering *kōlyān*, "reins," of Targ. and rabbinic exegesis in general when it is remembered that the reins and adjacent organs were throughout ancient and medieval times universally considered the seat of the intellect and emotions (see the remarks on Pss. 17:10; 73:7; 139:13). This being the case, it is plain that *baṭṭūhōth*, as well as *bēsaṭhūm*, denotes the mysterious, inmost being of man—mind and conscience. Grammatically *baṭṭūhōth* is a qualificative: cf. Hos. 7:14, *lō' za'āqū 'elai bēlibbām*, "They do not cry unto me from the depths of their heart." The emendation of *baṭṭūhōth* by some interpreters can be considered nothing short of wanton, since it obscures or even obliterates the profoundest thought of the psalm.

F. PSALM 50

- 1* The Lord, the supreme God, will speak,
He will summon the world from the rising to the setting
sun:
- 2 From Zion, the crown of beauty, God will shine forth
- 6 That the heavens may declare his righteousness,
May proclaim him God of justice.
- 3 Our God will come, he will not be silent:
Devouring fire will precede him,
A mighty storm attend him.
That he may judge his people,
- 4 He will command the heavens and earth:
- 5 "Convene my faithful servants
Who by sacrifice have sealed my covenant."
- 7 Listen, O my people, I will speak,
I will exhort thee, O Israel;
I am the Lord thy God:
- 8 I do not rebuke thee for want of sacrifices or holocausts—
These are constantly offered unto me.
- 9 Yet I will not accept any bullock out of thy house,

- Nor he-goats out of your folds;
10 For all the beasts of the forests are mine,
And animals by the thousands in the mountains;
11 Known to me are all the fowls of the skies
And each creature that stirs in the woods.
12 If I were hungry, I should not tell thee,
For mine is the world and all that it holds.
13 Do I eat the flesh of bulls,
Or drink the blood of goats?
14 Give thanks unto God,
And pay thy vows unto the Most High:
15 In time of trouble call upon me,
I will deliver thee, and thou shalt render glory unto me.
16 But to the wicked man God says,
By what right dost thou speak of my statutes,
And take my covenant in thy mouth,
17 Since thou hatest morality,
And hast cast my behests behind thee?
18 When thou seest a thief, thou runnest with him,
And thou art allied with adulterers;
19 Thou givest free rein to thy mouth to father evil,
And thy tongue frames deceit;
20 Thou sittest and insultest thy brother,
And thou malignest thy mother's son.
21 These things thou doest;
If I remained silent,
Thou mightst think that I am even as thyself:
I will rebuke thee and convince thee of thine error.
22 Give heed, ye that forget God,
Lest I rend you to pieces, and there be none to save you.
23 He that gives thanks unto me glorifies me.
To him that prepares the way I show the salvation of
God.

The theme of Psalm 50 is the question which occupies great prominence in pre-Exilic spiritual prophecy, How can man worship God? Like the great prophets, the writer of the psalm

recognizes only one mode of worship—worship of God in the spirit, that is to say, by faith and righteous conduct. Since he knew with what tenacity Israel of his day as well as the world at large clung to their belief that man could worship God by bringing him sacrifices, and how they even believed that the sacrificial cult was divinely ordained, the psalmist describes God as revealing himself in order to enlighten the people with regard to their delusion. After the style of the prophetic writings he represents God as telling them what irony it is to think that He delights in bloody sacrifices, and as pointing out to them that, ignorant and heedless of His behests, they have led wicked lives.

But however obviously this discourse depends on pre-Exilic prophecy, it shows a striking originality in style. There is a vein of humor in it not found in the parallel discourses of the prophets. As an illustration of this refreshing feature, note,

If I were hungry, I should not tell thee.

Do I eat the flesh of bulls

Or drink the blood of goats?

also

Thou mightst think that I am even as thyself.

The point of the last line is obvious when it is remembered that, in the world around, the gods were in those days conceived of as subject to human passions and even vices.

Originality of style also marks the indictment of the wicked man in verses 16-21, who in his hypocrisy poses as guardian of the divine covenant but sets law and morality at defiance by his conduct, even though in thought the verses bear close resemblance to the similar indictments in prophetic literature. They recall, first of all, Jeremiah's indictment of King Jehoiakim (22:13-15*a*, 17):

Woe unto him who builds his house by unrighteousness,
His mansion by injustice,
Who exacts labor from his fellow-man without pay,
Without giving him his wages;
Who says, I will build me a spacious palace,
With large chambers and wide windows,

I will panel it with cedar and paint it with vermilion.
 Art thou king because thou viest with thy ancestor in building a
 house of cedar?
 Thou hast eyes and mind for naught but dishonest gain,
 And shedding innocent blood and carrying on tyranny and
 oppression.

Of Jeremiah's repeated indictment of the ruling classes, secular as well as religious, represented, like that of our psalm, as if pronounced by God, compare 8:5-10; 9:1-3:

They hold fast deceit . . . they speak not aright.
 . . . My people know not the law of the Lord.
 How can you say, We are wise men,
 Intrusted with the law of the Lord,
 When in truth the lying pen of the scribes
 Is engaged in promoting lies?
 . . . They despise the word of the Lord.
 . . . Low and high alike are after dishonest gain,
 Priest and prophet alike deal falsely.
 . . . They are adulterers, all of them—
 Treacherous people.
 . . . They proceed from evil to evil,
 And they know not me, says the Lord.
 Beware of your neighbor, trust not your brother,
 For every brother is deceitful,
 And every neighbor goes around as a slanderer."

Note likewise that "Thou hatest morality" (vs. 17 of the psalm) is in thought and language closely related to Jeremiah's reproach, "They are not amenable to morality" (7:28; 2:30; 5:3); "Ye that forget God" (vs. 22) to his repeated reproach, "They have forgotten the Lord their God," and "My people have forgotten me," or "Thou hast forgotten me" (3:21; 2:32; 13:25; 18:15)—a reproach which occurs in Hosea (2:15; 13:6) and Isaiah (17:10). Another noteworthy point of similarity between the psalm and the pre-Exilic prophecy is that, quoting Hosea, the psalmist declares that if the people heed not his warning, their ruin is inevitable. The words, "Lest I rend you to pieces, and there be none to save you," of this warning are the one and only instance of what may be called copying the original, which is Hos. 5:14. However, even this instance is not by any means a word-for-word quotation because the Hosea passage reads, "I, yea, I shall prey upon them and shall carry

off the prey, and there will be none to save them" ('*ānī 'ānī 'etroph . . . wē'ēn maṣṣīl*).

From Jeremiah's indictment of Jehoiakim quoted above it would seem that it is not the wicked in general but "the wicked" head of the nation specifically who is indicted in verses 16-21 of the psalm. This deduction is further suggested by the sudden turn from the singular to the plural at the conclusion of the rebuke. The final line,

To him who prepares the way I show the salvation of God,

might be taken as expressing a general truth were it not for the rest of the psalm, which suggests that the author is expressing in his own way another essential idea of pre-Exilic prophecy—that the people's spiritual awakening is the prerequisite of their ultimate salvation.

The psalmist's originality of style and presentation is as marked in the introductory part as it is in the two parts just discussed. There is first the composite '*ēl 'ēlōhīm*, "the supreme God," with which the psalm pointedly opens. It is a fitting, expressive designation, since the poet goes on to say,

He will summon the world from the rising sun to the setting sun

for a supreme revelation. By this continuation he describes Yahweh as God of the universe no less originally than Amos did before, when he opened his preaching at Bethel by representing God as being about to sit in judgment over Israel and the surrounding nations alike for their disregard of his universal law of humanity. What Amos brings out indirectly, the psalmist tells expressly: the object of God's revelation is

That the heavens may declare his righteousness,
May proclaim him God of justice.

Further, when God is represented as about to arraign Israel before the eyes of the world, in the presence of the heavens and earth, we are reminded both of Isaiah, chapter 1, where God is similarly represented as bidding the heavens and earth listen to his arraignment of his people, and Amos 3:9-13, where the prophet invites the upper classes of Ashdod and Egypt to

Mount Samaria to behold the lawlessness and oppression that are rampant there and "to bear witness against the house of Jacob." But the all-important feature of this point of contact of the exordium with Amos and Isaiah is that the psalmist has not laboriously imitated either the one or the other of his models but has absorbed them, made them so completely his own that whatever he has appropriated from them is recast and made to fit new ends. This method of the psalmist is still more apparent in the lines that remain to be considered:

From Zion, the crown of beauty, God will shine forth.

. . . . Devouring fire will precede him, a mighty storm attend him.

These lines have evidently been suggested by the opening line of Amos,

The Lord will rage from Zion and thunder from Jerusalem,

which describes under the figure of a storm that God is about to manifest himself for the purpose of sitting in judgment over Israel. But all they have really in common with the opening words of Amos' message is the phrase "from Zion" and the general idea, which has, however, taken on an entirely new form. All this bears out the statement made above about the author of the psalm: he was a man of the creative order—the peer of his great masters.

DATE

The view of some interpreters that the psalm was written sometime after the return from the Exile¹⁸⁵ rests on the misinterpretation of *'isphū* as meaning "gather together" from the land of their Exile, while in reality it means, as frequently elsewhere, "assemble" or "convene." Rather the psalm is pre-Exilic. Proof of this is, first of all, the description of Zion as "the crown of beauty." To anyone writing after the return from the Exile it would have seemed irony to speak of Zion as "the crown of beauty," considering what a sorry sight Jerusalem presented for more than a century after the Restoration. Thus Ezra (3:12) tells that "when the foundation of the new Temple was laid many of the priests and Levites and chiefs of the clans,

¹⁸⁵ Gunkel and Barnes.

old men, who with their own eyes had seen the former Temple, wept aloud" at the sight of the new. Also Haggai, moved by similar sentiments, asks (2:3), "Who is left among you that saw this Temple in its former glory? and how do you see it now? Compared with that, is it not in your eyes as nothing?" Additional weight is lent to "Zion, the crown of beauty," as proof of the date of the psalm, by the fact that in Lamentations (2:15), dating from the two first decades of the Exile, the attributive is quoted, together with the similar one in Ps. 48:2, in the mocking question represented as asked by the country's enemies: "Is this the city that has been called the crown of beauty, the joy of the whole earth?" Conclusive proof that the psalm is pre-Exilic is the fact that the psalmist tells the people that their destruction is inevitable unless they heed God's warning, and tells it, moreover, in the very words of Hosea—a threat of which there is no example anywhere in post-Exilic writings, not even in such a condemnatory utterance as the prophecy of Isaiah, chapter 59.

As to its more exact date, from the fact that the author, as the foregoing analysis has shown, is familiar not only with the writings of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. but also with the preaching of Jeremiah down to the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, it follows that he must have been a contemporary of Jeremiah and that he must have written the psalm after Jehoiakim's accession to the throne. This circumstance calls to mind that the biographic record,¹⁸⁶ which tells of the trial of Jeremiah and his condemnation to death because of his Temple sermon, which he delivered in the first year of Jehoiakim's reign,¹⁸⁷ mentions that at the same time there was another prophet, Uriah ben Shemaiah, who delivered a prophecy similar to that of Jeremiah, and that on the precedent of the case of Jeremiah he was summarily sentenced to death, and that at the order of Jehoiakim he was even brought back from Egypt, whither he had fled, to be executed.¹⁸⁸ On the strength of this piece of information I venture to suggest that Uriah may possibly have been the author of Psalm 50.

¹⁸⁶ Jeremiah, chap. 26.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 7:1-15, 21-26.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 26:20 ff.

1. *the supreme God*] The composite 'ēl 'ēlōhīm is a word formation like *qodesh haqqēdashīm*, "the most holy place," or *shīr hashshīrim*, "the song of songs," that is, "the most beautiful song," all of which express superlative degree: it occurs again in Ps. 84:8 and twice in Josh. 22:22: cf. also 'ēl 'ēlīm, Dan. 11:36.

6. Where found at present, vs. 6 is obviously not in its proper place, but it fits well as continuation of vs. 2 and lends greater force also to vs. 3.

God of justice] On the strength of the parallelism read, with different word division, אֱלֹהֵי מִשְׁפָּט (Cheyne and others).

5. *That by sacrifice have sealed my covenant*] The reference is to God's covenant with Israel at Sinai, of which Exod. 24:4-9 says expressly that it was ratified by sacrifice: note also that Deut. 5:2-3 prefaces the Decalogue with the statement, "The Lord our God made a covenant with us at Horeb"; cf. 4:13, where "His covenant which he declared" unto the people at Horeb is defined as being "the Ten Commandments." When the words, "That by sacrifice have sealed my covenant," are taken for what they are—a mere reference to what the psalmist and his age considered a historical fact—they furnish no ground for accusing him (as has been done) of inconsistency and for arguing that "here he attributes great value to sacrifices." Note that similarly Jeremiah when he upbraided the government and the people for their breach of faith in re-enslaving their serfs, whom they had declared free before, mentions the fact that their liberation had even been ratified by a solemn sacrificial act (34:8-19), yet his denunciation of sacrifices is above suspicion.

8. *For want of sacrifices or holocausts—These are*] Note, first of all, that, contrary to the accents and the prevailing interpretation, *wē'ōlōthēka* is another complement to 'ōkīhēka, second, that both *zēbahēka* and 'ōlōthēka are to be construed also as subjects with the predicate *lēnegdī*, being a case of brachylogy: other such examples are I Kings 5:1; Jer. 17:27, Prov. 3:21.

18. *thou runnest*] Vocalize, with the Versions, יָרַץ.

19. *Thou givest free rein to thy mouth*] *Pika* is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun *resen* being omitted.

20. *insultest*] Cf. the note on Ps. 78:19.

21. *If I remain silent*] *Hehrashī* has not the force of a past tense but forms with *dimmitā* a conditional sentence.

22. *I rend you to pieces . . . to save you*] The subject of *bīnū* is to be construed as object with both 'etroph and *maššil*, being a case of brachylogy—the converse case of that found in vs. 8.

23. *prepares the way*] This is the only meaning *sām derek* can have; it cannot mean "who heeds the way"; such a meaning would require the construction with *lē* or 'el.

G. PSALM 15

1* O Lord, who can abide in thy tent?
Who can dwell on thy holy mountain?

* A Psalm of David.

see Ep
N

- 2 He who walks uprightly and practices righteousness,
 And in his heart seeks after truth;
3 Who goes not about as a talebearer,
 Nor wrongs another man,
 Nor maligns his neighbor;
4 Who contemns a vile person,
 And honors the man that reveres God;
 Who does not go back on his word,
 Even though he has pledged himself to his own hurt;
5 Who will take no interest on the money he loans;
 Who cannot be bribed to convict an innocent man:
 He who does all this can never be shaken.

This is another pre-Exilic psalm, dealing, in the light of the preaching of the prophets, with the question, How can man worship God? Like them, the author declares that man can live in the presence of God, that he can commune with Him, or, put in his own figure of speech, "can stand on the holy mountain of God," by living a righteous life and seeking passionately after truth. His answer is as comprehensive as that of Amos, who in his message delivered at Bethel defines "Seek God" by the words, "Seek good and not evil, nay, hate evil and love good." However, knowing human hypocrisy, knowing what human relations were like in those days, the psalmist goes on to be more specific and to tell men what they must cease to do if they truly want to live a righteous life and seek after truth. And the evils of society which he brands as vile and godless are as rampant in this twentieth century of Christendom as they were in the psalmist's own day. Men still go about as talebearers and malign their neighbors without any compunction of heart. Nor does their conscience trouble them when they wrong their fellowmen or take advantage of them. In public life the unscrupulous villain (or "politician," as we call him) enjoys the esteem of society. And how many are there who would not do their utmost to retrieve their mistake when they find that they have pledged themselves, whether by word or oath, to their own hurt, or who would lend money to a poor man without interest?

Or have the judges who cannot be bribed to convict an innocent man disappeared from the bench?

The psalmist concludes that he who lives up to the religious ideal he has set forth "can never be shaken," by which he does not mean to say, however, that, being under the protection of God, "he will enjoy unshaken prosperity," as is commonly argued; rather, it follows from the plain meaning of the words, "cannot be shaken," that he implies thereby that such a man will have the moral strength to protect himself against the temptations and disillusionings of life which imperil man's integrity and threaten to shake his faith in the reality of the good. The thought emphasized by these concluding words—that moral conduct is the surest road to spiritual safety—recurs more fully developed in the companion piece, Psalm 24A, and especially in Ps. 18:26-27. It marks the writers of all three psalms as followers of the prophets, who stress all alike the importance of conduct for building positive convictions and lofty ideals.

The treatment Psalm 15 has received at the hands of present-day interpreters is anything but adequate. Preoccupied with its literary type more than with its spiritual content, they have missed the spirit and purpose of the psalm and have underrated its ethical standard.

DATE

The discussion of the date must proceed from the striking parallel presented by the post-Exilic prophecy, Isa. 33:14b-16, to the description which Psalm 15 gives of the godly life:

Who can abide in the face of the devouring fire?
 Who can abide in the face of the everlasting flames?
 He that walks righteously and seeks after uprightness,
 Who spurns the profit which fraud or oppression brings,
 Who shakes his hands not to clutch bribe,
 Who stops his ears not to hear of bloodshed,
 Who shuts his eyes not to see evil.
 He will dwell on high,
 A fortress built on rock will be his citadel;
 His bread will be given him; his water supply will be sure.

This description has the following phrases in common with the psalm: *mī yagūr*, *halek*, *dōber*, *shōḥad*, and *yishkon*; *ra'* may also

be added. But more striking than this common vocabulary is the identical opening of both with *mī yagūr*, repeated in the one and changed to *mī yishkon* in the other, as also the further feature that both employ participial clauses in the answer to the double question with which they begin. From these points of contact it is clear that one author has been imitating the other, and the question is: Which is the original product, and which the imitation? It is not difficult to decide this. It requires but a moment's thought to see that Psalm 15 not only treats the theme more completely and ably but is, also, from the literary point of view incomparably superior to Isa. 33:14b-16. In Psalm 15 the theme, the godly life, is treated with utmost simplicity—a trait which gives the psalm its ever fresh effect. This quality is lacking in Isa. 33:14b-16, which is stilted and artificial. Striking examples of this feature are: "Who shakes his hand not to clutch bribe"; "Who stops his ears not to hear of bloodshed"; and "Who shuts his eyes not to see evil." Note also that the curious expression, "Who walks righteously" (*hōlek šēdaqōth*) is probably to be accounted for by the fact that it is crudely copied after "Who walks uprightly and practices righteousness" of Psalm 15. A still more conspicuous illustration of crude imitation is the strange turn which is given to the words, "Who can abide," of the psalm in the prophecy by the way they are continued:

Who can abide in the face of the devouring fire?

Who can abide in the face of the everlasting flames?

By these two lines the writer of the prophecy shows, moreover, that, unlike the author of Psalm 15, he is not interested in the godly life per se, in love of virtue for virtue's sake, but rather as an escape and protection from "the devouring fire" of the judgment day. In line with this is another conspicuous difference: while for the writer of the psalm the reward of the good life is spiritual well-being and moral security, for the writer of the post-Exilic prophecy it is material well-being and material safety. This fact—that Isa. 33:14b-16 is as a literary product as well as in spiritual content so manifestly inferior to Psalm 15—makes it absolutely clear that the psalm is the older, the

original product, and that the post-Exilic passage of Isaiah is dependent upon it. But while this leaves it undecided whether the psalm is pre-Exilic or post-Exilic or Exilic, there are valid general reasons which make its pre-Exilic date highly plausible. The question treated in it was of such extreme practical importance—affecting deeply the religious life and customs of those days, and for this reason challenging the advanced minds of the time more than any other truth of the prophetic preaching—that it is not surprising to find more than one of the disciples of the prophets stirred to utterance by it.

2. *in his heart seeks after truth*] Cf. I Sam. 1:13; Eccl. 2:15; 3:18—in all of which *dibber* 'al l. or 'amar *bēlibbo* means "think," "reflect," "ponder."

4. *who does not go back on his word*] The peculiar case of brachylogy we have here has been pointed out in the note on Ps. 76:12, from which it may be seen that "does not go back on his word" or "does not retract his word" is not a free but an accurate translation.

H. PSALM 24A

*

- 1 The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;
 The world, and they that dwell therein:
- 2 For he founded it upon the seas,
 Established it upon the currents of the deep.
- 3 Who can ascend unto the mountain of the Lord?
 Who can stand in his holy place?
- 4 He that has clean hands and a pure heart,
 Who in his mind harbors no falsehood,
 And swears not by what is deceitful.
- 5 Such a man will receive the blessing of the Lord,
 And the triumph of righteousness will be vouchsafed him
 By the God of his salvation.
- 6 Such is the generation that is in quest of God,
 That seeks thy presence, O God of Jacob.

* A Psalm of David.

Verses 1-6 and verses 7-10 of Psalm 24 differ so radically in content, tone, and rhythm that they cannot possibly be a poetic unit but must be two separate poems, as Ewald and many interpreters following him have recognized. The subject matter of verses 7-10 is Yahweh's entry into his sanctuary, while the theme of verses 1-6 is right living or true worship of God. As in Psalm 15, the topic is treated in the light of the revelation of the prophets. So completely has the author of this psalm grasped the essence of their preaching, so thoroughly has he absorbed their profound idea, that righteousness is the bond that can bring man close to God, that he succeeds in re-expressing it in the briefest way imaginable. He declares in terms of figure of speech that one "can ascend unto the mountain of God" if "one has clean hands and a pure heart" or, negatively put, if "in one's mind one harbors no falsehood" and cannot be beguiled by "what is deceitful." For brevity and inclusiveness this definition of the godly life is unexcelled.

Psalm 24A bears resemblance to Psalm 15 also in another essential respect: speaking of the reward of the good life, it makes no mention of material blessings but lays all stress on the spiritual blessings. Whoever leads the good life can at all times be sure of God's approving of him and satisfying his thirst for righteousness. The thought with which the psalm ends,

Such is the generation that is in quest of God,
That seeks thy presence, O God of Jacob,

is closely related to the searching thought of Jeremiah (22: 15 f.):

If one practices justice and righteousness,
If one champions the cause of the poor and the needy,
Then it is well with one:
This indeed is to know me, says God.

The opening of the psalm,

The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof,
The world, and they that dwell therein:
For he founded it upon the seas,
Established it upon the currents of the deep,

is not irrelevant¹⁸⁹ to its theme but is consistent with it, serving a distinct purpose. By emphasizing that God is the Creator and Lord of the universe the psalmist means to imply that he is setting up a universal religious ideal, that he is addressing himself to mankind at large. At bottom of the statement that God founded the earth upon the seas, established it on the currents of the deep, is the notion which men of antiquity had of the earth, which has been discussed earlier (in connection with Ps. 104:5).

The view of Baethgen that Psalm 24 is an imitation of Psalm 15 needs no refutation. Though Psalm 15 is a finished poem, yet Psalm 24, analysis has shown, surpasses it in the presentation of their common theme as well as in poetic qualities. What has been remarked above regarding the pre-Exilic origin of Psalm 15 holds good also of Psalm 24, as does what has been said about the inadequate interpretation of Psalm 15 by recent interpreters.

2. *Established it upon the currents of the deep*] There is no reference here to a subterranean abyss, as some have interpreted *nēharōth*; *nēharōth* denotes "the currents of the sea," as again in Ps. 93:3, and in Jonah 2:4, where all doubt about this meaning is removed by the verb *yēsobēbenī* and also by the parallel stich.

4. *Who in his mind harbors no falsehood*] The Kethib, *naphshō*, not only is attested by all the Versions and many MSS but is borne out, moreover, by the context. The Qērē cannot be considered: it is due to the fact that the Massoretes confused the requisite spoken of in this verse with the third commandment. The idiom *nasā' naphshō lē* or *'el* means "to desire a thing" (cf. Hos. 4:8), "to set one's heart on," "to care for," or "to cherish in one's mind" (cf. Deut. 24:15), or, as here, "to harbor in one's mind."

The triumph of righteousness will be vouchsafed him] Note, first, that *yissā'* is a case of zeugma; second, that as in Isa. 46:13; 51:5, 6, Mic. 7:9, *šēdaqā* and *šēdeq* connote "the triumph of righteousness" or "righteousness triumphant."

6. *Such*] See the note on Ps. 48:15.

O God of Jacob] Read, with two MSS and Syr., אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב.

PSALM 24B

- 7 Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
And be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors,

¹⁸⁹ See Duhm, Bertholet-Kautzsch, Kittel, and Gunkel.

- That the King of glory may enter.
 8 Who is the King of glory?
 The Lord strong and mighty,
 The Lord mighty in battle.
 9 Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
 And be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors,
 That the King of glory may enter.
 10 Who is the King of glory?
 The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory.

AN ANCIENT LITURGICAL HYMN

The subject of this liturgical hymn is Yahweh's entry into his sanctuary by means of a portable object or shrine. This follows from the fact that the gates are bid open wide that "the King of glory," defined as "the Lord of hosts," may enter. In reality it is with the entry of the Ark that the hymn deals: for note that the key to its interpretation is found in the primitive notion current in those days that Yahweh was present in, or enthroned on, the Ark and the resultant identification of the Ark with him. Thus the record which tells how at the time of the disastrous battle at Ebenezer the Ark was brought to the battlefield in the hope that by his presence Yahweh might turn the tide of war represents the Philistines as calling out on its arrival:

God has come into their¹⁹⁰ camp . . .
 Who will save us from the hand of this mighty God?¹⁹¹

And the following record relates that when the Philistines, who in the battle of Ebenezer had captured the Ark, returned it to the country of Israel later, many of the people of Beth-Shemesh died because they looked at the Ark—looked, that is, at the Deity (cf. Exod. 33:20; Isa. 6:5), and that awe-struck the population of Beth-Shemesh cried out:

Who can endure in the presence of Yahweh, this dread¹⁹² God?¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the reading of the Greek.

¹⁹¹ I Sam. 4:3-8.

¹⁹² Cf. what has been remarked about the primary meaning of *qadōsh* above, p. 35.

¹⁹³ I Sam. 6:19-20.

Still more conclusive, if possible, are the two ancient liturgical pieces of which the one was recited whenever the Ark went forth to battle and the other when it returned from it:

Arise, Yahweh, that thy enemies may be scattered,
That they that hate thee may flee before thee;

and

Return, Yahweh, with the myriads of the tribes of Israel.¹⁹⁴

With these various pieces, to which it is closely related in its main idea, the hymn has further in common the primitive conception of Yahweh as God of war, leading the nation in battle. It is at bottom not only of the words, "The Lord mighty in battle," but also of the title "the Lord of hosts," for this title is not here used in the sense in which Amos and his successors use it, who by "hosts" mean to imply the forces of nature as well as the armies of nations, and use the title "the Lord of hosts" as equivalent to Sovereign of the Universe. Rather from "the Lord mighty in battle" it follows that the title is used in its primary sense as found in I Sam. 17:45, where "the Lord of hosts" is defined as "God of the armies of Israel."

Still more important for our purposes is the fact that this title was applied also to the Ark, as the words, "the Ark of God, which is called by the name, even the name of the Lord of hosts," of the record, II Sam. 6:2-18, of David's bringing the Ark to Zion expressly tell; and, further, that from the concluding verses of the record, I Samuel, chapter 4, about the disastrous battle at Ebenezer we know that likewise the attribute "glory" was associated with the Ark: these verses relate that, when the wife of Phinehas heard the news that the Ark was captured and her husband was dead, she called the son to whom she gave birth in anguish:

Ikabod ["No Glory"], saying, Glory is gone from Israel,
Yea, the Ark of God has been taken.

Since, then, it is certain that Psalm 24B deals with the entry of the Ark into the sanctuary, it cannot possibly be post-Exilic,

¹⁹⁴ Num. 10:35-36; *ribbābōth* is an accusative of manner or circumstance (cf. the note on Ps. 68B:18).

for in post-Exilic times the Ark no longer existed. The argument advanced by some interpreters that the words, "everlasting doors," show that when the psalm was written the Temple must have been standing for a long time, and that they hence point to a post-Exilic rather than a pre-Exilic date, does not hold; for what the writer means to emphasize by *'ōlām* is that the doors have been built for eternity, and not that they were built long ago: as in Ps. 78:69, *'ōlām* means "everlasting" and not "ancient." Rather the hymn was composed, as Ewald and other interpreters have recognized, either on the occasion of David's conveying the Ark from the house of Obed-Edom to his capital Zion or for its later entry into the Temple of Solomon.¹⁹⁵ Like Psalms 60A and 57B/60B it is doubtless another genuine psalm of David. It has in common with these the conception of Yahweh as Israel's leader in war; and what is more noteworthy, the words, "The Lord mighty in battle," receive point and color from David's military successes which, in Psalm 57B/60B and other documents of the time, he represents as having been accomplished by Yahweh's fighting on his side in person.

9. *be lifted up*] Read, with a number of MSS and with vs. 7, וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה.

Other pre-Exilic psalms are 89A (see pp. 239 f., 253-56), 100, 95, 114, 136, and 105 (see pp. 797-806), and possibly also Psalms 107B (see pp. 303 f., 316 f.), 36A (see p. 771), 54 (see pp. 762-64), 127A, 127B, 128, 133 (see pp. 806-8), and 144B (see pp. 834 f.).

¹⁹⁵ See I Kings 8:1-11.

PART II

Exilic Psalms

PART II

Exilic Psalms

INTRODUCTION

In the current sketches of the history of the Exile it is generally held that the course of religious development was largely determined by the fact that the people were torn away from their country and placed in a new environment.¹ The truth of the matter is that the majority of the people suffered no environmental change but continued to live in the devastated country—still more important, it was they, not the captives in Babylonia, who produced most of the religious literature of the Exile. The Exilic psalms rank foremost among the literature of the time, and they are the most valuable source material for the reconstruction of the spiritual history of the Exile.

Psalm 137, which was composed among the captives in Babylonia (as a correct interpretation of the tenses, together with other evidence, shows), gives a realistic portrayal of the spiritual condition of the exiles, of their utter bewilderment at the destruction of the nation. Students of the history and religion of Israel have generally ignored this picture, although it is presented again in Psalms 80 and 89B, which describe how the masses were confounded by the destruction of the nation because they were unable to interpret it in terms of the prophetic teaching. These two psalms are the work of one and the same author, and were both written in devastated Judah. Another motif which they have in common (and which appears also in Ezekiel) is the hope for Jewish world-power—a hope which had prevailed for centuries before Amos' appearance as a

¹ Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (6th ed.; Berlin, 1907), p. 151.; E. Sellin, *Geschichte des Israelitisch-Jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig, 1932), II, 25, 30 f.; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III, Part I (Stuttgart, 1927), 124-28.

prophet and which continued to hold sway even after he had denounced it as a fatal delusion.

Psalm 42/43, which, as we know from external evidence, has suffered text disorder in the process of its transmission, is the reverse side, so to speak, of the picture of crushing despair presented in Psalms 137, 80, and 89B. The poet describes how in his case faith conquered the despair which for a time consumed his soul because of the baffling fate of his people. This psalm is a remarkable piece of self-analysis, a record of inestimable value, affording us a true insight into the awakening that was going on in some minds among the captive nation because the luminous faith of the prophets was a latent influence working in them.

Psalms 68A, 126, and 85 (with its succession of precatives) are still more interesting documents in that they are three Exilic psalms of Deutero-Isaiah. Proof of this is to be seen in the close similarity which in thought, language, and style these poems bear to one another and to Isaiah, chapters 40-55. Furthermore, they confirm what a careful analysis of his prophecies reveals—that their author lived and wrote not in Babylonia but in the ruined cities of Judah. They are all three priceless documents inasmuch as they afford us an insight into Deutero-Isaiah's spiritual growth and development and show that at a comparatively early time during the Exile the faith of the pre-Exilic prophets took deep root in him and made him realize his mission. Psalm 68A is a product of his awakening spirit; Psalms 126 and 85 are poems of his mature genius. Finally, they bear directly on the twofold problem which his prophecies present—his attitude toward Cyrus and his absolute assurance that Israel's deliverance from Babylonia was imminent, even though the people were yet steeped in sin. The solution of the problem is, in its turn, of the utmost importance for the adequate interpretation of the psalms to which he was inspired by Israel's rebirth.

Evidence shows that Psalms 80, 89B, 68A, 126, and 85 and Isaiah, chapters 40-55, are only a part of the literature produced in Palestine during the Exile. Another product of the

period which illustrates the current trend is the idealized story of Abraham which portrays Abraham as a man after the ideal of the prophets and emphasizes the fact that God called him to serve the good of humanity and commanded him to spread justice and righteousness. From the abundant Palestinian literature of the Exile it is plain that the intellectual and spiritual life of Israel was not transplanted to Babylonia when Jerusalem fell in 586 B.C., as, strange to say, is generally maintained,² but that it continued to flourish in the devastated country with a warmth and vigor at which we can only wonder. Among the literary men whom Palestine then produced, the greatest was Deutero-Isaiah. It was he and not Ezekiel who, fired by the vision and faith of his predecessors, breathed new life into the dead body of Israel.

All this shows how fantastic are the notions of Kittel and Sellin, who maintain that among the people who remained in the country during the Exile a hybrid religion developed, more grossly pagan-Canaanitish than the pre-Exilic Yahweh worship which the prophets had assailed, and that, shocked and repulsed by this strange religion, the Babylonian exiles on their return to the fatherland refused to have anything to do with their Palestinian compatriots.³ As proof of their argument they cite Isa. 65:3-6, 11; 66:3-5, 17; and Ezra 4:1-3 and the expression in verse 4, "the people of the land." However, they have failed to see that the passages of Isaiah do not tell of religious practices in vogue in the country at the time of the exiles' return from Babylonia but refer to Tyche worship, which found entrance into Israel early in the fourth century B.C.⁴ They have also overlooked the fact that Ezra 4:1-3 states that it was "the enemies of Judah and Benjamin," not "the people of the land," who approached Zerubbabel with the offer to

² Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 f.; H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History* (New York, 1903), pp. 299 f., 380; Kittel, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 79 and 189; Part II, p. 369; Sellin, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 30, 33, 44 f., 51 f.; W. O. E. Oesterley, *A History of Israel*, II, 41 f.; P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia (KAT)* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 381.

³ Kittel, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 88-94; Sellin, *op. cit.*, II, 16-18, 92-94, 104.

⁴ See the discussion of Ps. 16:4, pp. 504-9.

co-operate in the building of the Temple, and that these enemies, as verse 3 shows, were the Samaritans. Whether they are identical with "the people of the land" who, verse 4 relates, sought to frustrate the building of the Temple is altogether doubtful. The main point, however, is that elsewhere in Ezra and Nehemiah this term denotes the non-Jewish, pagan population of the country as Neh. 10:32; Ezra 10:2 and 9:1, 2, 11 show. It is interesting to note that Wellhausen, who on the basis of Ezra 4:1-4 expressed much the same view⁵ as Kittel and Sellin, has given it up in favor of the opposite view: "The most important event of the first decade [after the Restoration]," he says, "was that the Babylonian exiles united with their brethren who had remained in the country. They were not reserved toward them, but received them with open arms."⁶

The post-Exilic psalms of Deutero-Isaiah which celebrate the redemption of Israel are (1) Psalm 107A and (2) Psalms 93, 97, 98, and 96, which are in reality but one song consisting of four parts. In Psalm 107A he considers the wonderful event, as is but natural, in its narrower aspect of the rebirth of his own nation; while in the others he sees it in its broader significance of the universal blessings to ensue. The resemblance between these songs and his prophecies, Isaiah, chapters 40-55, is even more conspicuous than that between the prophecies and his Exilic psalms. So close is the similarity that the prophecies are the very key to the interpretation of these songs and especially of Psalms 93, 97, 98, and 96. Misled by an error in approach, many present-day exegetes have interpreted these four psalms as eschatological hymns celebrating Yahweh's ascension to the throne. They have failed to see the plain fact that they speak of actual events and not merely of visionary happenings.

Moved to expression, six other writers celebrated the rebirth of the nation in song. Their songs are Psalms 65A, 113, 47, 66, 99A, and 148 and 117 (the conclusion to 148). A study of these psalms reveals that Deutero-Isaiah influenced other writers of his day by his lofty universalism.

⁵ *Op. cit.* (1st ed., 1894), pp. 122 and 125.

⁶ *Ibid.* (6th ed.), p. 165.

A. PSALM 137

- 1 By the mighty river of Babylon we sit joyless,
Yea, we weep as we think of Zion.
- 2 We have hung up our harps in the willows.
- 3 They that have carried us off captive
Demand songs of us,
Joyless though we are;
They that jeer at us bid us make merry:
They say, "Sing to us songs of Zion."
- 4 How can we sing the songs of the Lord in a foreign land?
- 5 If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
May my right hand forget its cunning;
- 6 May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth
If I remember thee not,
If I prize not Jerusalem above all joys.
- 7 O Lord, remember against the Edomites the day Jerusalem fell:
They it was who urged,
Raze her, raze her to the ground!
- 8 Daughter of Babylon, who thyself wilt be destroyed—
Blessed be he that will repay thee as thou hast served us;
- 9 Blessed be he that will seize thy little ones
And dash them against the rock.

DATE

Psalm 137 is not a post-Exilic product, written in Judah, as the majority of interpreters hold, after the return from the Exile. Rather it is an Exilic psalm, as Duhm and Bertholet have recognized. In fact, there is evidence that it was composed among the captives in Babylonia. Its Exilic date is established by the wish expressed in the concluding lines:

Daughter of Babylon, who thyself wilt be destroyed—
Blessed be he that will repay thee as thou hast served us.

This wish shows that Babylonia could not as yet have met with overthrow by Cyrus. This fact cannot be reasoned out of exist-

ence by arguing that the city of Babylon continued to exist long after the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus, for by "Daughter of Babylon" the country, not the capital, is meant, as is shown by Isa. 47:1, where "Daughter of Babylon" is synonymous with "Daughter of Chaldea." But the main thing is that, although the capital was not converted into ruins when Cyrus conquered the country, Babylonia ceased to exist as a world-power, having to cede her authority and dominion to Persia—a fact still fully known to the Maccabaeen writer of the Book of Daniel centuries later. Moreover, we have the express testimony of two biblical writers, in the pseudo-prophecies Isa. 21:1-10 and Jeremiah, chapters 50-51, to the effect that the Israelitish contemporaries of Cyrus regarded him as the conqueror of Babylonia. Isa. 21:1-10, which was written when the news of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon reached Palestine, concludes with the unequivocal declaration, "Fallen, fallen is Babylon."⁷ Equally emphatic is Jeremiah, chapters 50-51—another contemporaneous *vaticinium ex eventu*, or, to state it more correctly, two prophecies fused together, one of which was written immediately after Cyrus' invasion of Babylonia, and the other, after his entry into the capital and its surrender. For our purpose it will suffice to quote:

Runner follows upon runner, herald upon herald,
To tell the king of Babylon that the city has been conquered
From one end to the other [51:31].

From *sham* of verses 1 and 3 it has wrongly been concluded, even by those interpreters who have recognized the Exilic origin of the psalm, that the writer cannot any more have lived among the exiles in Babylonia. Such a deduction is, however, unwarranted even if *sham* were an original reading, for the reason that, whether functioning as local or temporal adverb, it is used for what is near or present as well as for what is afar and distant (see p. 119). Least of all do the perfects of verses 1-3 permit such a deduction; they are plainly perfects describing an existing state of things and are hence to be rendered with the present or first perfect instead of, as they customarily are, with the past

⁷ See below, pp. 295-97.

tense. But the real conclusive proof that the psalm is Exilic and was written among the captives in Babylonia is the fact that its tone and content leave no doubt about the matter.

SYNOPSIS AND IMPORTANCE

As a human document the psalm is priceless. It is unparalleled for its realistic analysis of the emotions of a vanquished nation. The bitterness and the vindictiveness of the closing lines appear natural when it is remembered that the poet and his fellow-captives had lost all that was dear to them, all that made life worth while—home and country. Can we, then, wonder at their slough of despond, wonder that in their despair they hung up their harps in the willows—the symbol throughout the ages of sorrow and desolation?⁸ Without a question, this dramatic portrayal of utter hopelessness is true to life. It tallies with what Ezekiel in his vision of the dead bones⁹ tells us of how the destruction of the nation reacted on the survivors:

Verily, like these bones [strewn through the valley]
Is the whole house of Israel:
They say, Our bones are dry, our hope is lost,
We are ruined—

that is, spiritually as well as materially. The despair portrayed in the psalm is further elucidated by such utterances of the pre-Exilic prophets as Amos 8:11-12:

Verily, days shall come, says the Lord,
When I shall send famine in the land—
Not famine of bread, nor thirst for water,
But of hearing the word of God:
And they shall wander from sea to sea,
And roam from the North¹⁰ even to the sunrise
To find the word of the Lord, but will not find it;

or Mic. 3:6-7:

Therefore it will become night unto you
That you will have no vision,
It will grow dark for you

⁸ It seems incomprehensible that this self-evident explanation of vs. 2 should never have suggested itself to the interpreters, who have instead indulged in all sorts of far-fetched interpretations.

⁹ Ezek. 37:11.

¹⁰ I.e., the regions of utter darkness.

That you will no more divine;
 The sun will set for the prophets,
 And the day will be dark about them:
 The seers will be confounded, the diviners be bewildered,
 In dismay they will cover their faces,
 Because there is no answer from God.

These and other similar utterances¹¹ are all to the same effect—that because of their religious beliefs, in particular their notion of the exclusive relationship existing between them and Yahweh, the people cannot but be bewildered when overtaken by destruction and that they will of necessity be cast adrift without anchorage, be left without any ray of hope to illumine the night that will cover them. The line of Lam. 2:9,

Her prophets also find no vision from God,

is another Exilic description of this spiritual condition—a description couched in the very language of Mic. 3:6–7. Note, moreover, that even as late as the close of the Exile, Deutero-Isaiah depicts the masses as still hopeless and dazed, as still spiritually blind and unable to understand the meaning of their destruction.¹²

In the light of these descriptions not only does the despair of the exiles appear in its true perspective but also the meaning of the line

How can we sing the songs of the Lord in a foreign land?

becomes clear. Not that they would have thought it a profanation but rather that to sing them would have seemed a mockery, for the world of belief told of in these songs had ceased to be, even as had their country. Ruined and benighted, they found only one thing left for them to crave—that vengeance be wreaked on their destroyers, that these be overtaken with the fate they have dealt them.

The lines,

O Lord, remember against the Edomites the day Jerusalem fell:
 They it was who urged,
 Raze her, raze her to the ground!

¹¹ See Isa. 28:19; 29:14; Jer. 4:9; 14:18.

¹² See Isa. 40:27; 42:19–25; 43:8; 46:12 (reading *'ōbēdē leb*); 49:14.

have reference to Edom's assisting Nebuchadnezzar in overthrowing Jerusalem. The part Edom took in the destruction of the country is referred to again in Ps. 80:14, and, as here, it is spoken of with great bitterness in such other contemporary writings as Ezek. 25:12; 35:5, 10-12, which is especially illuminating; Lam. 4:21-22, and Obad., verses 10-15. As usual in history under similar circumstances, Judah could see only treason and perfidy in Edom's action, forgetting that Edom's revenge was provoked by the wrongs she had suffered for centuries as Judah's vassal.

1-3. *By the mighty river*] *Nēharōth* is an intensive plural, as again in Ps. 89:26—another example where by *nēharōth* the Euphrates is meant (see *OLZ*, X [1907], 65).

we sit joyless . . . joyless though we are] *Shām* does not seem to me to be the original reading in either verse; not only is it missing in the Sah. in vs. 1 but, inasmuch as *gam* shows that in "Yea, we weep" the author is working up to a climax, it is plain that a modifying verb must have been read originally with *yashabnū*: I conjecture that in vs. 1 the text read originally שָׁבִימָּה instead of *sham* and in vs. 3 שָׁבִימָּה. The present readings are very likely due to abbreviated writing of the two words. The prevailing translation of *yashabnū*, "We sat down," which is interpreted as meaning, "We sat on the ground as mourners," is untenable, since, aside from everything else, *yashab* is in such a case invariably followed by the specification *la'areš* or *'al 'aphar* (cf. Isa. 3:26; 47:1; Ezek. 26:16; Job 2:13; Lam. 2:10), or the meaning is made plain by another modifying phrase, as, for example, *hashpīlū shēbū*, "Sit lonely," Jer. 13:18.

in the willows] The phrase *bēthōka* is a pleonasm.

They that have carried us off captive demand songs of us] The practice of demanding of captives that they entertain the victors with play and song was very common in ancient times. The Philistines had Samson make merry before them (Judg. 16:25), and of Alexander the Great it is told that he had captive women sing their national songs to him (Curtius *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni* vi. 2).

5, 6. This is one of the three cases in Old Testament literature where instead of the usual, noncommittal clause, "So may God do unto me and even more," the writer by the nature of the case does not shrink from uttering a real oath. The self-imprecation adds not little to the elegiac tone of the poem. The other two cases of a complete oath are Ps. 7:4-6 and Job 31:5-40.

7. *the day Jerusalem fell*] In Hebrew *yōm* with a pronominal suffix or followed by a genitive is often used to denote a person's end: cf. Ps. 37:13; I Sam. 26:10; Ezek. 21:30; Job 18:20; Hos. 7:5, *yōm malkenū*, "The day our king was assassinated." It is interesting to note that in the parallel passage in Obad., verse 12, we have for *yōm yērūshalāim* the expressions *yōm 'ahika*, "the fatal day of thy brother," and *yōm nakērō*, "his disastrous day."

8. *who thyself will be destroyed*] The passive participle *hashshēdūda* is perfect text: it is employed, as the participle mostly is, to express potentiality—that is, qualification for, or disposition toward, the action, etc. Its emendation by modern interpreters is nothing short of wanton.

B. PSALM 42/43

*

- 42:2 As the hind panteth after running waters,
So doth my soul pant after thee, O God;
3 My soul is athirst for God—the living God.
How long until I may see the presence of God?
4a My tears are my bread day and night;
11a Crushing me, body and soul, mine enemies revile
me:
4b (= 11b) They say unto me all day long,
Where is thy God?
5a As I think of this, my soul despairs.
6a-b Why wilt thou give way to despair, O my soul,
And why dost thou shake with fear?
Trust in God!
6c (+ 1st word 7) I shall yet sing unto him songs of thanksgiving:
My God is my salvation.
7 Though my soul sinks into despair,
Yet do I think of thee, God of the Jordanland
And the majestic Hermon, and of the hill of Mizar,
8a Where deep calls unto deep amid the roar of thy
cataracts:
9 By day thou didst manifest thy love unto me,
And by night thou didst fill me with song—†
With praise unto the living God.‡
8b Though thy breakers and thy billows surge over
me,

* 1. For the Hymnal. A *Maskil*. Of the Korahites.

† Heb. *the Lord did manifest his love . . . he did fill*.

‡ Variant: *unto the God who sustains my life*.

- 10aa, 43:2a Still I proclaim, Thou, O God, art my strength!
Why hast thou forsaken me?§
- 42:10b Why must I walk in grief, bearing the enemy's op-
(=43:2b) pression?
- 42:12 Why wilt thou give way to despair, O my soul,
And why dost thou shake with fear?
Trust in God!
I shall yet sing unto him songs of thanksgiving:
My God is my salvation.
- 43:1 Right me, O God,
Champion my cause against an inhuman race;
Deliver me from this unjust and treacherous people.
- 3 Send forth thy light and thy truth to lead me,
To bring me to thy holy mountain and thy abode,
- 4 That I may come to the altar of God,
To the God of my joyous youth,
And sing to the strains of the lyre thanksgivings
unto thee, O Lord my God.||
- 5 Why wilt thou give way to despair, O my soul,
And why dost thou shake with fear?
Trust in God!
I shall yet sing unto him songs of thanksgiving:
My God is my salvation.

TEXT DISORDER

Psalm 42/43 has not come down to us in its original order. As usual in such cases, the text disorder it has suffered is traceable partly to the fact that at one time or another a line was omitted and put in the margin, whence in the next copy it was

§ Variant: 10a *I say to God, my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me?*

|| Another version (42:5b-c):

*That under thy wondrous guidance
I may walk to the house of God
In transports of joy and thanksgiving,
Amid a dancing festal crowd.*

inserted into the text at random, and partly to the fact that other lines were originally marginal variants or corrections that were taken into the text in a similar mechanical fashion. Thus 42:11*a*, "Crushing me, body and soul, my enemies revile me," can be recognized at a glance as having originally been omitted from 42:4 by the fact that 42:11*b*, "They say unto me all day long, Where is thy God?" is identical with 42:4*b*.¹³ Similarly, 43:2*a*, "Thou, O God, art my strength! Why hast thou forsaken me?" may be identified as a variant or rather correction of 42:10*a* by the fact that 43:2*b*, "Why must I walk in grief, bearing the enemy's oppression?" is identical with 42:10*b*. The identical lines are to be explained by the fact that the one was added as a cue to the omission and the other to the correction, neither of which was heeded by the next copyist. Further, 42:8*b*,

Though thy breakers and thy billows surge over me

is another line which is not in its original place. Many modern interpreters have observed that in their present order verses 8-10 of Psalm 42 show a lack of sequence, but, as usual, they have sought to get around the difficulty by expunging verse 9 as spurious.¹⁴ As soon, however, as verse 8*b* is placed after verse 9, the sequence of these verses leaves nothing to be desired. Finally, the lines 42:5*b-c* are clearly not in their proper place. In these lines the singer does not recall experiences of the happy past (as they are generally understood), but he gives another version (added originally in the margin) of the second part of the prayer uttered in 43:3-4. The ancient versions have, in fact, understood the lines as a petition. There are in biblical literature several cases of two versions of certain lines left by the author. Of these I shall mention (1) Jer. 14:19-15:2, another version of the prayer for rain (offered by the people) and God's answer to it in 14:7-10, 12; (2) Job 30:2-8, originally another version of the lot of the poor described in 24:4-11.

¹³ Note that four MSS. and Syr. read *bē'omrām* instead of *bē'ēmor* also in 42:4*b*.

¹⁴ Olshausen, Wellhausen, Baethgen, and Staerk; Duhm and Budde have expunged part of the verse.

SYNOPSIS AND IMPORTANCE

Psalm 42/43, modern interpreters are agreed, is a single poem, consisting of three strophes, which are bound together by the same refrain. But more conclusive than this structural feature is the fact that the three strophes are a whole, knit together in poetic unity.

When one turns from Psalm 137 to Psalm 42/43, one is immediately impressed by the contrast between the two poems—utter gloom and despair in the one, transcendent faith and hope in the other. On closer examination, however, it may be seen that, their marked contrast notwithstanding, a similar note is struck in both, for observe that Psalm 42/43 pictures the poet's faith at strife with his despair, because of the nation's mysterious fate, because God has forsaken His people. For a while he was crushed, body and soul, as he heard the enemy's taunts all day long: "Where is your God?" But he goes on to describe how his faith conquered in the end, how "the God of the Jordanland and the majestic Hermon," that is, the God bound up with the material conditions of the nation's existence, has become transformed for him into a "living God," who sustains him, even though he must walk in grief and must bear the enemy's oppression. As a result of this new vision, he can now turn to God as his safety and his rock—the one sure thing the conquerors of his nation cannot take from him. It is from this influx of light that he derives the hope and the strength to call out:

Why wilt thou give way to despair, O my soul,
And why dost thou shake with fear?
Trust in God!
I shall yet sing unto him songs of thanksgiving:
My God is my salvation.

This is the keynote of the psalm—the keynote which is sounded, moreover, at the very opening:

As the hind panteth after running waters,
So doth my soul pant after thee, O God;
My soul is athirst for God—the living God.

On first thought one might wonder how this picture of unconquerable faith can be reconciled with the portrayal Psalm

137 gives of the spiritual condition of the Babylonian exiles. It would seem that they could not well both be true to fact, that the one would exclude the other. Yet when it is remembered that the prophetic preaching had been going on in Israel for two centuries before the final blow was dealt to its national existence, and when it is further remembered that the prophets were sustained by the hope that it would be in the Exile that the seed they were sowing would bear ample fruit—then it is not surprising indeed to see in one of the exiles such a transformation going on as is described in Psalm 42/43. As a matter of fact, the poet himself makes it plain that the faith of the prophets was a latent influence working in him. He does this, first of all, by the words, “the living God,” with which he qualifies the declaration, “My soul is athirst for God.” By emphasizing “the living God,” he shows that it was the basic truth of the prophets’ preaching, that is, their belief that God was living in the heart and mind of man, that enabled him to rise out of despair to faith and hope—even as it was this conviction that illumined the inner life of each and every one of the prophets, that gave them the courage to go forth and preach to a doomed people the gospel of final deliverance from sin and evil. The writer of the psalm shows this further by praying to God in the end,

Send forth thy light and thy truth to lead me.

By “thy light and thy truth” he means the new light that has entered his mind and enabled him to dissociate God from the material conditions of Israel’s existence—the confines of nation and country.

Finally, the spirit of the prophets, it seems to me, is no less in evidence in both versions of the prayer uttered in the concluding strophe, the first of which reads:

Send forth thy light and thy truth to lead me,
To bring me to thy holy mountain and thy abode,
That I may come to the altar of God,
To the God of my joyous youth,
And sing to the strains of the lyre thanksgiving
unto thee, O Lord my God;

while the second, having the same two opening lines as the first, reads, following them:

That under thy wondrous guidance
I may walk to the house of God
In transports of joy and thanksgiving,
Amid a dancing festal crowd.

This prayer is conspicuous even more for what it leaves unsaid than for what it does say. Unlike the Exilic addition to Psalm 51 and verse 18 of the Exilic prophecy, Jeremiah, chapter 33, neither version says anything about offering sacrifices or the ministering priesthood; instead the emphasis is in the one version on "And sing to the strains of the lyre thanksgiving unto thee," and in the other on "That under thy wondrous guidance I may walk . . . in transports of joy and thanksgiving." It may be concluded therefore that the words, "to bring me to thy holy mountain and abode, that I may come to the altar of God" (of the first version), or "that I may walk to the house of God" (of the second version) are mere figures of speech for worshipping God, as are "Who can ascend unto the mountain of the Lord?" and "Who can stand in his holy place?" of Psalms 15 and 24.

DATE

The psalm, its content shows, is a product of the Exile, as Eusebius and Theodore of Mopsuetsia recognized centuries ago. The writer and his nation are described as having been carried off from their country and as suffering ruthless oppression at the hand of "an inhuman race." Moreover, the psalmist prays to God to deliver them from "this unjust and treacherous people," and he tells how he is crushed, body and soul, as he hears the enemies reviling him, saying to him "all day long, Where is thy God?" Note that the like reflection not only recurs in Psalm 89B, another Exilic psalm, but also looms large in Ezekiel, who likewise wrote in Babylonia in the two first decades of the Exile. Psalm 89B concludes:

Remember, O Lord, the shame of thy servant,
How I bear in my bosom the contumely of mighty nations,
How thine enemies insult thine anointed one,
Reville him at every step.

And Ezekiel emphasizes this point in passage after passage. It will suffice for our purpose to quote 36:20:

Coming to the heathen, whither they went, they profaned my holy name when these said to them, The people of the Lord are these, and they had to leave his land;

and 39:21, 23:

And I will restore my glory among the heathen. . . . And the heathen shall know that the house of Israel went into captivity for their iniquity; that it was because they trespassed against me that I hid my face from them, and gave them into the hand of their enemies: so fell they all by the sword.

If, despite the situation reflected in the psalm, modern interpreters have generally disputed its Exilic date, it is, first of all, owing to the fact that in verse 7 the original reading *'ādōnai* before *me'ereṣ yardēn* has dropped out in the Massoretic text and that as a consequence of this the explicative force of the preposition *min* of *me'ereṣ yardēn wəḥermōnīm* and *mehar miṣ'ar* has not been recognized, and the words, "The Jordanland and the majestic Hermon" and "the hill of Mizar" have, strange to say, been taken as describing the locality where the psalmist was living at the time, regardless of the fact that "the Jordanland" can only mean the whole land of Canaan through which the Jordan flows and cannot possibly be limited to the region where it rises. Nor can *min* mean "far from," as Olshausen and Baethgen have taken it¹⁵ as a way out of the difficulty involved in the customary interpretation of the verse. As soon, however, as *min* is taken for what it is—explicative *min*, qualifying the originally preceding *'ādōnai*¹⁶—not only do all difficulties disappear but the meaning and poetic beauty of the psalm stand out enriched beyond measure.

¹⁵ The two examples, Prov. 20:4 and Num. 15:24, which Baethgen cites as support of the meaning "far from" of *min* do not prove anything: in the first, *shebeth* is not infinitive of *yashab* but of *shabath*, meaning "desist from," while, in the second, *ne'lam* dropped out in all probability, as Lev. 4:13 shows.

¹⁶ The term has been coined by L. H. Fleischer (*Kleinere Schriften*, II, 7f.), to apply to the similar use of *min* in Arabic. Some of the other examples of this function of *min* are: *ḥāzīr miya'ar*, "the swine of the woods" or "the wild swine," Ps. 80:14; *kəmar middēlī*, "like a drop of" or rather "in the bucket," Isa. 40:15; *sē'ippīm meḥzyōnōth layla*, "reverie of night visions," Job 4:13; *hōkeah mikkem*, "your reasoning," *ibid.*, 6:25; and *rūah mibbinathī*, "my own reason," *ibid.*, 20:3.

It is further commonly argued that the psalmist's prayer,

Send forth thy light
To bring me to thy holy mountain and thy abode,
That I may come to the altar of God,

presupposes the Temple as standing and hence shows that the psalm cannot be Exilic. But even if "thy holy mountain and thy abode" and "the altar of God" were to be taken literally, the prayer would not permit such a deduction, as may be seen from Psalm 122, which begins with the declaration,

I shall rejoice when they tell me,
Let us go up to the house of the Lord,
When again we set foot in thy gates, O Jerusalem.

Yet the rest of the psalm shows that at the time neither Jerusalem nor the Temple was rebuilt (cf. also the discussion on Psalm 66:13-15, where other, still more conclusive examples of the kind are cited).

The Exilic origin of the psalm is finally indicated by the words, "the God of my joyous youth," since they receive their point from the fact that the writer considers Israel's existence up to its destruction in 586 B.C. as the time of its youth and since they are, moreover, elucidated by the parallel expression in Psalm 89B where the description (vss. 38-46) of the downfall of the nation and the dynasty of David is concluded with the words, "Thou hast shortened the days of his youth." As further support of this interpretation of "the God of my youth," note that in Psalm 71, one of the group of seven psalms inspired by the extreme crisis of the year 344 B.C., the author, bearing in mind that the two centuries since the return from the Exile had been but a continuous struggle for existence, describes the status of Israel of those days aptly by means of the very opposite figure:

Cast me not off in mine old age,
Forsake me not now that my strength is failing
.
And now that I am old and gray
Forsake me not, O God.¹⁷

¹⁷ Vss. 9 and 18.

From Dan. 1:10, where *gīl* denotes "age," it does not follow that the meaning "youth" of the word here, as the Greek, in fact, understood it, is in any way doubtful, since the term *horeph* presents a very analogous case: this word denotes in Hebrew "autumn" or, more accurately, "the season of the ripening of the fruit," and hence "prime of life" (see Job 29:4), and in South Arabic it denotes, in addition, "year." One more remark! Since 42:5b-c is another version of the prayer in 43:3-4, these lines leave no room for the conclusion commonly drawn from them as to the former social status of the author of the psalm.

2. *As the hind*] Read כַּיֵּלֶת (Olshausen and others): the present reading is due to homoeoteleuton.

3. *I may see*] Read, with some MSS, Syr., and Targ., וַאֲרִאָה (Olshausen and others).

11, 4b. *Crushing me, body and soul*] One fails to see why the text or meaning of *bēreṣaḥ* should have been questioned by some interpreters and considered in need of emendation, for not only is "to crush" the meaning of the verb *raṣaḥ* in Arabic but it is used again with this meaning in Ps. 62:4. As often, *ʿāsamōth* denotes *being or body and soul*.

5a, 6a-b *My soul despairs*] This is not a free but a very accurate translation: *'alai* is an inseparable part of *'eshpēka*, which forms with it a reflexive verb, as do also *tishtōḥaḥī* and *teḥēmī* *'alai* of the refrain and *tishtōḥaḥ* *'alai* of vs. 7, from which it will be seen that in the refrain *'alai* is to be construed with *tishtōḥaḥī* as well as with *teḥēmī*; of the many other examples note *'e'ezēba* *'alai* *siḥī*, "I will give way to my despair," Job 10:1; *gūrū lakem*, "Beware!" *ibid.*, 19:29; *hōmē lī libbī*, "My heart throbs," Jer. 4:19; *yaphiaḥ lō*, "him that pants," Ps. 12:6.

(6c + 1st word 7), 12; 43:5. *My God is my salvation*] Though the last stich of the refrain has suffered text corruption in the Hebrew, its reconstruction presents no difficulty, since its original reading has been preserved by Gr.: σωτήριον τοῦ προσώπου μου ὁ θεός μου, which is identically or practically the same in all three strophes and is, moreover, excellently attested. We get, then, as the original text of the last stich of the refrain:

יְשׁוּעַת פִּי אֱלֹהִי

which is not in apposition to the pronominal suffix of *'ōdennū*, but is an independent nominal sentence, as Gr., in fact, understood it; for note that Sah. renders *pūžax̄ m̄paho pe panūte*, and that also the Armenian supplies the copula. As *nephesh* with the pronominal suffix, so is *panīm* with the pronominal suffix often used as an intensive pronoun: other such examples are Ps. 27:8; Nah. 2:2, *'alā mephiṣ* *'al panāyik*, "The destroyer marches against thee"; Prov. 7:15, *lēshaḥer panēka*, "to find thee"; II Sam. 17:11, *panēka hōlēkim baqērab*, "That thou go to battle thyself." As in 44:5, *yēshū'ōth* is not

plural but abstract substantive formed with the ending *ōth*, like *ḥokmōth*, for example.

7, 8. *Though my soul sinks into despair, yet do I think of thee, God of the Jordanland*] The present sentence order 'alai naphshi tishtōḥah—reflexive pronoun with its preposition, subject, then predicate—cannot be the original text order, being contrary to usage. Nor is 'al ken likely to be original reading, for, altogether aside from the fact that "therefore" is not cogent, the phrase is missing in Jonah 2:8, *bēhith'atṭeph 'alai naphshi 'eth 'āḏōnai sakartī*, which is modeled after this verse of the psalm. From this parallel text and the reading of 'āḏōnai after 'ezkarēka by one MS and a number of codices of Gr. I conclude that vs. 7a read originally:

תשׁוּחָה עַל נַפְשִׁי כֵן אֶזְכֹּר יְהוָה

Kēn is the verbal adjective of *kūn*, functioning as *casus adverbialis* or, stated more accurately, used interjectionally, as in Ps. 63:3, 5; 127:2, *et alit.* The present faulty text order can be explained as follows: in the course of transmission *naphshi* was omitted and, with 'alai prefixed to it as a cue, was put in the lateral margin to the right of the line, whence in the next copy it was with the cue joined mechanically to the beginning of the verse; the 'alai which had remained in the text (and which, as in Phoenician, was at one time written without *yod*) was then read 'al and combined with *ken*.

the majestic Hermon] *Ḥermōnīm* is intensive plural: cf. the similar example *nēharōth*, "the mighty river," in Ps. 137:1.

and of the hill of Mizar] The hill of Mizar has been definitely identified by Dalmann in *PfJB*, V (1909), 101 ff. Since Syr. renders *har miš'ār* with *tūr ṣa'ōrā* and since, furthermore, a place *ṣa'ōrā* still exists three miles south of Caesarea Philippi or Banias, where the Jordan rises out of the foothills of the Hermon, he has rightly concluded that the hill of Mizar must be identical with this place. Dalmann's conclusion is further confirmed by the fact that the description which the psalmist gives of the hill of Mizar, "Where deep calls unto deep, amid the roar of thy cataracts," fits excellently the wild scenery of the mountainous country around Banias, through which the Jordan flows in its upper course. Swollen by its tributaries, it is in the rainy season "an impetuous stream which has hewn out its channel in the black basalt." The wild medley of cascades and dashing torrents in the region of Banias is an overwhelming, awe-inspiring sight. One of its tributaries, the *naḥr eš-ṣa'ar*, before uniting with the Jordan, forms three falls, the lowest of which is the most imposing. Uniting its volume of waters with those of the *naḥr eš-ṣa'ar*, the Jordan dashes down the chasm below the ridge on which the ruins of ancient Mizar stand.

9. *By day thou didst manifest thy love unto me, and by night thou didst fill me with song*] The departure from the Hebrew, in which there is a change from the second to the third person, I have considered permissible for the sake of a smooth translation. In every other respect my translation is very exact: first of all, *yēšawwe* is a case of zeugma and is to be construed both with *ḥasdō* and שׁוּבָה, as is to be read with Gr.; further, 'immī is a case of brachylogy and is to be construed as a qualificative with both objects.

with praise] Read, with five MSS, תהלה instead of *tēphilla* (Buhl-Kittel).

unto the living God] With many MSS and Syr., read, as in vs. 3, יי instead of *hayyai*.

10aa, 43:2a. *O God*] Read, with Gr., 'ēlōhīm, instead of 'ēlōhē.

43:1. *an inhuman*] Cf. I Kings 20:31, *mal'ekē ḥesed*, "humane kings"; Prov. 11:17, *'ish ḥesed*, "a humane person."

people] '*Ish* is used here as collective, as again in '*ish yisra'el*, Josh. 9:6; Judg. 7:23, *et alit*.

42:5b-c. *That under thy wondrous guidance*] The words *bassak 'eddaddēm* are corrupt text; from θαυμαστῆς and '*ashinā* of Gr. and Syr., respectively, it is certain that instead of '*eddaddēm* the text read originally אדיר, for note that there are three other instances of '*addir* being so rendered by Gr. and Syr.: in Ps. 76:5 and twice in Ps. 93:4. As to *bassak*, I conjecture from *yanhūnī* of 43:3 that the text probably read בְּיָהוֹנָן.

Amid a dancing festal crowd] *Hamon hōgeg* is a nice case of an adverbial accusative; *ḥagag* expresses two ideas, "to dance" and "to celebrate a feast."

C. PSALM 80

*

- 2 Give heed, O Shepherd of Israel;
Thou who hast led Joseph like a flock,
Thou who art enthroned upon the Cherubim, reveal
thyself.
- 3 Before the eyes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasse
Bestir thy might,
And come to save us.
- 4 Restore us, O God of hosts,
Cause thy face to shine, that we may be delivered.
- 5 O Lord, God of hosts,
How long wilt thou turn away in anger from the
prayer of thy people?
- 6 Thou hast fed us with the bread of tears,
And given us tears to drink in large measure.
- 7 Thou hast made us the laughingstock of our neighbors,
Our enemies mock at us.
- 8 Restore us, O God of hosts,
Cause thy face to shine, that we may be delivered.

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the tune of "The Lilies." An '*Edūth*. A Psalm of Asaph.

- 9 Thou broughtest a vine from Egypt,
 Thou didst uproot the nations and plant it.
 10 Thou madest room for it,
 And it took root and filled the land.
 11 It cast its shadow on the mountains,
 And its shoots climbed to the cedars of God.
 13 Why hast thou broken down its fences,
 And sufferest all that pass by to strip the vine?
 14 The wild swine ravage it,
 And the beasts of the woods feed on it.
- 15a-b, cβ, } O God of hosts, † look down from heaven,
 17a } And see this vine burned down and uprooted. ‡
- 15ca, 16a Mind and restore the vine
 Which thy right hand has planted:
 12 Make its shoots climb to the Sea, §
 Its tendrils spread to the Euphrates.
 18a Extend thine arm to thy right-hand man,
 16b (18b) To the son whom thou hast raised.
 19b Revive us that we may proclaim thy name,
 19a And never turn from thee.
 20 Restore us, O God of hosts,
 Cause thy face to shine, that we may be delivered.

DATE

From the prayer in the first strophe,

Before the eyes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasse
 Bestir thy might,
 And come to save us,

it might seem that the psalm was inspired by a catastrophe the Northern Kingdom had suffered. Such a limitation is precluded by the third strophe, for the lines,

Thou broughtest a vine from Egypt,
 Thou didst uproot the nations and plant it.
 Thou madest room for it,
 And it took root and filled the land,

† Turn again. ‡ As to vs. 17b, see Ps. 79:12. § I. e., the Mediterranean.

and the query that follows,

Why hast thou broken down its fences,
And sufferest all that pass by to strip the vine?

show that the fortune of entire Israel is spoken of under the figure of the vine, which was once planted and tended with care by the hand of God and made to spread far and wide in its luxuriant growth, but which has now been stripped and ravaged. Also from the lines,

O God of hosts, look down from heaven,
And see this vine burned down and uprooted.
Mind and restore the vine
Which thy right hand has planted,

it is clear that the whole nation, Judah as well as Israel, has been destroyed and that the psalmist prays for their common restoration. Obviously, then, the psalm is a product of the Exile.

Final proof of this date is furnished by the specific statement, "The wild swine ravage it." It has remained unnoticed heretofore that by "the wild swine" the Edomites are meant. This is shown by the Ethiopic Book of Enoch 89:12, 66 (also vss. 42-43, 49), where "the black wild swine" and "the wild swine" are figurative descriptions of Esau and the Edomites, his descendants. Verse 12 reads: "That steer [Isaac] begot a black wild swine and a white sheep, and that wild swine begot many swine"; and verse 66 tells of Israel's and Judah's overthrow by Assyria and Babylonia, which are spoken of figuratively as "the lions" and "the tigers," and adds "the wild swine devoured with them": "The lions and the tigers devoured and consumed the largest part of these sheep,¹⁸ and the wild swine devoured with them, and they set fire to that tower and destroyed that Temple." Like Ps. 137:7, the words, "The wild swine devoured with them," refer to Edom's having assisted Babylonia in overthrowing Judah and destroying the Temple. The established identity of "the wild swine" is intensified by the fact that, also, the figures "the lions and the tigers" for Assyria and Babylonia and

¹⁸ A very common Old Testament figure for Israel: cf. Ezek., chap. 34; Ps. 95:7.

the additional figure "the wolves" for Egypt, mentioned together with "the lions and the tigers" in En. 89:55, occur as early as Jer. 5:6:

The lions of the jungle have slain them,
The wolves of the prairie ravage them,
The leopards lie in wait round their cities.

As a matter of fact, En. 89:55 clarifies this heretofore misinterpreted passage of Jeremiah.¹⁹

The reason that the psalmist emphasizes the part Edom had in the destruction of the land is that, directly on the fall of Jerusalem, Edom, we know from Ezek. 35:5, 10, 12 and 36:2-3, 5, pushed northward and annexed the Southland of Judah to its own territory. He has, however, not forgotten that Babylonia was the chief enemy that "burned down and uprooted the vine." Accordingly, he adds to "The wild swine ravage it" the words, "And the beasts of the woods feed upon"—the beasts of the woods being, like "the beasts of the jungle," *ḥayyath ya'ar* of Ps. 68A:31 and *ḥayyath sadē* of Jer. 12:9, another figurative designation of Babylonia.

The first strophe may on closer examination be seen to confirm rather than to contradict the conclusion reached regarding the date of the psalm, for the significance of the specific reference to Joseph on the part of the Judaeen writer and of the lines,

Before the eyes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasse
Bestir thy might,

becomes clear from Ezek. 37:15-22, where the prophet predicts that the nation's restoration will not be restricted to Judah but will include the tribes of the Northern Kingdom, and that these will with Judah form a united Israel:

The word of the Lord came to me: Take a staff and write on it, Judah and the children of Israel united with him. Then take another staff and write on it, Joseph and all the household of Israel united with him. Join them together

¹⁹ It is also interesting to note that, from Neh. 3:35, "Now Tobiah the Ammonite, who was with him, said, Even though they are building, yet if the fox ascends, he will break down their stout wall," it is certain that "the foxes" of Enoch 89:42 f., 49 is indeed a figure for the Ammonites, as conversely it is clear from these verses of Enoch that by "the fox" (not "a fox," as it is generally rendered) Tobiah means himself and his countrymen.

so as to be a single staff in thy hand. And when your countrymen ask you, Will you not tell us what you mean to signify by this? Then tell them, Thus says the Lord, I will take the staff of Joseph, which is in Ephraim's hand, and the tribes of Israel joined to him and will unite them with the staff of Judah, making them a single staff in his hand. Holding the staffs which you have inscribed in your hand before their eyes, say to them: Thus says the Lord, I will take the sons of Israel out of the midst of the nations . . . and bring them back to their own land; and I will make them one nation in the land on the mountain of Israel; and one king shall rule them all; they shall no more be two nations, no longer be divided into two kingdoms.

This hope for a united Israel and Judah, with one king ruling them, did not originate with Ezekiel but was expressed before him by Jeremiah (31:1-21) and also by Hosea, who declared:

In the latter days . . . the sons of Judah and the sons of Israel shall be gathered together and shall place over themselves one head and win again mastery over the land [2:2].

Having in mind this prophetic hope, the Judaeen writer urges God in the opening strophe of the psalm that, true to the promises he made through his prophets, he reveal himself and restore them—the kingdom of Judah together with the house of Joseph.

Equally conclusive is Nah. 2:3, "The Lord will surely restore the vine²⁰ Jacob even as the vine²⁰ Israel, for ravagers have ravaged them and destroyed the vines," which with 1:12-2:1 is an Exilic addition to the pre-Exilic prophecy of Nahum. From the fact that this verse of Nahum is modeled after Psalm 80 and that "Behold, upon the mountains the feet of him that brings good tidings, that publishes peace!" of the preceding verse is copied from Isa. 52:7, it may further be concluded that the addition dates from the closing year of the Exile, that either it was, like Isaiah, chapter 13, written when the news of Cyrus' invasion of Babylonia reached Palestine or, like Isa. 21:1-10, when some short time later the news of the fall of Babylon arrived. Now the interpolator's declaration, "The Lord will truly restore the vine Jacob [that is, Judah] even as the vine Israel," shows that he understood Psalm 80, his model, as imploring God that he restore Judah together with the Joseph tribes. Inasmuch as the interpolation dates from the last years

²⁰ Read *gephen*.

of the Exile and is dependent upon Psalm 80, it furnishes additional proof that Psalm 80 is a product of the Exile.

The figure of a vine under which the psalmist describes Israel, its glorious past as well as its dark present, was employed by other writers before him: by Hosea (10:1), by Isaiah in his parable of the vineyard (5:1-7), by Jeremiah (2:21), and also by Ezekiel (19:10-14), who likewise wrote early in the Exile. As to the question whether the writer of Psalm 80 knew these descriptions or any one of them, or is dependent upon them, the line, "Why hast thou broken down its fences," which is strikingly similar to the words, "I will break down its fence," in Isaiah's parable of the vineyard, shows that he must have been familiar with this parable. But, aside from this, he elaborates the figure independently of Isaiah's parable as well as of the other writers mentioned, and with admirable originality.

WHERE COMPOSED

Unlike Psalms 137 and 42/43, Psalm 80 was not written in Babylonia but in ruined Judah by one who had remained in the conquered country. Proof of this is, first of all, "And it took root and filled the land," for "the land," without any further qualification, can be said of a definite country only by one living in that country and speaking to or writing for others living in it. Equally conclusive are the lines,

And sufferest all that pass by to strip the vine?
The wild swine ravage it;

and

O God . . . see this vine burned down and uprooted:

for the first two show that with his own eyes the writer beholds the pillage still going on in the land,²¹ and from "this vine" of the last it follows that the "burned down and uprooted vine" is before his very eyes. "Thou hast made us a laughingstock of our neighbors" is another proof to the same effect, for note that Ezekiel, who (16:57) likewise emphasizes that Judah has become the object of derision to the surrounding countries, but

²¹ See above, p. 235.

who writes in Babylonia, does by the nature of the case not call them "our neighbors" but mentions two of them (Edom and the Philistines) by name and speaks of the rest as "all that are round about her." The remaining interpretation will be taken up with that of Psalm 89B, the companion piece to Psalm 80.

2. *Thou who art enthroned upon the Cherubim*] See Ezekiel's visions, chaps. 1 and 10.

4. *O God of hosts*] Read 'ēlōhīm šēba'ōth, as in vs. 8.

6. *Thou hast fed us . . . and given us tears to drink*] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Hier., והאכלתנו ורחשקנו—a reading borne out also by the following verse (Graetz and many others).

7. *Thou hast made us a laughingstock*] Read, with the parallel in Ps. 44:14, which is copied from this verse, וזרפה instead of madōn.

mock at us] Read, with two MSS, Gr., Syr., and Hier., לנִי (Dyserinck and others).

11. *It cast its shadow on the mountains, and its shoots climbed to the cedars of God*] Read, with Gr. ἐκάλυψεν, כסה, which is to be construed also with the plural subject 'ānaphēhā, being a case of brachylogy as well as of zeugma: as to the meaning "spread" or "climb," which kissā has construed with 'ānaphēhā, cf. Jer. 46:8, "I will march up and spread over" or "overrun" ('ākassē) the land." By *the mountains* Lebanon is meant, which, though never a part of its territory, has at all times been the object of Israel's desire: cf. Deut. 1:7; 11:24; Josh. 1:4. In the second stich the thought of the first is expressed once more in different words, for by *the cedars of God* the cedars of Lebanon are meant, as Ps. 104:16 shows: "The trees of the Lord have their fill, The cedars of Lebanon which he has planted," which not only elucidates "the cedars of God," as used here, but also stood model for it (see above, pp. 165 f.).

15-18, with 12. These verses it may be seen at a glance suffered text disorder in the course of transmission:

15a-b, cβ, 17a, 15ca, 16a (17b). (1) Vs. 17a, where found at present, is disjoined, the antecedent of the participial phrases being missing: it fits well at the end of vs. 15, whence it was omitted at one time, and by the usual process, well known by this time, was wrongly inserted into vs. 17. (2) pēkod of vs. 15c, without the connective ū, must originally have stood at the beginning of vs. 16a; wēkanna of this verse is, with Gr., to be emended וְכָנְנָה (Wellhausen and others). These lines as rearranged read:

אלהים צבאות הבט משמים וראה גִּפְן זֹאת
זרפה באש כסוהּ פקר וכוננה אשר נטעה ימינך

(3) shūb na' of vs. 15a is in all probability dittography of hāshibenū of the refrain caused by the fact that like the refrain the verse begins with 'ēlōhīm šēba'ōth. (4) Vs. 17b does not belong in this psalm at all, having no *raison d'être* anywhere. I conclude that it was originally a marginal gloss on 79:12, which was mechanically inserted into Psalm 80, owing most likely to the

fact that the page, at the bottom of which the gloss had been put, happened to end with 80:17a.

12. This verse cannot have been an original part of the description of Israel's glorious past given in vss. 9-11, for quite aside from the fact that if the verse were expressing a past state of affairs, as it is generally taken, the writer would have used the perfect *shillah* and not the imperfect, not only would the statement that the shoots of the vine spread to the Sea and the Euphrates be contradictory to the facts of the case but the psalmist would contradict himself in one and the same breath, since in the preceding verse he says that the cedars of Lebanon were the boundary of the vine. It is obvious, therefore, that vs. 12 must originally have been a part of the prayer of vss. 15ca, 16a-20, expressing his hope for the future growth of the vine (see pp. 247 f.).

18a, 16b (18b). The identity of vss. 16b and 18b is to be explained not as owing to dittography (as is generally thought) but rather as owing to the fact that *ben 'adām* is a mistake for *ben*, the original reading, and that when the correction *ben* was made in the margin the preceding *'al* as well as the following *'immašta lak* was added as a cue: as usual, the correction with the cue was in the next copy taken into the text at random.

whom thou hast raised] The prevalent rendering of *'immašta*, "Thou madest strong," the context shows, is untenable: *'immes* occurs again with the meaning "rear" or "raise" in Isa. 44:14, *wayyē'ammeš lō ba'āšē ya'ar*, "He raises one among the trees of the forest," occurring, it is interesting to note, in another writing of the Exile.

19b, 19a. This must have been the original order.

20. *O God of hosts*] Omit *'ādōnai*: cf. vs. 8.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PSALM 89

Psalm 89, many interpreters rightly hold,²² is not a single psalm but consists of two Psalms, of which the first, 89A, comprises verses 2-3 (exclusive of the last word of the former and the two first of the latter) plus verses 6-19, and the second, 89B, verses 4-5 plus 20-52: the last word of verse 2 and the two first of verse 3, reading originally *bēphika 'ammarta*, belong at the beginning of verse 4. The two pieces differ so radically in tone and content that they cannot possibly be considered an organic whole. In Psalm 89A the psalmist sings of the unsurpassed love and might of God and extols him as the glory and strength of Israel, which walks in the light of his presence and is exalted through his righteousness. In Psalm 89B the writer is bewildered at the overthrow of the dynasty of David and the destruction of the country. He heaps bitter reproach upon God

²² Duhm, Briggs, Kittel, Staerk, Bertholet-Kautzsch, Gunkel, Barnes.

for having disowned His anointed one and surrendered his kingdom into the hand of the enemy, unmindful of His covenant with David that his dynasty should endure forever. The contrast between the two psalms could not well be greater; they are absolutely unrelated. This being the case, the view of Gunkel and others cannot be argued—that the present combination of the two was the work of the writer of Psalm 89B, who, desiring to introduce his elegy with some sort of praise of God (as the prayer Ps. 18:6-49 is introduced by vss. 2-5) attached the hymn 89A to his own Psalm 89B. Quite aside from the fact that the writer of Psalm 89B, being a first-class poet, would have been able, we may be sure, to compose an introduction himself had it been needed, the decisive point is that verses 2-5 of Psalm 18 are a congruent, fitting introduction to the cry from the depths of verses 6-49, while Psalm 89A is unsuited for an introduction to Psalm 89B, being incongruous with it. The present combination of the two came about by accident rather than by design, just as the original opening lines of Psalm 89B were in the course of transmission misplaced into Psalm 89A through the carelessness of some copyist. I do not think that even the editors of the Psalter, or of one of the collections of which the Psalter is made up, are responsible for the combination of the two psalms into one. All they did, to my mind, was to group Psalm 89A with 89B for the purely external reason that the one begins, "I will sing of God's deeds of love . . . I will make known thy faithfulness," and that the other represents God as affirming

My faithfulness and my love shall be with him.

and

. . . . I will not withdraw my love from him
Nor belie my faithfulness;

and asks in the concluding lines,

Lord, where are thy former deeds of love
Which in thy faithfulness thou didst vouchsafe to David?

Compare the somewhat similar case of Psalms 107A and 107B.

D. PSALM 89B

- 2 (last
word), 3^{aa} Thou, O Lord, didst declare,
4 I will make a covenant with my chosen one,
I will swear unto David, my servant,
5 That I shall establish his dynasty forever
And build his throne for future generations.
- 20 At the time thou wert speaking
To thy faithful servant in a vision, saying,
I place the crown upon a hero,
I exalt one who stands out among the people;
21 I have singled out David for my servant,
With my holy oil I anoint him.
22 My hand will uphold him,
And my arm make him strong.
23 The enemy shall not attack him,
Nor the son of wickedness subdue him:
I will beat down his foes before him
And smite his adversaries.
- 25 My faithfulness and my love shall be with him,
And through my name his horn shall be lifted
high.
26 I will give his hand power as far as the Sea*
And his right hand dominion as far as the Eu-
phrates.
- 27 He shall invoke me, "Thou, my father,
My God, rock of my salvation,"
28 And I will set him up like a first born,
Highest of earthly kings.
29 My love for him I will keep forever,
And my covenant with him shall hold fast:
30 I will make his dynasty to endure forever,
His throne to last while the heavens last.
- 31 If his sons forsake my law
And follow not my precepts,

* I. e., the Mediterranean Sea.

- 32 If they break my statutes
And heed not my commandments,
33 I will punish their offense with the rod,
Will visit their guilt with the scourge;
34 But I will not withdraw my love from him,
Nor belie my faithfulness:
35 I will not break my covenant,
Nor will I alter one word of what has passed my
lips—
36 The oath which I took once for all by my holiness
Never to be untrue to David.
37 His dynasty shall last forever;
His throne shall be enduring as the sun,
38 Be eternal like the moon,
Shall abide as long as the skies.
- 39 Yet thou hast cast off and rejected,
Hast been wroth with thine anointed one.
40 Thou hast made void thy covenant with thy
servant,
Thou hast profaned his diadem, cast it in the
dust.
41 Thou hast broken down his walls
And laid his fortresses in ruins:
42 All that pass by rob him.
He has become the laughingstock of his neighbors.
43 Thou hast caused the right hand of his adversaries
to triumph,
And all his foes to exult.
44 Thou hast made his sword give way to the adversary's,
And hast not upheld him in war.
45 Thou hast broken his glorious scepter,
And hurled his throne to the ground.
46 Thou hast shortened the days of his youth,
And covered him with shame.

- 47 How long, O Lord, wilt thou hide thyself?
 Will thy wrath burn forever like fire?
- 48 O remember how fleeting my days,
 For what wretchedness thou hast made the sons
 of men!
- 49 What man can live and see not death,
 Can save himself from the hand of Sheol?
- 50 Lord, where are thy former deeds of love
 Which in thy faithfulness thou didst vouchsafe
 to David?
- 51 Remember, O Lord, the shame of thy servant,
 How I bear in my bosom the contumely of
 mighty nations,
- 52 How thine enemies insult thine anointed one,
 Revile him at every step.

DOXOLOGY OF BOOK III

- 53 Praised be the Lord for evermore. Amen, Amen!

WHERE COMPOSED

Since Psalm 89B, as we shall see later, was written by the author of Psalm 80, it follows that like this Psalm it was composed in the ruined land of Judah. There is also direct evidence of this in the line, "All that pass by rob him," which like the parallel in Psalm 80, "And sufferest all that pass by to strip the vine," has reference to the ravage which continued to go on even after the fall of the country, and which the writer was witnessing with his own eyes.

DATE

The psalm is a product of the Exile, for it speaks (in vss. 39-52) of the throne of David as having been hurled to the ground, of his diadem as having been cast in the dust, and of his glorious scepter as having been broken in two, and describes his kingdom as lying in ruins, conquered by the enemy, and prematurely brought to an end. These lines are in tone strikingly similar to Lamentations, which (with exception of chap. 3) was also written in devastated Judah during the Exile. They

are marked by such directness and intensity of feeling that it is obvious that they are the passionate outpouring of an eyewitness, composed soon after the overthrow of the country in 586 B.C. The description is so graphic that the view of a number of interpreters that the psalm is post-Exilic or even of Maccabaeon date²³ is untenable. Is it conceivable that a Maccabaeon writer could have described the fall of the Davidic dynasty as an occurrence of recent experience? How could he possibly have represented the country as conquered and laid in ruins, when, as a matter of fact, even at the height of the short-lived persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes IV the Temple had remained practically intact,²⁴ and the Jews had not been dislodged from either the country or the capital but were within less than a year's time able to take the offensive against the enemy? Besides, at the time of the Maccabaeon crisis the Jews were agitated over the religious persecution they had to suffer, particularly the suspension of the sacrificial cult and the erection of an altar to Zeus upon the altar of the daily sacrifice—which was considered “the abomination of desolation”—and over the deserters and traitors in their own fold.²⁵ What an entirely different situation and different spiritual atmosphere this is from that reflected in Psalm 89B!

The argument advanced by Baethgen that neither Psalm 89B nor Psalm 80 could be Exilic, because they were written in the devastated land of Palestine,²⁶ is, to say the least, amazing. Do we not know that only the upper classes were exiled to Babylonia when Jerusalem fell in 586 B.C., that the masses were left in the country, with Gedaliah ben Ahikam set up as governor over them by Nebuchadnezzar?²⁷ Even after the assassination of Gedaliah by Ishmael only a part of the people can have emigrated to Egypt, as is shown by the fact that five years later

²³ Baethgen, Davies, Duhm, Bertholet-Kautzsch, Gunkel, Kittel, Staerk, Barnes.

²⁴ The only damage the Temple had suffered was the burning of the gates: see I Macc. 4:38; II Macc. 1:8; 8:33.

²⁵ See the Book of Daniel, 8:11 ff.; 9:27; 11:31 f.; 12:11; I Macc. 1:41–54.

²⁶ *Die Psalmen* (3d ed.), pp. 251 and 274.

²⁷ See II Kings 25:12, 23 f.; Jer. 39:10, 14; 40:5–12; 52:16.

another revolt broke out among those who had been left in the country and that, as a consequence of this, there was a third deportation of seven hundred and forty-five men.²⁸ We dare not lose sight of this actual state of affairs, else we are likely to give a one-sided picture of the religious life of the Exile.

THE COMMON AUTHORSHIP OF PSALMS 89B AND 80

Psalms 89B and 80 are closely related, even though they differ radically in the presentation of their common subject. Both psalms speak with bitterness of the fact that the conquered nation "has become the laughingstock of her neighbors" and is reviled by her enemies (80:7; 89B:42, 52). The reproach, "Thou hast broken down his walls," heaped on God in 89B:41 is but a slight variation of that heaped on him in 80:13, "Why hast thou broken down its fences?" The line, "All that pass by rob him," *shassūhū kol 'obērē derek*, of 89B:42 bears close resemblance to "And sufferest all that pass by to strip it?" *we'arūhū kol 'obērē derek* of 80:13b. Further, the lines,

I shall give his hand power as far as the Sea,
And his right hand dominion as far as the Euphrates,

of 89B:26 express by different figures the very thought which Ps. 80:12 does by

Make its shoots climb to the Sea,
Its tendrils spread to the Euphrates.

In like way, the impassioned question,

How long, O Lord, wilt thou hide thyself?
Will thy wrath burn forever like fire?

of 89B:47 is in thought parallel to that of 80:5,

O Lord, God of hosts,
How long wilt thou turn away in anger from the
prayer of thy people?

But, notwithstanding the striking resemblance between them, there is nowhere any trace of patchwork or labored imitation in either psalm. Rather they are both marked by that freshness and spontaneity which are the unfailing sign of every product of

²⁸ Jer. 52:30. See also Kittel, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 61 f.

genius. As an illustration of this quality note how originally their common theme is treated in each. In Psalm 80 the poet contrasts the former loving care which God bestowed upon the vine Israel with his present, mysterious indifference toward the fate that has laid it low. In Psalm 89B he delineates with equal mastery how by the overthrow of the country, God has incomprehensibly made void His covenant with David that He would build his kingdom for eternity and never "withdraw his love from him, nor belie his faithfulness." Since, then, both psalms are works of genius, the lines and expressions which they have in common, or which are closely similar in both, leave room (as in other cases of the kind considered before) for one conclusion only—that they must both be the work of one and the same author.

This conclusion is further confirmed by the fact that both display the same spiritual outlook. Unlike Psalm 42/43, neither Psalm 80 nor Psalm 89B shows any influence of the prophetic preaching; like Ezekiel, their writer has not outgrown the old popular notion of the exclusive relationship existing between Yahweh and Israel—a notion which was vehemently assailed by Amos and his successors. In contrast to Amos' denial (9:7) that Israel has any monopoly on God's favor, he regards Israel as the son Yahweh has raised for himself, as the vine his right hand has planted (80:16, 18), or, what amounts to the same thing, he believes that by oath Yahweh has promised to David to "set him up" (and his descendants after him) "like a first born, highest of earthly kings" (89B:28-29, 35-36).

There is another viewpoint which the two psalms have in common, and which has especial importance for our purpose, since it represents a distinct departure from Ezekiel. Whereas Ezekiel is influenced by the prophetic preaching to the extent that he acknowledges that Israel's destruction has been deserved, that it has been brought on by the people's sinful life, in particular by the idolatrous, Canaanitish practices with which they defiled the land and profaned Yahweh's sanctuary, the writer of Psalms 80 and 89B is far from sharing such a view. All that he admits is that the people might have sinned,

and even this he admits by way of inference only, as may be seen from the lines (80:19),

Revive us that we may proclaim thy name,
And never turn from thee,

and also from the lines (89B:31 ff.),

If his sons forsake my laws
And follow not my precepts,
If they break my statutes
And heed not my commandments,
I will punish their offense by the rod.

But he neither grants nor can he comprehend that the people's disregard for Yahweh's precepts might have warranted their destruction. Such guilt, he reasons, might be punished with the rod, visited with the scourge.

DREAM OF WORLD-POWER

But though the psalmist differs from Ezekiel on the question of the nation's guilt, he has in common with him the dream of Jewish world-power. Evidence of this is his prayer in the concluding strophe of Psalm 80:

O God of hosts, look down from heaven,
... Mind and restore the vine
Which thy right hand has planted:
Make its shoots climb to the Sea,
Its tendrils spread to the Euphrates,

and his declaration in Psalm 89B that God promised David to

Give his hand power as far as the Sea,
And his right hand dominion as far as the Euphrates,

and to "set him up highest of earthly kings."

This dream looms large in Ezekiel. He not only reckons with it in his description (47:15-20) of the dimensions of the future domain of Israel but is also so possessed by it that he predicts that as a preliminary step to Israel's restoration the neighboring nations, including the world-power of Egypt, will be destroyed²⁹ and that, after Israel shall have been re-established in its land, Yahweh will beguile Gog of Magog to lead the nations of the North in an attack against Jerusalem, to the end that at her gates they may meet with annihilation at his hand, so

²⁹ Ezek., chaps. 25-32, 34-35.

that thenceforth Israel may enjoy undisturbed security.³⁰ There is express mention of this hope also in the Exilic portions of Deuteronomy and Joshua, both of which specify: "Your territory shall extend from the wilderness and Lebanon to the Great River, the River Euphrates, and westward to the Great Sea."³¹

ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY

This hope for world-power cannot have originated with Ezekiel or any other writer of the Exile, for it is inconceivable that, after a nation had met with destruction, such a dream could arise among the survivors. Rather the hope is rooted in the notion of the Day of Yahweh as it had prevailed for centuries before Amos appeared as prophet at Bethel, and as it continued to hold sway even after he had denounced it as a fatal delusion. This notion in its turn grew out of the people's belief in the exclusive relationship existing between them and Yahweh. Because of this belief they reasoned that it was to Yahweh's own interest that he deal defeat to Israel's foes and lead his people to ever greater triumphs, until finally he would crown his work with a supreme victory which would usher in for them the dreamed-of era of undisturbed peace and prosperity. Note that Ezekiel concludes his prediction of how the future attack of Gog of Magog on Jerusalem will be thwarted by Yahweh with the words: "Verily, so shall it happen and come to pass, says Yahweh: this is the day which I have promised," and that he adds a few lines farther on: It is "the day when I shall be glorified."³² From certain indications it seems to follow that the belief in the Day of Yahweh arose as early as the time of David and Solomon.³³

The earliest evidence of the existence of the hope for world-dominion is found in the Blessing of Moses, which belongs to the oldest biblical documents:

His first-born bullock is adorned with majesty:
His horns are the horns of the wild ox,
With which he will gore the nations as far as the ends of the earth.³⁴

³⁰ *Ibid.*, chaps. 38-39.

³¹ Deut. 11:24; Josh. 1:4.

³² Ezek. 39:8, 13.

³³ See above, pp. 95 and also 71 f.

³⁴ Deut. 33:17.

It is important to note for our purposes that in this ancient document the crowned head of the house of Joseph is looked upon as destined to realize this hope and that this explains how the contemporaries of Amos came to regard the victories of Jeroboam II over Syria as a mere prelude to the greater glory which Yahweh was holding in store for them—even to the coming of the Day of Yahweh with the millennium to follow.³⁵

The fact that the Blessing of Moses looks to the ruler of the house of Joseph for the realization of Israel's hope for world-dominion confronts us with the problem: How does the writer of Psalm 89B come to relate this hope to the dynasty of David and to declare that it was to David that Yahweh promised world-dominion? And the question is made more urgent by the circumstance that, like Ezekiel, he hopes, as Psalm 80 shows, that the restoration will not be limited to Judah but be extended also to the tribes of the Northern Kingdom, which with Judah will constitute a reunited Israel.

The solution of the problem is found in Psalm 78, which shows that the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 B.C., happening as it did two decades after the overthrow of Samaria, gave in Judah rise to the conviction that, incensed at their image worship and high places, Yahweh rejected the tribes of the house of Joseph and forsook his abode at Shiloh, and that in their stead "He chose Zion" for his abode "and David for his servant . . . to be the shepherd of Israel, his people." This interpretation which the people of Judah put upon their deliverance from Assyria and the fall of Samaria that went before explains how thenceforth the dynasty of David was looked upon as predesigned to fulfil the nation's hope for world-dominion; for note how Ezekiel, describing that the future Israel and Judah will be a reunited nation under one king, emphasizes, with evident dependence upon Ps. 78:70 ff., that "the one shepherd" he will set up over them, God says, shall be "my servant David, who as their shepherd shall shepherd them."³⁶

³⁵ Amos 5:18-20; 1:2, and cf. my article, "The Prophets and Nationalism," *Year Book of Central Conference of American Rabbis*, XXXVII (1927), 281 f.

³⁶ Ezek. 34:23-24; 37:24.

Note further that his additional affirmation, "And David my servant shall be their ruler forever,"³⁷ calls to mind the similar declaration made in Psalm 78 with regard to Zion that

He has built his sanctuary like the hills,
Like the world which he has founded forever,

from which it follows in fact as an immediate corollary, even as does the very elaborate affirmation of Psalm 89B that the dynasty of David shall endure for eternity.

Like Ezekiel, the writer of Psalms 89B and 80 shows what fascination the hope for world-power must have had for pre-Exilic Israel, how ingrained it must have been in the minds of the people, for note that it is from this dream that he draws strength in the end to pray to God that he reveal himself, and that, true to his promise to David, he restore Israel to greater glory than ever. Of the two psalms, I have just indicated, Psalm 89B is clearly the earlier and Psalm 80 the later, for in the former the writer is still so dazed and benighted that he cannot pray, that he can only cry out in despair,

How long, O Lord, wilt thou hide thyself?
Will thy wrath burn forever like fire?
. . . . Lord, where are thy former deeds of love
Which in thy faithfulness thou didst vouchsafe to David?

The prevailing view to the contrary, II Samuel, chapter 7, cannot be considered as the source of God's promise to David in Ps. 89B:3aa, 4-5, 20-38, for, first of all, in these verses God is described as speaking to David directly in a vision and not through the medium of a prophet as in Samuel. Further, in the psalm God's promises are made at the time of David's election as king, while in Samuel they are made late in his reign, "after the Lord had given him rest all around from his enemies." Still more important is the fact that, in Samuel, Nathan's message to him from God is primarily concerned with David's plan to build the Temple, which is disapproved by God, and that the assurance that God will build him a house to last forever is given only incidentally, as it were, to this disapproval of David's plan. Another equally important difference is that in Samuel

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 37:25.

there is no mention of world-dominion. As to the supposed similarity between the two in details, note (1) that "neither shall the sons of wickedness subdue them any more" is in Samuel said with reference to Israel, and not with reference to David, as is "Nor shall the son of wickedness subdue him" in the psalm; (2) that verses 27-28 of the psalm and verse 14a of Samuel arrest our attention far more by their contrast than by the phrase "father" which they have in common; (3) that this holds good also of verses 31-36 of the psalm and verses 14b and 15 of Samuel.

There is one other point calling for a brief remark. In discussing the Davidic Psalm 57B/60B, we have seen that promises of God to David were current already during his lifetime. In these the oracular utterance of Balaam, Num. 24:16-19, is in all probability to be included and possibly also the utterance about Judah of the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:8-11). Some of these promises were lost, as the ancient, fragmentary record, II Sam. 23:8-24 (= I Chron. 11:10-26), telling of David's war captains, shows.

2 (last word), 3aa, 4-5, 20. *Thou, O Lord, didst declare*] The phrase *bēphī* at the end of vs. 2 of Ps. 89A is clearly not original reading; neither has it force nor is it grammatically warranted, since the prepositional phrase *bēphī* with the pronominal suffix of the first or second person is used to lend emphasis only to such verbs as "to pray" (Ps. 66:17), "to implore" (Job 19:16, *bēmō phī 'etħhannan lō*, "with humble words I must implore him"), "to give thanks" or "to confess" (Ps. 109:30), and "to promise" (Deut. 23:24, where *dibbarta bēphika* is synonymous with *nadarta*):¹⁸ *bēphī* was originally conjoined to *ki*, written at one time *k*, of vs. 3a, reading בפיך, which lends emphasis to the following אמרת, as is to be read, with Gr., Hier., and Syr., instead of 'amartī. It is self-evident that *bēphika 'amarta* cannot be an original part of vs. 3 of Psalm 89A but that it must have stood at the beginning of vs. 4. I conjecture further that יהוה אתה originally preceded *bēphika 'amarta*, forming with it the first stich of the tristich of which vs. 4 consists. Note that vs. 20 is also a tristich and is besides similar to vs. 4 in cadence.

At the time] 'Az is used adverbially, as in Ps. 2:5 and Gen. 4:26. By placing vss. 3aa, 4-5, before vs. 20, we get the required antecedent for 'az of vs. 20, which is missing in the present order of vss. 2-20.

¹⁸ The other similar examples show that the phrase *dibbarta bēphika* is not a gloss on *mōšā' sēphathēka*, as Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium und Josua* (HKAT [Göttingen, 1900]), thinks.

the crown] Instead of 'ezer, read עֶזֶר, as Olshausen and others have emended.

21. *I have singled out*] This, and not "I have found," the customary rendering, is the meaning of *maṣā'thi*: *maṣā'* occurs again with this meaning I Sam. 31:3, I Chron. 10:3, *wayyimṣā'ūhū hammōrīm*, "The sharpshooters picked him out."

22. *My hand will uphold him*] This is the meaning of the idiom *yadī tikkōn 'immō*.

23. *The enemy shall not attack him*] This meaning of *yashshī* is explained by the fact that military attacks have at all times been more or less in the nature of a surprise.

subdue] This is the primary meaning of 'innā, with which it is used again Num. 24:24; II Sam. 7:10.

26. *I shall give his hand power as far as . . . his right hand dominion as far as*] This is the exact equivalent of the idiom *samti bē' . . . yadō* or *yēmīnō*: the customary, slavishly literal translation, "I will set his hand in," or "Ich lege seine Hand auf," obscures the meaning.

Euphrates] As in Ps. 137:1, *nēharōth* is intensive plural.

28. *like a first born*] As soon as *bēkōr* is recognized as what it is—accusative of comparison—there is room neither for the deduction Gunkel has drawn from the term, "that the earthly kings are considered sons of the deity," nor for the christological comment of Kirkpatrick.

34. *I will not withdraw*] Instead of 'aphīr, read with 13 MSS, Hier., and Syr., אָפִיר: cf. I Chron. 17:13 (Olshausen and many others).

36. *once for all*] To this meaning of 'aḥath the analogous N.T. Greek ἀπαξ in Heb. 7:27; 9:12; and 10:10 may be compared.

to be untrue to] This is the meaning of *kizzeb* also in Isa. 57:11, *ki thēkazzebī*, "That thou art untrue to me" ('ōthī of the following clause is to be construed also with *thēkazzebī*).

36-38. The grammatical construction shows that only vs. 36b is the content of the oath; if vss. 37 f. were another part of the oath, as they are commonly taken, they would have had to be introduced with 'im lō'. Rather are they independent sentences, elaborating vs. 36b.

38. *as long as the skies*] Read עַד שָׁמַיִם (Duhm and others).

40. *Thou hast profaned . . . cast it in the dust*] *La'areṣ* is a case of ellipsis: the verb *hishlik* or some other similar verb is omitted; similar cases are Jer. 14:2, 18, where some such verb as *shaḥā* is omitted.

44. *Thou hast made his sword to give way to the adversary's*] Instead of *ṣūr*, read מִצֵּד (Duhm and others). As to *heshīb*, without 'ahōr, meaning "make to give way," cf. Ps. 6:11, *yashūbū*, "May they withdraw."

45. *Thou hast broken his glorious scepter*] Read מִטְּתָרֹד (Cheyne and others). The present reading *miṭṭēharō* is in the first place attributable to homeoteleuton, as a result of which *dō* of the second word was misread *rō* and joined to the first word to read *miṭṭēharō*.

46. *Thou hast shortened the days of his youth*] Cf. the discussion of Ps. 43:4, also of 102:25.

47. *Will thy wrath burn forever?*] The accents and the prevailing translation to the contrary, *laneṣaḥ* is to be taken with vs. 47b.

48. *how fleeting my days*] Read, with one MSS, בַּיָּד אֶנִּי (Baethgen and others).

For what wretchedness thou hast made] Vs. 48*b* is another objective clause, depending upon *zēkor*; as to the meaning of *shāw*', cf. Job 7:3, *yarhē shaw*', "months of wretchedness."

49. *What man . . . can save himself*] *Mī geber* is to be construed with *yihyē* as well as with *yēmallet*.

51. *the contumely*] Read כַּלְבִּית, instead of *kol*, which is a case of abbreviated writing.

52. *How thy enemies insult . . . revile him*] Vss. 52*a* and *b* are not, as generally taken, relative clauses but objective clauses depending upon *zēkor* of the previous verse: '*iqēbōth mēshihēka* is to be construed with both the first and the second *herēphū*, which is repeated for the sake of emphasis.

at every step] This is the exact equivalent of the idiom '*iqēbōth*. One fails to see why this idiom and *thy anointed one* should have proved so troublesome to the interpreters; as to the latter, it may be pointed out that *l' état c'est moi*, said by Voltaire of Louis XIV, might have been said of any ruler of ancient times.

53. This verse is not a part of the psalm, but the doxology of the third book of the Psalms.

PSALM 89A

*

- 2† I will sing of God's deeds of love forevermore,
I will make known thy faithfulness to all future generations.
- 3*aβ, b* Love is built for eternity,
Constant as the skies is thy faithfulness.
- 6 The heavens praise thy wondrousness,
Thy faithfulness is extolled in the assembly of the gods;
- 7 For who in the skies can be compared with the Lord?
Who among the gods is like unto the Lord—
- 8 A God that inspires awe in the council of the gods,
That is greater and more august than those that surround him?
- 9 O God of hosts, who is like unto thee—
A God that loves?
Round about thee thy faithfulness is manifest.

* 1. A *Maskil* of Asaph the Ezrahite.

† Exclusive of the last word.

- 10 Thou rulest the majestic sea,
 Thou stillest its tempestuous waves.
- 11 Thou didst mortally wound Rahab,
 With thy mighty arm didst thou scatter thine ene-
 mies.
- 12 Thine are the heavens, thine also the earth;
 Thou hast made the world and all that stirs therein.
- 13 The North and the South hast thou created;
 Tabor and Hermon hail thee.
- 14 Thine is an arm clothed with might,
 Powerful is thy hand, thy right hand is triumphant.
- 15 Justice and righteousness are the foundation of thy
 throne,
 Love and truth go before thee.
- 16 Blessed are the people that have the wisdom to hail
 thee Lord,
 That walk in the light of thy presence,
- 17 That rejoice in thy name all day long,
 That are exalted through thy righteousness.
- 18 Truly, thou art the glory of our strength,
 And through thy grace our horn has been lifted high.
- 19 On the Lord we depend for protection,
 To the Holy One of Israel we commit our king.

DATE

Psalm 89A, a hymn singing of the incomparable love and might of God, is pre-Exilic. Proof of this is the declaration with which it closes, "To the Holy One of Israel we commit our king," which shows that it is a product of the time of the Kingdom. The exultant tone which marks the hymn and the singer's express statement that the people have been exalted through God's righteousness, that through his grace their horn has been lifted high, and that they walk in the light of his presence, show further that it was written at a time when Israel was enjoying glory and strength. As a matter of fact, the psalm reads as if it had been occasioned by a great turning-point in pre-Exilic

history and been written as the nation's hymn of thanksgiving to God for having shown his love and faithfulness to them most visibly. Jeroboam's II or Ahab's victory over Syria may be conjectured as a possible date.

The opening lines call to mind the lines of Psalm 57B/60B,

I will proclaim thee, O Lord, before men,
I will sing thy praise among the nations;
I will proclaim that thy love transcends the heavens,
That thy faithfulness towers to the skies,

with which they have in common, moreover, the emphasis that is laid on the love and faithfulness of God. Spiritually Psalm 89A ranks higher than this hymn of thanksgiving of David for his signal military achievements and shows that in the meantime religious thought had made a marked advance. Note especially the words, "Love is built for eternity." In fact, there is a touch of the prophetic spirit in the psalm, though the writer cannot be classed with the real disciples of the great prophets, whose idea of divine unity is beyond him. He thinks of the heavens as peopled with gods, in much the same way as Micaiah ben Imlah in the vision he relates before Ahab describes God as sitting on a throne with the host of heaven surrounding him.³⁹ This popular notion was still current in the days of the writer of Job (400 B.C.) and furnished him with the idea of a heavenly entourage for the scene in heaven in the Prologue: the heavenly entourage, note, is named *bēnē ha'ēlōhīm*, "the gods"—another form of *bēnē 'ēlīm* of this psalm.

3b. *Constant as the skies is thy faithfulness*] Read, with Gr., Sym., and Syr., שָׁמַיִם (Graetz and others) and with Syr. *wēshamāyā tetkān haimānūthak* omit *bahēm* and construe *shamāyīm* as an accusative of comparison. *Shamāyīm* cannot be classed as *casus pendens*; rather the present reading of vs. 3b is faulty Hebrew, and the various translations are a makeshift: Luther translates, "Und du wirst deine Wahrheit treulich halten im Himmel"; R.V., "Thy faithfulness shalt thou establish in the very heavens"; Kittel, "Der Himmel—du stelltest auf ihn deine Treue."

6. *The heavens praise*] Omit וְ of *weyōdū*: Gr., Hier., and Syr. do not read it.

in the assembly of the gods] *Qēdōshīm*, which in this verse and again in vs. 8 is used synonymously with *bēnē 'ēlīm* of vs. 7, is a common Semitic epithet

³⁹ I Kings 22:19-23.

of the gods: cf. the Phoenician Eshmunazar inscription, ll. 9 and 20, *h'lnm hqdshn*, also Josh. 24:19, *'ēlōhīm qēdōshim hū*; in Job 5:1 the term *qēdōshim* is applied to *weli*, who occupy the position of demigods, and in 15:15 to the heavenly entourage in general.

8. *That is greater and more august than those*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., רַב הוּ (Graetz and others). The present reading may be explained as follows: owing to homoeoteleuton, the *waw* of *hū* was omitted, and as a result of this error the *he* of *hū* was wrongly joined to *rab*. The preposition *'al* is used to denote comparative degree, as *min* is often used: cf. Gen. 48:22, "I give to thee (*shēkem* 'eḥad 'al 'aḥēka), one district more than to thy brothers"; Dan. 1:20, *wayyimṣā'ēm 'eser yadōth 'al kol haḥarṭūmīm*, "He found them to have ten times more than all the magicians."

9. *O God of hosts*] *Yhwh* at the beginning of the verse was originally a marginal correction of *yah*, as may be seen from the *pasek* put in the text before *yah* as well as from the fact that a *pasek* had been put also beside the marginal correction *yhwh*.

A God that loves] Instead of *hāsīn*, read חַסִּיד (Wellhausen).

10. *thepetuous*] Instead of *bēsō*, read בַּשְׂאוֹן (Olshausen and others). The present reading is due to abbreviated writing, which the Massoretes failed to recognize.

10, 11. *Thou didst mortally wound Rahab*] The defeat which, in the Babylonian myth of Creation, Marduk, the god of light, is said to have dealt to Tiamat, the goddess of darkness, when he created the world, is transferred to Yahweh, as it is again in Ps. 74:13-14; Isa. 51:9; Job 7:12; 9:13; 26:12 f. Rahab is the biblical proper name of Tiamat. The expression *kēhalal* finds its explanation, it seems to me, in the fact that in the myth Marduk does not slay Tiamat outright but thrusts his sword down her throat, wounding her mortally; whereupon she flees from him.

With thy mighty arm didst thou scatter thy enemies] This is explained by the fact that, according to the Babylonian myth, Tiamat had a legion of monsters fighting at her side, and that in Job 9:13 these are referred to as "the helpers of Rahab" that were defeated by Yahweh: "Subdued by him, the helpers of Rahab crouched."

16. *that have the wisdom to hail thee Lord*] Contrary to the accents and the customary translation, *'ādōnai* is to be construed as object with *thērū'a*, which has verbal rection; cf. Ps. 98:4.

17. *Truly*] The force of *ki* is that of an emphatic particle.

of our strength] Read, with Syr., עֲזָרָה (Graetz and others).

will be lifted high] The *Quērē* is borne out also by Gr. and Syr.

EXILIC PSALMS OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH

PSALM 68A

*

- 2 When God arises, his enemies will be scattered,
They that hate him will flee before him:
- 3 They will be blown away like smoke;
At the presence of God the wicked foe will perish,
Like wax that melts before the fire.
- 4 But the righteous will be glad;
They will exult before God,
They will shout aloud for joy.
- 5 Sing unto God, sing praise to his name;
Build a highway for him
Who rides through the desert,
Whose name is Yahweh:
Rejoice ye before him.
- 6 Father of the fatherless, defender of the widows,
Is God in his holy dwelling:
- 7 God will restore the desolate to their home;
He will lead forth the prisoners to prosperity,
But the rebellious will live in a barren land.†
- 20 Praised be the Lord, who day by day sustains us,
The God who is our salvation.
- 21 God will work our deliverance;
Escape from death rests with the Lord.
- 23 The Lord has promised:
"I will bring them back from the fiery furnace,
I will raise them from the depths of the sea."
- 22 Verily, God will crush the head of his enemy,
The hairy scalp of him that walks in his guilt,
- 24 That thy foot may bathe in blood,
And the tongues of thy dogs may have their share of the
foe.
- 29 Muster thy power, O God,

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of David. A Psalm. A Song.

† 19c *They will not live in the presence of God.*

- Show thy might in what thou doest for us.
 31a Threaten the beast of the jungle,
 The herd of bulls, the lords of the nations:
 31c Scatter the people that delight in war.
 30b Kings shall bring gifts unto thee:
 32a They shall bring bronze from Egypt,
 31b Gold and silver from Patros;
 32b Ethiopia shall hasten to offer her mite unto God.
 33 Ye kingdoms of the earth, sing unto God,
 Praise the Lord in song;
 34 Praise him that rides through the heavens,
 The eternal heavens,
 Thundering with majestic voice.
 35 Give glory unto God,
 Whose majesty is reflected in the skies,
 Whose grandeur is revealed in the heavens.
 36 Awesome is God in his sanctuary.†
 The God of Israel, he will give power and strength
 Unto the people that is blessed of God.

Psalm 68, we have seen, is not a single psalm but consists of two psalms fused together and differing radically in tone and content as well as in language and style.⁴⁰ The later composition, Psalm 68A, is clearly a product of the Exile, for the people are described as languishing in captivity and comforted in their despair by the hope that God will yet destroy their mighty enemy and deliver them from national extinction:

God will work our deliverance,
 Escape from death rests with the Lord.

These lines do not express any general truth but voice the hope that the nation will revive from the deathblow which it has suffered. This is clear from the lines which follow:

The Lord has promised:
 "I will bring them back from the fiery furnace,
 I will raise them from the depths of the sea."
 Verily, God will crush the head of his enemy.

† 30a *From thy Temple at Jerusalem.*

⁴⁰ See pp. 31-34.

By "the depths of the sea" (and also by "the fiery furnace") Babylonia or, more accurately, Chaldaea is meant, as is shown by Isa. 44:27 and 50:2, where similarly by *šūla*, "the deep," and *yam*, "the sea," Chaldaea is designated, and as is further shown by the still weightier fact that also in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions of all periods *māt tāmtim* or *tāmdim* (= Hebrew *tēhōm*) and *māt marrātim*, "the land of the sea," or "of the deep," and also *tāmtim* and *marrātim*, "the sea," or "the deep" alone (without *māt*) are used as geographical names, designating originally the southern part of Chaldaea (into which in ancient times an arm of the Persian Gulf extended inland as far as Ur and Eridu) and later entire Chaldaea. The latter usage continued down even to talmudic times as is shown by the talmudic term, *Ḥebīl Yammā*, "the Land of the Sea," used as the name of Chaldaea.⁴¹ As a final link in the chain of evidence note that in verse 21 of the Exilic prophecy, Jeremiah, chapter 50, bearing the title, "Against Babylon, against the Land of Chaldaea," *marātim* (as is to be vocalized instead of *mērāthaīm*) of *ha'areš marātim* is the name of Chaldaea, being the above-mentioned Babylonian word *marrātim*, "the sea,"⁴² and the entire phrase is equivalent to *'ereš kasdīm* of the title. From this occurrence of *marrātim* in Jeremiah, chapter 50, it may readily be judged how common the use of this word as a geographical term was in those days. It is also interesting to note that the mythological interpretation of Isa. 44:27 and 50:2, prevalent at present, has no basis in fact.

So convinced is the writer of Psalm 68A that the hope by which he is animated will in due time be fulfilled that he begins with the declaration,

When God arises, his enemies will be scattered,
They that hate him will flee before him.

⁴¹ See F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 41 f., 173 ff., 181 f., 203, 228; F. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients* (München, 1926), pp. 5, 244, n. 5, 253 f., 258, 260 ff., 270, 422 f.; F. Peiser, "Eine Babylonische Landkarte," *ZA*, IV, 361 ff.; A. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud* (Paris, 1868), pp. 326 f.

⁴² See Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

These lines are generally regarded as a quotation from Num. 10:35, which puts an improper, misleading label on them, since the petition in Num. 10:35,

Arise, O Lord, that thy enemies may be scattered,
That they that hate thee may flee before thee,

is an ancient liturgical piece and, as such, was common literary property in those days, likely to be quoted by any author, in much the same way as our proverbs are today. This being the case, it is obvious that the psalmist's quoting these words cannot be taken as in any way reflecting on his poetic skill. It was not because of any lack of originality but rather for a well-calculated purpose that he began the psalm with these well-known words, esteemed by all. By thus striking a familiar chord, he sought to arouse the response of his conquered people, whom he was assuring that even now they need not abandon hope but that, in due course, they would see wicked Babylonia perishing and disappearing from the scene of history.⁴³ (The use of "the wicked" as a designation of foreign enemies is a characteristic of a great many psalms: see pp. 431 f.) Verse 31, far from furnishing an argument to the contrary, confirms this import of the opening lines, since, instead of the present text, "the beast of the reeds," the verse read originally "the beast of the jungle," by which, as by the synonymous expression in Ps. 80:14, Babylonia is meant. What gave him such hope the psalmist tells in verses 23-22: "The Lord has promised" to bring the exiles back from Babylonia. Like the rest of the two

⁴³ The case recalls by way of contrast the much-debated opening words of Amos' preaching at Bethel: "The Lord will rage from Zion and thunder from Jerusalem." These words, as pointed out above, were coined neither by Amos nor even by Joel later but had been a current saying in Israel long before Amos' appearance as a prophet. They had come to stand in the minds of the people for their highest hope, in particular, the coming of the Day of Yahweh—a hope which, because of the victories of Jeroboam II over Syria, the nation's foe for more than a century, had more than ever taken possession of the minds of Amos' contemporaries. By continuing the familiar words, "The Lord will rage from Zion and thunder from Jerusalem," with the prediction, "And the pastures of the shepherds shall mourn, and the summit of Mount Carmel shall wither," instead of with the wonted words of promise, as Joel still did centuries later, Amos tried to startle and shock his hearers and to bring home to them from the very outset that their belief that the Day of Yahweh was fast drawing nigh was a fatal delusion.

verses, "The Lord has promised" is elucidated by the parallel reflection, Isa. 44:24-28, where Deutero-Isaiah, being far more explicit, declares,

He will verify the promise of his servants,⁴⁴
And will fulfil the prophecy of his messengers.

There as well as here the writer has reference to the predictions of the pre-Exilic prophets that the destruction of the nation will be followed by a rebirth, especially to the prophecies of Jer. 24:5-7; 27:22; 29:10-14—all three of which promise that God will in due time bring back the people from the Babylonian captivity. And for our purposes it is important to note that in Psalm 85, another Exilic psalm of Deutero-Isaiah, there is absolute proof that, in speaking of the prophecies of hope, the writer has had in mind these prophecies of Jeremiah.⁴⁵

RELATIONSHIP TO ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 40-55

The influence which the pre-Exilic prophets exerted on the writer of Psalm 68A and the relationship it shows to Deutero-Isaiah is more far-reaching than has so far been pointed out. To such a degree is his heart stirred and his imagination fired by the faith of the prophets that he visions even now God "riding through the desert," that is, through devastated Palestine, and that he bids his people celebrate God in song and "build a highway for him" so as to make ready for his prospective entry into the land when

God will restore the desolate to their home;
Will lead forth the prisoners to prosperity [vs. 7].

Proof that this is the meaning of the line,

Build a highway for him who rides through the desert,

may be seen in the more elaborate parallel description in Isa. 40:3, 5:

Hark! A call is sounded:
In the wilderness clear the way for the Lord,
Prepare in the desert a highway for our God,
... That the glory of the Lord may be revealed—

⁴⁴ Cf. Gr. and Targ.

⁴⁵ See below, p. 274.

where in the following strophe, verses 9-11, which resemble verse 7 of the psalm in thought, Deutero-Isaiah makes it plain that the glory of God is to be revealed by the return of the exiles, with God marching at their head and entering devastated Zion in triumph. There cannot be any doubt that the words, "Who rides through the desert," and the parallel lines in Isa. 40:3, 5 are to be so interpreted, since in his description (51:3) of Zion's expected transformation Deutero-Isaiah uses the very terms "desert" and "wilderness" (*midbar wa'āraba*) as designations of devastated Zion:

The Lord will comfort Zion, will comfort all her ruins:
He will make her desert like a garden of God,
Her wilderness like an Eden;

and since also in another psalm (107A:33, 35), he describes Palestine in ruins as changed to a desert and barren waste:

He changed the rivers into desert land,
Springs into thirsty ground;
He turned a fruitful country into a barren waste,

and, as in Isa. 51:3, says vice versa of Palestine restored:

He changed the desert into pools of water,
The dry land into a region of springs.

It is noteworthy that in all these passages Deutero-Isaiah has adopted the terms which Isaiah and Jeremiah used before him. Thus in his exposition of Israel's future regeneration Isaiah says (32:15),

Then the desert will become a fruitful country,

and Jeremiah, depending upon him, says in his turn, as he visualizes the coming doom (4:26),

I look about, and behold, the fruitful country turned into a desert,
and removes all doubt about the meaning of the words by continuing,

And all its cities destroyed!

In another prophecy (12:10) he says,

Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard,
... They have made my beautiful land a desolate wilderness.

And in one of the expositions of his future hope (31:1) he says:

Thus says the Lord, The people that have escaped the sword
Shall find grace in the wilderness,
Israel shall come to rest—

a verse which is at once lucid when "wilderness" is understood as meaning the devastated country of Israel. Losing sight of this, modern interpreters have wrestled with the verse and have arbitrarily emended it—some even the phrase "the wilderness." Such passages, too, as Isa. 7:23-25 and 32:13-14 may be compared, which, though not using the terms "desert" and "wilderness," yet describe the condition in which the country will be left by the ravages of the enemy's army as that of a barren waste.

As another evidence that the writer of Psalm 68A is animated by the prophetic spirit, note that, unlike the author of Psalms 80 and 89B, he does not look for an unconditional restoration but holds with the prophets that it is dependent upon the people's meriting it, upon their being spiritually ripe for it: the salvation, he makes clear, is vouchsafed to the righteous only, who have faith in God, who believe in his power to save; the "rebellious" have no share in it, "they will live in a barren land." It follows from this as an immediate corollary that in the lines,

But the righteous will be glad;
They will exult before God,
Yea, they will rejoice beyond bound,

by "the righteous" are not understood, as in some psalms, the people as a whole but only those of them who truly seek after righteousness.

Nor does the writer cherish the dream of world-power which dominates Psalms 80 and 89B, but is swayed by the same universalistic hope as in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, that through Israel's redemption the kingdoms of the earth may be led to recognize God and do homage to him.

Of other points of resemblance between Psalm 68A and Isaiah, chapters 40-55, and also between some of the other psalms of Deutero-Isaiah, note:

1. The words, "Sing unto God," of verses 5 and 33 are found in Isa. 42:10 enlarged to "Sing unto the Lord a new song." Weight is added to the occur-

rence of the words in both writings by the fact that they recur, with as well as without "a new song," in the song—Psalms 93, 97, 98, and 96—to which the rebirth of the nation inspired Deutero-Isaiah, three times in 96:1-2 and once in 98:1.

2. The phraseology, "He will lead forth the prisoners," *mōšī' 'dsīrim*, of Ps. 68A:7, is markedly similar to that of "Leading forth the prisoners from their prison," *lēhōšī' mimmasger 'assīr*, of Isa. 42:7, and shows also some resemblance to "I will say to the prisoners, Go forth!" *lē'mōr la'āsūrim šē'ū*, of Isa. 49:9.

3. The figure in Ps. 68A:21, "escape from death," *lamaweth tōša'ōth*, used with regard to the destiny of the nation, is reminiscent of that in Isa. 51:14, "He that is bound in fetters . . . he shall not die nor sink into the grave," *lō' yamūth lashaḥath*, and of its antithesis both in Isa. 53:8, "He has been stricken to death," *nugga' lamaweth*,⁴⁶ and in Ps. 107A:18, "They were at death's gate," *wayyagī'ū 'ad sha'drē maweth*, both of which stand for the deathblow the nation had suffered.

4. Ps. 68A:3, "At the presence of God the wicked foe will perish," and Isa. 41:11, "Thy adversaries will perish," have the identical predicate (*yō' bēdū*), and verse 2 of the psalm and Isa. 41:16b, in addition to stating the same thought, have the verb *pūš* in common, used as Qal in the one, and as Hiph'il in the other. Further, the line following Isa. 41:16b, "But thou wilt exult in the Lord and glory in the Holy One of Israel," expresses in different words the same sentiments as verse 4 of Psalm 68A, while in Ps. 97:12, "Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous," *simhū šaddiqim ba'ddōnai*, these feelings are expressed in practically the identical words of the first stich of Ps. 68A:4.

5. Ps. 68A:20, *yōm yōm ya'dmas lanū*, "Who day by day sustains us," and Isa. 46:3, *ha'dmūsīm minni bešen*, "Who from the time of their birth have been sustained by me," not only have the verb *'amas* in common but, what has still more weight, are also the only examples in Old Testament writings of the figurative use of *'amas*.

6. Finally, *yēshū'a* of Ps. 68A:20, though occurring in ever so many psalms and other writings, is, with *lēshū'a* and *yēsha'*, fairly typical of the writings of Deutero-Isaiah, especially of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, where the three phrases occur eleven times in all.⁴⁷

The form *mōsha'ōth* of verse 21, it is worth while to note, is not found anywhere else, being like *kōsharōth*, *šēḥiḥa*, and *ta'āšūmōth*⁴⁸ peculiar to Psalm 68A, and there is also otherwise a good deal that is individual about the style of the psalm. Thus note the paronomasia (a) *kēhindoph 'ashan tinnāleph* (vs. 3); (b) *yitten bēqōlō qōl 'oz*, followed by *lēnū 'oz* (vss. 33-34); (c) *šawwē . . . 'uzzēka 'uzza* (vs. 29); and (d) *bishshēmē shēmē qedem* (vs. 34). Note also the expressions *'ābi yēthōmīm* and *dāyyan 'almānōth* (vs. 6), and the sentences *mōshib yēhīdīm bayētha* (vs. 7), *lēshōn kēlabēka me'ōyēbīm minnēhū* (vs. 24), and *qērābōth yēḥpašū* (vs. 31): of all these combinations there are no other

⁴⁶ See Gr.

⁴⁷ Isa. 45:8, 17; 46:13 (twice); 49:6, 8; 51:5, 6, 8; 52:7, 10.

⁴⁸ *'Ašūmōth*, Isa. 41:21, is another etymon, a juridical term, meaning "defense": cf. talmudic *hiḥ'aššem badīn*, "to set forth defensive arguments."

examples in biblical literature. All this shows that Psalm 68A has a distinct style of its own, its close similarity to the prophecies, Isaiah, chapters 40-55, notwithstanding, and that like them it bears the stamp of genius.

WHERE COMPOSED

The psalm, though differing radically from Psalms 80 and 89B in outlook and religious spirit, is like these a product of Palestinian environment. Proof of this may be seen in

Build a highway for him
Who rides through the desert.

Had the psalm been written in Babylonia for a Babylonian audience, the words, "Who rides through the desert," would have been unnatural and not intelligible; but, written in Palestine for those living in the devastated country, they were at once obvious and clear. This remark applies also to the parallel, Isa. 40:3, for, as I have shown in the article, "Where Did Deutero-Isaiah Live?"⁴⁹ the great prophet of the Exile did not live and write among the exiles in Babylonia but in the desolate country of Judah—a view first expressed by Seineke⁵⁰ and indorsed very recently by Mowinkel.⁵¹ Furthermore, Ewald,⁵² Bunsen,⁵³ Marti,⁵⁴ Hoelscher,⁵⁵ and Duhm,⁵⁶ though differing as to the place where Isaiah, chapters 40-55, was written—some thinking that it was Egypt and others that it was Phoenicia—are all agreed that it cannot have been Babylonia. Because of the direct bearing the question has on the authorship of Psalms 68A, 85, and 126, I deem it advisable to repeat here the substance of the argument I presented in that article.

In his appeals to the exiles to leave Babylonia and in his descriptions of the divine guidance on which they may count,

⁴⁹ *JBL*, XXXVIII (1919), 94 ff.

⁵⁰ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Göttingen, 1884), II, 81 f.

⁵¹ "Die Komposition des Deuterjesaianischen Buches," *ZATW*, XLIX (1931), 244, n. 1.

⁵² *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes* (2d ed; Göttingen, 1868), III, 30.

⁵³ *Bibelwerk* [ed. Holtzmann], Leipzig, 1870), p. 490.

⁵⁴ *Das Buch Jesaja* (*KHCAT* [1900]), p. xv.

⁵⁵ *Geschichte der Israelitischen und Jüdischen Religion* (Giessen, 1922), p. 123, n. 1.

⁵⁶ *Das Buch Jesaja* (*HKAT* [2d ed., 1902]), p. xiii.

Deutero-Isaiah speaks like one addressing them from a distance, who does not expect to share in their experience:

Leave ye Babylon, hasten ye away from Chaldaea!
Announce it with triumphant voice, make it known,
Spread it to the ends of the earth,
Proclaim, The Lord has redeemed his servant Jacob.
They will not suffer thirst when he leads them through deserts:
He will cause the water to flow out of the rock for them,
Yea, he will cleave the rock and the water will pour forth.⁵⁷

Still more conclusive is the following appeal:

Depart ye, depart ye! Go ye out thence!
... Leave yon place!
Purify yourselves, ye that bear the weapons of the Lord!
Not in wild haste shall ye go out, nor leave by flight,
For the Lord will go before you,
And the God of Israel will be your rear guard.⁵⁸

The words, "Go ye out thence!" are positive proof that the prophet did not live in Babylonia, which cannot be argued away by any art or finesse of interpretation. Nor can they be invalidated, Sellin to the contrary,⁵⁹ by "Why should I be here?" of 52:3-6, for these verses, which speak of the Babylonian Exile as undeserved, are admitted to be an interpolation even by those interpreters who hold that Deutero-Isaiah lived in Babylonia,⁶⁰ since they contradict the view which he emphasizes again and again in his writings that the Exile is a just punishment which God has meted out to Israel for its sinful life. Likewise Isa. 41:9, where, speaking of Israel's call,⁶¹ he says,

Thou whom I have taken from the ends of the earth
And called from its remote corners,

⁵⁷ Isa. 48:20-21. The perfects and imperfects with *waw consecutivum* of vs. 21 have not the force of past tenses, but the verse is a compound temporal sentence.

⁵⁸ Isa. 52:11 f.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 66.

⁶⁰ T. K. Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (London, 1895), pp. 283, 303 f.; *The Prophet Isaiah* (SBOT [New York, 1898]), p. 185; Dillmann-Kittel, *Jesaja* (EHBAT [6th ed.; Leipzig, 1898]), p. 445.

⁶¹ The pronominal suffixes of the second person of these relative clauses show that (as that of *behartiku*) their antecedent is 'atta of vs. 8 and not "Abraham."

shows that Babylonia was for Deutero-Isaiah as far-off a land as it was for Isaiah and Jeremiah, who speak of it in similar terms.⁶²

But while from all this evidence it follows only that Deutero-Isaiah cannot have lived in Babylonia, in other passages (specifically, 40:9-10; 49:17-18; and 52:7 ff.) where he describes how in the spirit he beholds the return of the exiles, with God marching at their head and entering Zion in triumph, or how he beholds Jerusalem transformed, with the exiles hurrying back from all directions—in these he speaks, as their directness and vividness show, like one who is in the very midst of the transformation of which he dreams, who in his exultation beholds the ruins about him clad with a visionary luster:

Get up to the high mountains, ye harbingers of good tidings for Zion,
Raise your voice with might, ye harbingers of good tidings for Jerusalem,

Raise it fearlessly:

Tell the cities of Judah,

Behold, your God!

Behold him entering as a mighty one,

His arm exercising rulership!

Thy children hasten back

Look about, and see them gathered together,

All coming back to thee.

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth
glad tidings,

That announceth peace,

That heraldeth happiness, announceth salvation,

That saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth.

Hark, thy watchmen! All crying aloud,

Shouting triumphantly!

For they behold eye to eye the return of the Lord to Zion.

Break forth into joy, sing, all ye ruins of Jerusalem,

For the Lord is comforting his people,

He is redeeming Jerusalem.⁶³

AUTHORSHIP OF PSALM 68A

From the marked relationship Psalm 68A shows to Isaiah, chapters 40-55, one might on first thought be inclined to conclude that the author must have been a follower of Deutero-

⁶² See Isa. 5:26; Jer. 25:32; 31:7.

⁶³ Isa. 40:9 f.; 49:17 f.; 52:7-9.

Isaiah, that he must have caught a spark of the great vision to which the rise and victories of Cyrus inspired the unknown prophet of the close of the Exile. One might further be inclined to reason that it is but natural that the writer, being (as it would seem on first thought) not a literary star of the first magnitude, should show neither the fire nor the enthusiasm that breathes through Isaiah, chapters 40-55, nor even the transcendent faith that marks these writings. On more careful consideration, however, such a view of the relationship between the two works is found to be untenable, for, had the psalm been inspired by Isaiah, chapters 40-55, the writer of it would have been bound to make some reference to Cyrus and his designs on Babylonia. Equally certain it is that in this case he would have spoken of Israel's deliverance from Babylonia as near at hand instead of speaking of it, as he does, as to be looked for at some unknown future time. It is obvious, therefore, that Psalm 68A must antedate Isaiah, chapters 40-55. But since the superior character of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, precludes the possibility that these prophecies were modeled after the psalm, the relationship between the two leaves room for one conclusion only—that the psalm is an earlier poem of Deutero-Isaiah, a product of his awakening genius. With this it accords that the psalm is not the work of an eclectic, who laboriously draws from the writings of others, but the spontaneous creation of an original writer, revealing what was germinal within him—the soul of Deutero-Isaiah in the making. This conclusion is further confirmed by Psalms 126 and 85. These show even more pronounced relationship to Isaiah, chapters 40-55, than Psalm 68A and are, besides, of the same literary excellence as Isaiah, chapters 40-55, but like Psalm 68A they antedate these prophecies, being written before the rise of Cyrus on the scene of history.

2. *When God arises, etc.*] The verse forms a temporal sentence not introduced by a temporal conjunction.

3. *They will be blown away*] Read, on the strength of the Versions, תִּפְּזָרְךָ (Hitzig, Baethgen, and others) with which *rēsha'im* of the following stich is to be construed as subject, being a case of brachyology: as to the fem. sing. of

the verb being construed with a following masc. plur. subject, cf. Ezek. 25:10, *lō' thizzāker bēnē 'ammōn* (see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 145*k*).

4. *They will shout aloud for joy or They will rejoice beyond measure*] The prepositional phrase *bēsimḥa* has much the same function as the cognate accusative: it lends emphasis to the verb; cf. the similar examples, Hos. 9:1 and Job 3:22.

5. *Whose name is Yahweh*] *Bēyāh shēmō* is a nominal relative clause; *bē* of *bēyāh* is *bē essentiae*, used, as often elsewhere, with the nominal predicate: cf. Pss. 77:14*a*; 30:6*a*.

7. *the desolate*] As to this meaning of *yēhīdīm*, cf. *yēhīdathī* in Pss. 22:21 and 35:17, meaning "my lonely soul."

to their home] The adverbial accusative *bayētha* is a case where Hebrew requires no possessive pronoun, though English demands it.

to prosperity] The abstract *kōsharōth* neither is a hapax legomenon nor is its meaning in any way doubtful, since the verb *kosher*, "be advantageous, be proper, succeed," occurs in Esther 8:5 and Eccles. 11:6, and since, further, *kishrōn*, "skill, success," is found in Eccles. 2:21; 4:4; 5:10: as to the syntactical function of *bakōsharōth*, note that it is not a prepositional phrase but that *kōsharōth* is an adverbial accusative, expressing state or condition, and *bē* is *bē essentiae*.

But the rebellious will live in a barren land] *Ṣeḥīḥa* of the figure *shakēnū ṣeḥīḥa* is construed with *shakēnū* as an accusative—a construction which occurs often. In his use of the figure the psalmist was very likely influenced by the more elaborate figure, Jer. 17:6, "He [who does not trust in God] lives in parched regions in the wilderness, in a barren, uninhabited land," where *ḥārērīm* and *'ereṣ mēleḥa* are also construed with *shakan* as accusatives.

19*c*. *They will not live in the presence of God*] Instead of *we'aph*, read, with one MS, *אך ס' לישכון*. *Lishkon yāh 'ēlōhīm* is corrupt text; the original reading, as Buhl-Kittel has recognized, has been preserved by Syr.: *לפני אלהים לא ישכנו*. These words are, however, not an original part of the psalm, or even of Psalm 68*B*, but were originally a marginal gloss on vs. 7*c*, to which *'ak sōrērīm* was prefixed as a cue in order to indicate the text line to which the clause pertained.

21. Omit, with many MSS, the second *'ēl* as dittography and, with Gr., *'ādōnai* (Buhl-Kittel). The reading *'ādōnai* is to my mind to be explained as follows: it was originally a marginal or interlinear substitution for *yhwḥ*, which was subsequently taken into the text, although, as in numerous other cases, *yhwḥ* was retained.

23. *I will bring them back from the fiery furnace*] Read, with Lagarde and others, *אש אשיבם*.

22. *The hairy scalp*] "Hairy" has to my mind no further significance than that of a poetic epithet.

24. *may bathe*] Read, with the Versions, *תרחת*—a generally accepted emendation: the present reading is to be explained as dittography of *yimḥaṣ* of vs. 23 and may be considered as evidence that the original order of vss 22–24 was as I have rearranged them.

29. *Muster thy power, O God*] Read, with the Versions and many MSS, מְצִיָּה אֱלֹהִים—an emendation generally accepted.

Show thy might in what thou doest for us] Omit 'ēlōhīm as dittography. Vs. 29b presents no difficulty whatever: the force with which zū is used, which has been the stumbling block for the translators, is in no wise anything unusual; cf. Job 33:12, *hen sō'th lō' šadaqta*, "Verily, thou art not right in this"; Ezek. 36:37, 'od sō'th 'iddāresh lēbēth yisra'el la'šōth lahēm, "Herein, too [or "Also in regard to this"], I will suffer to be implored by the house of Israel to do it for them."

31-36. These verses, it is obvious, have suffered text disorder in the course of transmission. Their original sequence is restored by the rearrangement which I have proposed.

31a. *The beast of the jungle*] Read יֵרַר 'ה: this reading, which has been preserved by Sah., Vet., Lat., and Washington MS, I consider to be the original one, since it is borne out also by ziz *sadaï* of Ps. 80:14, both expressions being figurative designations of Babylonia.

The herd of bulls] Cf. Ps. 22:13, 'abbirē bashān, "bulls of Bashan"; as to the connotation "herd" of 'ādath, cf. Judg. 14:8, 'ādath dēbōrim, "a swarm of bees": *The herd of bulls* is another figure for Babylonia.

the lords of the nations] It is plain that bē'eglē cannot be original reading, for bē cannot possibly mean "with" in the sense of "together with," as it is generally taken; the word is hence meaningless: it has convincingly been emended by Matthes (in Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms*) to בְּעָלֵי on the strength of ba'ālē gōyīm of Isa. 16:8. The emendation is, to my mind, further supported by gēbereth mamlakōth, "The mistress of kingdoms," Isa. 47:5, said of Babylonia.

31c. *Scatter*] Vocalize, with the Versions, בָּזַר—a generally accepted emendation. Note that the psalmist's aversion to war, as expressed by *Scatter the people that delight in war*, is typically prophetic: cf. Hos. 2:20; Isa. 2:4; 9:4 f.; 11:6 f., 10; 32:17 f.

32a. *They shall bring bronze*] Read, with Aq. and Hier., יִאֲחִיז, as several interpreters do. *Hashmannīm* is in all probability the same word as *hashmal*, which is Egyptian *hsmn*, "bronze": whether the text read originally singular, and the *m* is due to homoeoteleuton, or whether we have a *pluralia tantum* like *bēdīlīm*, it is not possible to say.

31b. *Gold and silver from Patros*] Read, נִפְתָּרוֹס בָּצֵר וְכֶסֶף, as Nestle has excellently emended (JBL, X [1891], 151 f.): Patros, which is the South-land or Upper Egypt, is also mentioned in Isa. 11:11 alongside Egypt and Ethiopia as distinct from them.

32b. *shall hasten to offer her mite*] Read, with Gr., Aq., and Sym., יָדָה (Duhm and others). *Yadāh* is a case of ellipsis, the full phrase being *mat-tēnath* (or *mattath*) *yadāh* or *yadō*: cf. Deut. 16:17; Ezek. 46:5, 11; as to *tariš* denoting "hasten to bring" or "offer eagerly," cf. Gen. 41:14; I Sam. 17:17; II Chron. 35:13.

34. *Praise*] Repeat, with Gr. ψάλατε, זָמְרוּ.

The eternal heavens] Cf. Ps. 55:20, *yōsheb qedem*, "He who is enthroned through eternity"; Deut. 33:27, 'ēlōhē qedem, "the eternal God."

Thundering with majestic voice] Note what an effective case of paronomasia *hen yitten b'qōlō qōl 'oz* is.

35. *in the skies*] On the strength of the parallel, Deut. 33:26, which has doubtless stood model for the verse, read שמיים instead of *yisra'el*, as Buhl-Kittel and others have emended.

36, 30a. *in his sanctuary*] Read, with Hier., *in sanctuario suo*: במקדשו (Lagarde and others).

From thy temple at Jerusalem] *Mehēkaleka 'al yerushalayim* was originally a gloss on *miqdashō*, dating, as it seems, from the time when the original *bē* of *miqdasho* had been changed to *min*.

PSALM 85

*

- 2 Be gracious to thy country, O Lord,
Bring about a change of fortune for Jacob.
- 3 Forgive the guilt of thy people,
Cover up all their sins.
- 4 Take away thy wrath,
Turn from thy fierce anger.
- 5 Return to us, O God of our salvation,
Cease thine indignation toward us.
- 6 Wilt thou be wroth with us forever?
Wilt thou draw out thine anger from generation to generation?
- 7 Wilt thou not quicken us again,
That thy people may rejoice in thee?
- 8 Show us, O Lord, thy love,
And grant us salvation.
- 9 Oh, that I might behold what God has promised!
For he has promised peace for his people and his faithful servants—
For all those that return to him with their whole heart.
- 10 Verily, his salvation is near for those who fear him,
His glory is sure to dwell in our land.
- 11 Love and truth shall meet,
Righteousness and peace shall kiss each other:
- 12 Truth shall spring up from the earth,

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of the Korahites. A Psalm.

And righteousness shall look down from heaven.

- 13 Yea, God will grant happiness,
And our land shall yield its produce.
14 Righteousness will walk before him,
And men will turn their minds to the way of his foot-
steps.

Psalm 85 does not look on Israel's deliverance from the Exile as an accomplished fact, as with one exception the commentators generally interpret it,⁶⁴ but like Psalm 68A petitions God to fulfil this hope. For had God been gracious to his land, had his wrath been wholly appeased, the people's sins all been covered up, what ground would there have been for the psalmist's prayer that God return to them, that he cease to be angry with them, but show them his love and grant them salvation? And what would in that case be even more inconceivable are the impassioned questions he addresses to God:

Wilt thou be wroth with us forever?

Wilt thou draw out thine anger from generation to generation?

The sound and logical way out of the dilemma is that the perfects of the opening verses 2-4 do not describe what has happened but are precative perfects, expressing a fervid prayer, while the perfects of verse 11 are prophetic perfects. The function of both is made plain by the fact that in verses 5-9, which complete his prayer for the redemption of the nation, the writer uses imperatives and imperfects and that in verse 12, which is complementary to verse 11, he again uses imperfects. The precative perfect adds fervor to a prayer—an effect which cannot be reproduced in the translation. In the present instance the writer's object in using it so freely in the first strophe of the psalm is to profess faith in the ultimate fulfilment of his prayer. His ardent faith stands out in bold relief against the dark reality as it is reflected in his query,

Wilt thou be wroth with us forever?

Wilt thou draw out thine anger from generation to generation?

⁶⁴ The one exception is Gunkel (*Die Psalmen*), who takes the perfects of vss. 2-4 as prophetic perfects but leaves it undecided whether the psalm is Exilic or post-Exilic. He says, "Zeitalter: Judentum; genauere Ansetzung unmöglich."

and in his weary exclamation,

Oh, that I might behold what God has promised!

But this depression of spirit is only a passing mood. In the next strophe the singer has regained his staunch faith and affirms it more positively than ever, first, by the emphatic declaration,

Verily, his salvation is near for those who fear him,

then, by the use of the emphatic infinitive in the following complementary line,

His glory is sure to dwell in our land,

and, finally, by the prophetic perfects which he employs in the picture of the future consummation, in which he so ardently believes:

Love and truth shall meet,
Righteousness and peace shall kiss each other.

All this is illustrative of the effect of the precative and prophetic perfects and shows how the poetic unity of the psalm is subtly enhanced by them.

But the vital factor is that the spiritual content of the psalm is on a par with its literary excellence. The future state of moral growth and perfection, when

Truth shall spring up from the earth,
And righteousness shall look down from heaven,

is for the psalmist the quintessence of human happiness and the glory to be craved for the land. It is to him heaven's most precious gift, compared with which material blessings dwindle into insignificance: "Our land shall yield its produce" is all that he asks of earthly glory or treasures.

RELATION TO ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 40-55, AND TO PSALM 68A

The psalm bears in language and thought marked resemblance to Isaiah, chapters 40-55, and, to a more limited extent, to Psalm 68A.

1. In proportion to its length, *yēsha'*, "salvation," is in Psalm 85 as conspicuous a phrase as it is, with its synonymous phrases *yēshū'a* and *tēshū'a*, in Isaiah, chapters 40-55. And not only this,

but the words, *qarōb yish'ō*, "His salvation is near," of verse 10 is in Isa. 51:5 changed to *qarōb šidqī yašā' yish'ī*, "The triumph of righteousness⁶⁵ is near, my salvation is drawing nigh."

2. In common with Isa. 44:26 and Ps. 68A:23, Ps. 85:9 dwells on God's promise—that is, through his prophets—that Israel shall have a future. As mentioned above, this point of resemblance has direct bearing on the question of the date and authorship of Psalm 85 as well as of Psalm 68A, for inasmuch as in the words, "For all those that return to him with their whole heart," of Ps. 85:9, the author quotes, "If they return to me with their whole heart" of Jer. 24:7, it is certain that in speaking of God's promise he has had in mind in all three writings the prophecies of Jeremiah (24:5-7 and 29:10-14) that there shall be a return from the Babylonian Exile. Note also that the words, "He has promised peace for his people," of this verse of the psalm have evidently been suggested by "I know the thoughts that I think toward you, says the Lord, thoughts of peace," of Jer. 29:11.

3. Psalm 85 emphasizes still more than Psalm 68A that the fulfilment of God's promise is contingent upon Israel's regeneration. It may be looked for by "those that return to him with their whole heart," or, as verse 10 puts it, "His salvation is near for those that fear him." This condition is reckoned with also by Deutero-Isaiah, even though the opening lines of his prophecies as well as their general drift and such passages as 43:25 and 44:22 seem to point to the directly opposite conclusion: for note how again and again he urges his people to realize their spiritual blindness, their lack of faith, and their sinfulness, as a result of which "they are still far from salvation," and note, further, how he exhorts them to "return to God" and "seek Him" who "is ready to redeem" them and "to lead them in the way they should walk," or how he assures them that "then

⁶⁵ As to this meaning of *šedeq* when it is used as synonym of *yeshā'*, cf. Isa. 42:6, *q'rathika b'šedeq*, "I have called thee for a victorious purpose," and 41:10, *yēmin šidqī*, "my triumphant right hand," and note that the suffix of both *šidqī* and *yish'ī* of Isa. 51:10 has the force of a subjective genitive, meaning "which will be brought to pass by me."

would their peace flow forth like a stream, and their salvation come swift like the waves of the sea."⁶⁶

4. Note the resemblance between *shūbenū 'ēlōhē yish'enū*, "Return to us, O God of our salvation," of Ps. 85:5 and *bēshūb 'ādōnai šīyōn*, "the return of the Lord to Zion," of Isa. 52:8—a resemblance which is conspicuous, since in both *shūb* is construed with an accusative of direction.

5. Note also the similarity between "That thy people may rejoice in thee" (*yismēhū bak*), of Ps. 85:7, and "But the righteous will be glad" (*yismēhū*), followed by "They will exult before God," of Ps. 68A:4.

6. Most conspicuous is the resemblance of Ps. 85:11-12,

Love and truth shall meet
Righteousness and peace shall kiss each other.
Truth shall spring up from the earth
And righteousness shall look down from heaven,

to Isa. 45:8,

Show righteousness, ye heavens above,
Let the skies pour it down:
Let the earth open her bosom,
That salvation and righteousness may burgeon and grow.⁶⁷

7. Finally, the line,

Men will turn their minds to the way of his footsteps,

with which the psalm pointedly concludes, shows, as does also the thought which verses 11-12 have in common with Isa. 45:8, that Psalm 85 has the same broad outlook as Deutero-Isaiah and Psalm 68A; like these it regards Israel's deliverance as but part of a general plan—the means by which the minds of men the world over will be turned to God. A stylistic point of contact in the concluding line with Isa. 41:20 is the ellipsis *yasīm* as well as the further fact that *yasīm* is used impersonally, even as is *yasīmū*, with its synonyms, of Isa. 41:20—a point of

⁶⁶ Isa. 40:27 ff.; 42:18 ff., 22 ff.; 43:22-28; 44:22; 45:9 ff.; 46:12; 48:1-2, 4-9, 18-19; 50:1-2, 12-13; 51:1 ff., 6-7.

⁶⁷ *Yēsha'* and *šēdaqa* are both to be construed with *yiph'rū*, as its plural shows, as well as with *tašmīaḥ*, which is in form construed with the nearest subject.

contact which is further emphasized by the fact that the verse in Deutero-Isaiah likewise speaks of the effect the redemption of Israel will have upon the world at large.

AUTHORSHIP

Yet striking as is the similarity which it bears to Isaiah, chapters 40-55, there is not a trace of labored imitation anywhere in the psalm. Rather (as in similar cases considered before) it shows that element of poetic spontaneity which is the distinguishing mark of all works of genius. This may best be illustrated by some further remarks on the point of resemblance between Ps. 85:11-12 and Isa. 45:8. The thought which the two have in common is in the psalm expressed with a completeness and a charm unequaled by the parallel lines in Deutero-Isaiah. In the latter there is no mention of either "love and truth" or "peace," but the term "salvation" has been substituted for them. There is, however, nothing accidental about this substitution. It suggested itself naturally, or if you prefer, spontaneously, as may readily be seen when due notice is taken of the prominence which the substituted term occupies in the prophecies, Isaiah, chapters 40-55, the theme of which is that salvation is about to be ushered in for Israel and the world at large alike. The fact now that in the psalm the thought is expressed more completely is of supreme value inasmuch as it enables us to trace it to its source and to show how intimately it is related to the essence of the pre-Exilic prophetic preaching. The words, "Love and truth shall meet," recall, first, Hosea's verdict (4:1) against his age, "There is no love, no truth, no knowledge of God in the land," and, second, his converse declaration that the future regenerate Israel will lead a life of union with God—a union established by the bond of justice and righteousness, the bond of love and devotion, even as by the bond of faith and truth:

I will unite thee unto me forever,
I will unite thee unto me by the bond of justice and righteousness,
And by the bond of love and devotion;
Yea, I will unite thee unto me by the bond of faith,
And thou shalt truly know God.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Hos. 2:21-22.

Equally elucidating is the verdict Jeremiah renders against the people of his days:

Roam through the streets of Jerusalem,
And search in her thoroughfares,
Look about and see if you can find a man,
If there is even one who does justice,
Who cares for truth [5:1];

and still more so are the lines from his vision of the future ideal Israel:

If thou swearest fealty to God
By being devoted to truth, to justice, and to righteousness,
Then will blessing be bestowed upon the nations through thee,
And they will glory in thee.⁶⁹

Even more weighty are Isaiah's expositions of his future hope. In the description which he gives of the future ideal ruler, he says that his kingdom will be founded on justice and righteousness and that under his reign there will be no end of peace—a boon which will earn him the title of Prince of Peace and make him to “stand forth as a beacon to the nations.” He concludes the descriptions:

Then the earth will be full of knowledge of God,
As the sea is filled with water.⁷⁰

And in another description of the future rebirth of Israel he says:

At last the spirit will be poured upon us from on high. . . .
Then will justice dwell in the [present] desert,
And righteousness abide in the fruitful country;
And the fruit of righteousness will be peace.⁷¹

Like these expositions of Isaiah, Ps. 85:11 brings out the essential thought that the first requisite of eternal peace is the reign of righteousness on earth.

The main point, however, for our purpose is that, although neither Ps. 85:11–12 nor Isa. 45:8 expresses any new idea but merely voices the hope which animated the pre-Exilic prophets

⁶⁹ Jer. 4:2. The force of the preposition *bē* of *bē'emet*, etc., is similar to that of *bē* in Hos. 2:21 f.; as to *nishba'ta*, cf. Isa. 45:23 f.; instead of *bō*, read both times *bēka*: cf. Gen. 12:3.

⁷⁰ Isa. 9:4–6; 11:5–10.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 32:15 ff.

who had gone before, yet the way in which this hope is reaffirmed is altogether new and original. This feature is conversely characteristic also of Hosea's or Isaiah's or Jeremiah's treatment of the subject: everyone of them expressed in his own original way the hope that swayed them all alike, no matter how much he may have been influenced by the other or the others, as the case may have been.

This prophetic hope is fundamentally different from the eschatology of later apocalyptic writings. The apocalypticist looks upon the perfect future world as the work of God altogether. It is to be brought about by way of a supernatural process. In the fulness of time a supermundane world, "the new Jerusalem," will "come down out of heaven from God" to replace the present world of evil and imperfection. In contradistinction to this heavenbound eschatology, the future hope of the prophets is earthbound. They look for a transformed world, for a better humanity to be brought about through the co-operation of the human with the divine, in society's spiritual growth. Because of their faith in human nature, they hope that man will grow ever more heedful to the seeds of the divine within him, until at last he will bring them to full blossom. This hope is nowhere expressed with such inimitable charm as in Psalm 85.

There is another noteworthy feature of style, which the psalm and Isaiah, chapters 40-55, have in common, which I have purposely left for the last. In the opening strophe of the psalm the precative perfect is unusually numerous, being used six times in succession. Similarly does the prophetic perfect abound in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, occurring fifty-six times, in addition to which there are three examples of the precative perfect,⁷² as vice versa there are two examples of prophetic perfect in Psalm 85. The effect of this extensive use of prophetic perfects in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, is very similar to that produced by the precative and prophetic perfects in the psalm. As by these greater fervor is lent to the writer's faith in the ulti-

⁷² These are *ra'û* and *qarêbû* of Isa. 41:5 and *niqbêšû* of 43:9. Exegetes and even grammarians have emended the last to the imperfect and, failing to see the force of the two others, have expunged the entire verse.

mate redemption of his people, so is Deutero-Isaiah's ardor of conviction that Israel's deliverance and the regeneration of mankind to follow it are about to be realized immeasurably enhanced by the free use of the prophetic perfect. To illustrate the case further, I shall point out that in Isa. 41:10 two prophetic perfects follow each other, the second of which is repeated in verse 13 and again in verse 14, while verse 15 begins with another prophetic perfect, which is reinforced, moreover, with the emphatic particle. Isa. 49:8, 18; 51:3; and 47:14 are four other examples of two prophetic perfects following each other; the last of these is again reinforced with the emphatic particle. In 42:16-17 and again in 52:9-10 as many as three prophetic perfects follow one another, and in 45:16-17 and again in 46:2 even as many as four. Note that the last example is made still more striking, owing to the fact that the preceding verse, which with verse 2 forms an organic whole, also has two prophetic perfects. These two verses describe the imminent fall of the gods of Babylonia but are not in their proper place. They stood originally at the head of chapter 47, forming the beginning of the prophet's song of derision over the imminent downfall of Babylonia. As soon as these two verses are restored to their original place, the effect of their prophetic perfects can be truly gauged.⁷³ The fact that as in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, so in Psalm 85, these two varieties of the perfect of certitude are used with unwonted frequency makes this use appear the stylistic peculiarity of one and the same author and shows in a way even more conclusively than the other points of resemblance that Psalm 85 is another poem by Deutero-Isaiah.

DATE

While Psalm 68A is the earliest poem which Deutero-Isaiah composed, Psalm 85, ranking as it does poetically as well as spiritually with Isaiah, chapters 40-55, is a poem of his mature genius. It is also obvious that this psalm is earlier than Isaiah, chapters 40-55, for however visibly the singer has grown in

⁷³ The remaining twenty-seven cases of prophetic perfects occur in 43:1, 3, 14 (=3); 44:22 f. (=4); 45:8 (=1); 47:9, 15 (=3); 48:20 (=1); 49:5, 13, 17 (=3); 51:5, 11, 14, 22 (=4); 52:7 f., 15 (=5); 54:6, 8 (=2); 55:5 (=1).

faith, however assured he feels that the hope of the pre-Exilic prophets for the people's rebirth is bound to be fulfilled some day, he is as yet unable to see any evidence of a speedy fulfilment of this hope. Had he seen any sign of this, as he did when writing Isaiah, chapters 40-55, he would not have cried out to God,

Wilt thou be wroth with us forever?

Wilt thou draw out thine anger from generation to generation?

Nor would he have felt any need for imploring God to turn from his fierce anger and to forgive the people's guilt. Note that in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, he is absolutely convinced that the nation's guilt has been expiated and blotted out, for not only does he begin his message with the declaration to this effect but he twice repeats it more emphatically in the body of his prophecies, in 43:25 and 44:22. Since (as we shall see later) it was the rise and victories of Cyrus that ripened the conviction in Deutero-Isaiah that Israel's deliverance from Babylonia was imminent, that God was to redeem the people, even though they were as yet steeped in sin, it is plain that Psalm 85, though later than Psalm 68A, yet, like it, antedates Cyrus' appearance on the scene of history.

WHERE COMPOSED

Proof that the psalm was written not in Babylonia but in Palestine may be seen in the expression "our land" of "His glory is sure to dwell in our land" and of "Our land shall yield its produce," for talking or writing in a foreign country, one would not speak of one's native land as "our land," least of all in the matter-of-course way the psalmist does in these two lines. As proof of this, note that Ezekiel, who refers constantly to the home land and even addresses himself to it repeatedly, speaks of it all the time as "the land of Israel" or "the mountains of Israel," and not once as "our land"—not even in 34:27, which has in common with "Our land will yield its produce" of Psalm 85 the words *titten yēbūlāh* but has for *'arṣēnū* significantly *ha'areṣ*, used with the meaning "the soil" or, as the Revised Version renders, "the earth."

2. *Bring about a change of fortune for*] The consonantal text (*Kēthīb*) *shēbūth* is to be retained as the original reading. Of the various explanations that have been given (even down to very recent years) of the phrase *shūb shēbūth*, I still consider that of Ewald the most convincing (see Ges.-Buhl, *shēbūth* [s.v.]): it has the support not only of Job 42:10 but also of Hos. 6:11, *bēshūbi 'eth shēbūth 'ammī*, where the reference is to the impending destruction of the nation, showing that the phrase is equivocal. It is further supported by the comparison *ka'āphikim bannegeb*, by which in Ps. 126:4 the meaning of the phrase is elucidated.

5. *Return to us*] Neither is *shūbenū* used with transitive force nor does the phrase require any emendation; the pronominal suffix is, as stated above, an accusative of direction and has, in fact, been so understood by Targ.: cf. Job 6:4, "The terrors of God are arrayed against me" (*ya'arkūnī*); also Ps. 5:5. The construction of *shūb* with *acc. loci* is so common, occurring thirty-four times, that the text and meaning of the parallel *bēshūb 'ādōnai sīyōn* in Isa. 52:8 cannot be subject to doubt.

9. *Oh, that I might behold what God has promised! For he has promised*] The customary translation has overlooked two things: (1) that both *yēdabber* are imperfects of reiterated action, God's promise having been made by more than one prophet, and (2) that the cohortative *'eshmā* has the force of an optative: cf. Job 23:4-5, where we have three examples of the cohortative used as optative, *'e'erēka mishpaṭ lēphanaw . . . 'ēdē'a . . . wē'abīna*, "Oh, that I might plead my just cause before Him . . . Oh, that I might understand . . . that I might comprehend."

For all those that return to him with their whole heart] Read, with the Bohairic Version of Gr., *וְאֵלֵי שָׁבִי בְכָל לִבְּךָ*—a reading supported also by Jer. 24:7.

10. *is sure to dwell*] *Lishkon* is an emphatic infinitive: cf. Ps. 104:21.

14. *And men will turn their minds*] *Yasīm*, which has unwarrantedly been emended by most interpreters of recent years, is perfect text: it is used impersonally and is a case of ellipsis, its object *libbām* being omitted; the ellipsis is found again in Isa. 41:20, *yasīmū* (cf. the synonyms *yir'ū wēyēdē'ū* and *yaskilū* that precede and follow it), and in Job 4:20, *mibbli mēsīm*, "unheeded," and 23:6, *'ak hū' yasīm bī*, "Oh, that he might only pay heed unto me!" As soon as the syntactical case of *yasīm* is recognized, vs. 14b not only ceases to be obscure but also forms a fitting conclusion which harmonizes with the hope for world-wide salvation described in vss. 11-12.

PSALM 126

- 1* When God restores captive Zion, we shall be like dreamers.
- 2 Then will our mouth be filled with laughter
And our tongue with rejoicing;
Then will it be said among the nations,
God has dealt wonderfully with this people.
- 3 When God deals wonderfully with us, we shall rejoice.

* Song of Ascent.

- 4 O God, bring about for us a change of fortune—
A change such as is brought about in the streams of the South.
- 5 They that sow in tears shall reap with joy:
He who carries the seed for sowing walks weeping,
With measured steps,
- 6 But he who carries the sheaves speeds along joyfully.

The prevalent interpretation of the psalm, which takes verses 1-3 as speaking of the deliverance from the Babylonian Exile as a past event, is, as Duhm and Gunkel have pointed out, untenable, being refuted by the second part of the psalm, where the poet prays for the restoration of the nation. I cannot agree, however, with these two critics that the perfects of verses 1 and 3 are prophetic perfects but hold that *hayīnū* of verse 1 is a case of the use of the perfect in the apodosis of a temporal or conditional sentence—as it was taken, in fact, by Luther—and that verse 3 is another temporal sentence, not introduced by a temporal conjunction and formed with the perfect in both the protasis and the apodosis. I differ from them also in another point—the date of the psalm, about which Gunkel makes the same indefinite remark as about Psalm 85, while Duhm refers to it indirectly as post-Exilic.

DATE

The psalm is a product of the Exile. This is clear, first of all, from the comparison in the lines,

O God, bring about for us a change of fortune—
A change such as is brought about in the streams of the South.

By "the streams of the South" the *wadi*'s in the hill country south of Judah are meant—a region which was commonly known in ancient Palestine as the South, in much the same way as in America the states south of the Mason and Dixon line are called the South. Throughout the summer these *wadi*'s are dry, and as a consequence the entire region is a barren waste, but in the rainy season they are full and overflowing, and the country is changed to a green oasis. It will thus be seen that

by the comparison the situation existing at the time when the psalm was written is fittingly illuminated, the writer implying by it that just as the streams of the South dry up in summer and cease to exist, even so has Israel ceased to exist as a nation. Equally clear is it from the opening words, "When God restores captive Zion," that the psalm dates from the Exile; for, when Cyrus set Israel free in 538 B.C., the captivity of Zion was ended for good, no matter how dismal life and conditions continued to be in the regained country, or how slow, due to force of circumstance,⁷⁴ the exiles were in returning from Babylonia. Any doubt about this must disappear in the light of Psalm 107A—the song of thanksgiving celebrating the new freedom which Cyrus granted the nation. In this song Deutero-Isaiah speaks of the people as "the redeemed of the Lord, whom he has redeemed from the hand of their foes," whose "shackles he has broken asunder," whom "he has brought back to their longed-for city," or as he also puts it, "the city where was their home," even though he realizes that this city is yet to be restored and the land to be reclaimed.

WHERE COMPOSED

A piece of evidence, ranking in importance next to the findings regarding the date, is the expression, "the streams of the South," which proves that the psalm was composed in Palestine, or more exactly in Judah, since the expression can only have been used by one living and writing in Palestine, where the term was understood.

RELATION TO ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 40-55, AND PSALMS 85 AND 68A

The expression, "captive Zion," *shēbīyath šīyōn*, of verse 1, recurs in Isa. 52:2, slightly changed to *shēbīya bath šīyōn*. What lends weight to the recurrence is the fact that, although *shēbī* is a very common phrase, the expression *shēbīyath šīyōn* or *shēbīya bath šīyōn* does not occur anywhere outside these two passages, nor does *shēbīya yērūshalāyim*, as is to be read in the first stich of Isa. 52:2, instead of *shēbī Y.*, occur anywhere else.

The phrase *rinna* is as conspicuous in the psalm, where it

⁷⁴ Cf. "Where Did Deutero-Isaiah Live?" where I have discussed this point fully.

occurs three times, as it is in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, where it occurs seven times, and the verb *rannen* six times—three of these occurrences being alongside *rinna* in the parallel stich. With one exception, the ten passages, like those of the psalm, are all concerned with the joy that will be when Israel is redeemed.⁷⁵

The psalm has in common with Psalm 85:2 the expression and petition *shūb shēbūth*; and *hayinū sēmehim*, "We shall rejoice," of verse 3 bears resemblance in thought and language to '*ammēka yismēhu bak*, "That thy people may rejoice," and *ṣaddiqim yismēhū . . . wēyasīsū bēsīmha*, "The righteous will be glad . . . they will rejoice beyond bound," of Ps. 85:7 and 68A:4, respectively, and also to Isa. 51:11, where the idea of all three passages is most elaborated. Note also what close resemblance there is between *ūbā'ū ṣiyōn bērinna* of Isa. 51:11 and *bō' yabō' bērinna* of Ps. 126:6—an especially interesting case, as we shall see presently.

These points of resemblance show how much in common Psalm 126 has in style with Isaiah, chapters 40-55, as well as with Psalms 85 and 68A. Yet, notwithstanding this, what has been remarked concerning these holds true also of Psalm 126. It shows that freshness and that directness of appeal which mark all works of poetic genius. As a natural result of this quality the psalm strikes us even more by what differentiates it from Isaiah, chapters 40-55, and Psalms 85 and 68A than by what it has in common with them. A typical illustration of this—typical of the poet's method of composition—is *bō' yabō' bērinna* of the concluding verse: not only does *yabō'* vary effectively from *bā'ū (bērinna)* of Isa. 51:11, being intensified by the absolute infinitive *bō'*, but the variation is more far-reaching inasmuch as the verse of the psalm expresses by a simile what the verse in Deutero-Isaiah describes in terms of literal language. It is clear, then, that the similarity in style which Psalm 126 shows to Isaiah, chapters 40-55, and Psalms 85 and 68A leaves room for no other conclusion than that it must be another poem of Deutero-Isaiah.

⁷⁵ See Isa. 42:11; 44:23; 48:20; 49:13; 51:11; 52:8-9; 54:1; 55:12; and 43:14.

The conclusion reached is further borne out by the fact that the psalm expresses the same broad hope that characterizes his prophecies. Thus the import of the lines,

Then will it be said among the nations,
God has dealt wonderfully with this people,

which have often been grossly misinterpreted,⁷⁶ is plain when they are seen in the light of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, the leading idea of which is the effect which the fall of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel will have on men the world over—the revelation which they will see in these events. For not only does Deutero-Isaiah open these prophecies with the declaration that God is about to reveal his glory in order that all flesh may realize that back of the visible, perishable things of this world there is an invisible, eternal world—God with his universal plan of salvation—but he reiterates this basic thought again and again, developing it more and more. Of these elaborations I shall quote:

The Lord will bare his holy arm before the eyes of all the nations,
And men to the ends of the earth shall behold the salvation of our God;⁷⁷

and, again,

Leave ye Babylon! Hasten away from Chaldaea!
Announce it with triumphant voice,
Make it known, spread it to the ends of the earth,
Proclaim, The Lord has redeemed his servant Jacob.⁷⁸

Note that in the song of the servant which follows these lines, Deutero-Isaiah makes plain why he considers the redemption of Israel as all mankind's concern; he goes on to say that God speaks thus:

It would be too small a thing to have thee for my servant,
In order to raise up the tribes of Jacob
And to bring back those that have been preserved of Israel.
Rather I will set thee up as a light for the nations
That my salvation may reach to the ends of the earth.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Cf. Duhm, Gunkel, MacLaren.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 48:20.

⁷⁷ Isa. 52:10.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 49:6.

For the benefit of those who, wrongly though, may not admit the servant song as evidence, it should be noted that equally elucidating is the verse which follows the song and expatiates on it:

Thus says the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, the Holy One,
To him that is utterly despised, abhorred by all,⁸⁰
The slave of tyrants,
When kings see it, they will stand up,
When princes behold it, they will worship,
Because of the Lord, who is faithful,
Because of the Holy One of Israel, who has chosen thee.

Or as the prophet puts it in another passage: the Ethiopians and Sabaeans, joining Israel, will declare:

Only with thee God is found,
And there is no other God;
Truly the mysterious God is found with thee,
The God of Israel is the Savior.⁸¹

The concluding lines,

They that sow in tears shall reap with joy:
He who carries the seed for sowing walks weeping,
With measured steps,
But he who carries the sheaves speeds along joyfully,

in the first of which the poet quotes in all probability a current adage, are clarified by the preceding comparison of Israel to the dried-up streams of the South. By a simple figure, which must come home to everybody, the poet suggests rather than describes the task to which he has set himself, as also the hope which spurs him on in his work, and the fear that occasionally besets him: he is working to bring about the resurrection of Israel.

By this conclusion additional light is thrown on the date of the psalm, showing as it does that as yet the writer cannot have seen any sign that the nation's "bondage was ended," or that God was preparing for his return to Zion in triumph.⁸² This is

⁸⁰ Cf. p. 591, n. 196.

⁸¹ Isa. 45:14 f. Instead of '*atta*', read '*ittak*'.

⁸² Cf. Isa. 40:1-11.

also borne out by the tone of the psalm, in particular by the writer's reflection in the opening verse,

When God restores captive Zion, we shall be like dreamers.

So remote did the restoration yet seem that he could not see how and when his cherished dream was to be realized. Obviously, Babylonia's world-rule was as yet not threatened by any rival. It is clear, then, that the psalm, like Psalm 85, antedates Isaiah, chapters 40-55—that it was written before Cyrus had risen to power.

All this but serves to make the writer's faith stand out more luminously than ever. Though he wonders how Israel's deliverance from Babylonia was to be accomplished, yet he never doubted, verses 2-3 show, that the hope of the prophets that a regenerate Israel would rise out of the ruins of the cast-off nation and would show the world the way to God would some day come true. Hence the more animated tone that marks these two verses. With the sudden change in tone goes a corresponding change in rhythm. Unquestionably, the psalm is a gem, worthy, like Psalm 85, of the great poet of Isaiah, chapters 40-55.

One other remark remains to be made. It was out of consideration for the systematic treatment of the question of their common authorship that I discussed Psalm 85 first, although I am quite sure that it is the later of the two psalms, being richer in spiritual content than Psalm 126: the hope of the prophets for the universal reign of righteousness, their vision of the Kingdom of God here on earth among men, is treated in it with great completeness, while in Psalm 126 it is but lightly touched upon.⁸³

1a. *When God restores captive Zion*] *Shibath* is corrupt text, being an impossible form: the word is not to be emended *shēbīth*, as is generally done, but from its vocalization I conclude that it read originally שְׁבִי, the present reading being due to mistaken transposition of *yōd*—a conclusion which is further supported by the parallel *shēbiya bath šīyōn* of Isa. 52:2. Note that

⁸³ When twenty years ago I wrote the article "Where Did Deutero-Isaiah Live?" I was still far from being sure of Deutero-Isaiah's authorship of these two psalms: accordingly, I failed to see their real relation to Isaiah, chaps. 40-55, and considered them as having been written immediately after these prophecies.

shûb, used with transitive force and the meaning *restores*, recurs in the Exilic addition of Nah. 2:3. *Ἀνταναστήσει* of Gr. cannot be adduced as a proof that the text read *shēbîth*, since it is the usual rendering of *shēbî* as well as of *shēbîth* or *shēbûth*.

1b, 3. Conditional and temporal sentences, whether introduced by a conditional or temporal conjunction or not, are so frequently formed with the perfect in both the protasis and apodosis, or in either one alone, even when referring to present or future, that this usage should hardly need to be pointed out were it not for the fact that Baethgen (*Die Psalmen*³, p. 381), seeking to uphold the prevailing interpretation of the psalm remarks: "Since the perfects of vs. 1 and vs. 3 can have reference only to the past, the intervening imperfects must belong to the same sphere of time, and *bēshûb* also must refer to the past"; and that Delitzsch (*Psalter*⁵, p. 749) goes even so far as to maintain, "To take the psalm as referring to the future would be contrary to the rules of syntax." Their amazing view is refuted by ever so many examples of the kind, of which I shall cite Pss. 3:6; 30:8b; 1 Sam. 2:17, '*atta titten wē'im lō' laqaḥtî baḥḏazaqa*', "Give it to me now; if not, I shall take it by force"; Prov. 9:12, '*im ḥakamtā ḥakamtā lak*', "If thou be wise, thou wilt be wise to thy own interest"; *ibid.*, 18:22, *maṣā' 'ishsha maṣā' lōb*, "If one finds a true woman, one finds happiness" (*'ishsha* is a nice case of emphatic indeterminateness). Since Baethgen and Delitzsch may, however, have had in mind the rule stated in Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁸, § 116r, "Zur ausdrücklichen Hervorhebung einer in der Vergangenheit dauernden Handlung wird dem Particip bisweilen das Perfect *hayā* in der entsprechenden Person beigefügt," note that this rule has no basis in fact, since the perfect of *hayā* is used with participles also in referring to the present and to the future: cf. Isa. 59:2, "Your iniquities separate (*hayū mabitilim*) you from your God," or "Are a barrier between you and your God"; Ps. 10:14, *yathōm 'atta hayitha 'ōzer*, "Thou art the support of the fatherless"; Ezek. 21:17, *mēgūrē 'el hereb hayū*, "They shall be delivered to the sword"; Ps. 122:2, *'ōmēdōth hayū raglēnū*, "When again we set foot."

5, 6. *He who carries the seed for sowing*] It was doubtless for the sake of symmetry with *nōsē' 'ālūmmōthaw* that the writer used or perhaps coined *nōsē' meshek hazzara'* in place of the ordinary expression *mōshek hazzara'*, "He who trails the seed," Amos 9:12.

walks with measured steps . . . speeds along] By this rendering the meaning of the absolute infinitives *halōk* and *bō'* may be accurately expressed.

IMPORTANCE OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH'S

ATTITUDE TOWARD CYRUS

Aside from affording us an insight into the spiritual growth of Deutero-Isaiah, aside from showing how his soul became ever more fired by the vision which his great predecessors had of the ultimate regeneration of mankind and the universal dominion of God, Psalms 68*a*, 126, and 85 are of supreme importance in

still another respect. They confirm what in an objective analysis of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, has always been considered the most conspicuous fact of these prophecies, namely, that the rise and victories of Cyrus were their immediate incentive. For inasmuch as these psalms all three alike view the redemption of Israel as still distant, though sure to come, not only do they suggest very naturally the question, "How did Deutero-Isaiah all of a sudden come to be absolutely certain that Israel's deliverance from Babylonia was imminent?" but they also show that it was indeed Cyrus' overthrow of Astyages of Media, followed by his victory over Croesus of Lydia, who had formed an alliance with Babylonia and Egypt to oppose Cyrus, that matured this conviction in him, that made him see the manifestation of God in these victories of Cyrus, made him hear, as he puts it himself,

God speaking ever more clearly,
Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people,
Speak ye words of cheer to Jerusalem, proclaim to her
That her bondage is ended, that her guilt has been expiated,
That for her sins she has received double punishment from the
hand of God.

But, although Deutero-Isaiah is quite explicit on this point, the case is by no means so simple as it seems at first glance but presents a twofold problem, which it is necessary to dwell upon for the understanding not only of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, but also of the psalms which Deutero-Isaiah wrote when he saw the Exile ended.

First of all, although Deutero-Isaiah describes the masses as not meriting redemption, as being still blind and steeped in sin, and although in his Exilic psalms he regards their redemption as contingent upon their spiritual awakening and acknowledges the necessity of this even in Isaiah, chapters 40-55,⁸⁴ yet in these prophecies is he so convinced that the hour of redemption has arrived that he now declares that their guilt has been expiated, yea, been blotted out by God. How is this departure from his own erstwhile view as well as that of the pre-Exilic

⁸⁴ See pp. 274 f. and 293, n. 90.

prophets to be explained? To answer the question we must consider first the second aspect of the problem presented by the case—Deutero-Isaiah's estimate of Cyrus, whom he hails as follows:

Who has aroused from the East him
In whose footsteps victory follows?
Who surrenders to him nations,
Brings down kings before him,
That his sword makes them like dust,
And his bow renders them like driven straw,
That he pursues them, passing on in safety,
While his foot barely touches the ground?
Who does and performs all this?
Is it not I, the Lord,
Who has called the generations from the beginning—
I, who am the first, and will be with the last?

He [God] says of Cyrus, He is my shepherd,
And he shall fulfil all my pleasure.
. . . . Thus says the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus,
Whose right hand he upholds,
So as to subdue nations before him
And to ungird the loins of kings,
. . . . I will march before thee,
And will make smooth rough roads;
I will break down gates of brass
And cut asunder iron bars,
. . . . In order that thou mayest know
That it is I, the Lord, who have called thee by name,
I, the God of Israel:
For the sake of Jacob, my servant, of Israel, my chosen,
I have called thee by name,
Yea, I have given thee a name of honor,⁸⁵
Even though as yet thou knowest me not.
I am the Lord, and there is none else,
There is no God besides me:
I have girded thee with valor ere thou hast known me,
That men may know from the rising of the sun to his setting
That there is none besides me, that I am the Lord and none else.
. . . . I who have made the earth and created man thereon,
Who with my hand have stretched out the heavens
And marshaled all their hosts,
I have roused him for victory,
And direct all his ways:

⁸⁵ Cf. 44:5 and Arab. *Kunyatun*.

He shall rebuild my city and set my exiles free,
Not for pay nor reward.

He, whom God loves, will carry out His pleasure on Babylon,
And make His arm known in Chaldaea.
I, yea I, have spoken, I have called him indeed,
I have brought him, and will make his way to prosper.⁸⁶

How did Deutero-Isaiah come to speak of Cyrus in such exalted terms? How did he come to call him the shepherd, the beloved, yea, the anointed of God, the Messiah, that is, and to declare that God is behind him, is leading him from victory to victory and guiding him in all his ways? The whole portrayal is animated by such genuine enthusiasm and such sincere admiration for Cyrus that it cannot be taken as a servile panegyric, calculated to win Cyrus for captive Israel. Nor does the view that Deutero-Isaiah bestowed all this encomium on Cyrus because he expected him to overthrow Babylonia and set Israel free explain anything. This explanation fails to see that the kernel of the question is: How did Deutero-Isaiah come to place such high hopes in Cyrus, to be so absolutely confident of his interest in the dreams and aspirations of conquered Israel? There is still another side to the question. How did Cyrus' revolt against and overthrow of Astyages of Media, followed by his conquest of Lydia and the adjacent Ionian coastlands, differ from Assyria's and Babylonia's policy of conquest that had gone before? Why did Deutero-Isaiah not judge his aspirations for world-power in the same light as Isaiah had viewed the conquests of Tiglath Pileser III, of Sargon IV, and of Sennacherib—as wanton lust of dominion? Why, instead of representing him, as Isaiah did the Assyrian conquerors, as the blind tool in the hand of Providence, compelled to do the behest of God, irrespective of what his own self-seeking design may be,⁸⁷ did he hail Cyrus as the signal object of divine favor and delight, who of his own noble will obeys the summons of God and is eager to promote his purpose?

The answer is to be found in the fact that with the appearance of Cyrus as ruler of Asia a new, humane world-polity came

⁸⁶ Isa. 41:2-4; 44:28a; 45:1-6, 12-13; 48:14-15.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 10:5-19.

into display—unknown heretofore in history. The Assyrian and Babylonian conquerors, as Isaiah puts it, trampled nations underfoot, being bent on wiping them out brutally; and to effect this they transplanted conquered populations from their native soil to distant regions of their empire, as one robs a bird's nest.⁸⁸ But neither Cyrus nor his successor did anything of the kind. He did not besmirch his victories by sacking or razing to the ground conquered cities, nor did he overthrow the subdued nations nor lead their inhabitants away captive, but instead he permitted them to continue their national existence as well as their religious and cultural life and even acted as a generous patron of their religious and social institutions. So did he deal with the conquered Ionian cities and at first even with Sardis, the administration of which he had intrusted to Pactyas, a native of Lydia (and to his own general, Tabulus), and even so did he deal again later with Babylon. In a proclamation issued after his peaceful entry into the city he guaranteed life and property to the entire population and even showed reverence for the gods of the people out of regard for the religious feelings of all his subjects. He also ordered that the gods which Nabonidus had carried off (as trophies) to Babylon from various lands be restored to their respective countries. This humane, broad-minded policy of Cyrus was such a refreshing contrast to the accustomed barbarity of conquerors that Deutero-Isaiah's admiration for him knew no bounds—even as it earned him the admiration of the Greeks and the world in general. Deutero-Isaiah evidently realized that Cyrus' kind and tolerant rule was inspired by the religion of Zoroaster, which had in common with that of the prophets that, condemning material sacrifices, it laid all stress on righteous, moral conduct, on the love of truth and right, and that it considered moral perfection the religious ideal; for his protest against dualism (in connection with his portrayal of Cyrus)⁸⁹ shows that he was familiar with Persian religious beliefs. All this explains not only how Deutero-Isaiah came to feel so certain that Cyrus would grant freedom to Israel but also why he hails him as the beloved of God and

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vss. 6 f., 13 f.

⁸⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 45:7.

his shepherd, yea, as the Messiah, summoned to the scene by Providence to be, like Israel, instrumental in paving the way for the universal recognition of God. So convinced is he of all this that, contrary to his erstwhile view, which he has even now not wholly given up,⁹⁰ he declares that Israel, though still blind and unregenerated, will be redeemed, hoping that as a result of their redemption the eyes of the people will be opened and their spiritual transformation will be effected at last. The fact that Deutero-Isaiah sees in the rise of Cyrus the dawn of a new era, which harmonizes with the lofty universalism characteristic of him, is of supreme importance for the adequate interpretation not only of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, but also of the psalms which he wrote as a finale to these prophecies when in the year 538 B.C. his sanguine expectations with regard to Cyrus were fulfilled.

THE SEAT OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE EXILE

The evidence already adduced, that devastated Judah was the center of those activities which in 538 B.C. led to the rebirth of Israel, would require no amplification were it not for the fact that the opposite view, that Babylonia was the seat of the spiritual life, is so prevalent that two historians speak of it even as "the *Heimat* of Israel" at the time of the Exile,⁹¹ and that another has suggested that it may have been by way of Babylonia that the little that (supposedly) was then produced in Jerusalem was preserved, that through the frequent visits (as he thinks) to Judah of one or another from their midst, the Babylonian exiles may have become acquainted with these literary products, and that in this way, when at last the exiles returned to hearth and home for good, they brought these back with the other sacred writings.⁹² What a distortion of the real facts of the case!

Lamentations has been mentioned among the writings which

⁹⁰ Most conclusive in this respect is the fact that his declaration, "I will make thy transgressions to vanish like a mist, thy sins to disappear like a cloud," he follows with the exhortation, "Return to me, I will redeem thee."

⁹¹ Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 381; Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 51. ⁹² Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, Part I, 96.

were produced in Judah during the Exile. Chapters 2 and 4 were written within the first or second decade after the fall of Jerusalem, and chapters 1 and 5 some short time later.⁹³ Chapter 3, which does not show the directness of appeal or intensity of feeling, by which the other chapters are marked, is post-Exilic.

The prophecies, Isa. 13:1-22 and 21:1-10, show that, at the time Deutero-Isaiah wrote Isaiah, chapters 40-55, literary activity was carried on in ruined Judah by other writers of rare poetic gift.

a) The description in Isa. 13:2-5, 17, of the Median army marching through the mountains to strike at Babylonia is so vivid and realistic that it is obvious that in these verses the writer is not speaking of what will happen but rather of what has happened already—that is, of Cyrus' having crossed the mountains of the frontier and invaded Babylonia in 540 B.C. The prophecy is not a Babylonian product (as it is generally taken to be) but was written in Palestine on the arrival of the news of Cyrus' invasion. Proof of this are the words, "They [the invading army] have come from a distant land, from the ends of the heavens"; for, since Media and Persia bordered on Babylonia, it is clear that a writer living in Babylonia would not have spoken of them as far-distant lands, but for a Palestinian writer it was natural and customary to refer to them in this way, just as Deutero-Isaiah, and Isaiah and Jeremiah before him, speak of Babylonia and Assyria as lands far off from Palestine and as located at the end of the earth.⁹⁴ The name "Medes" in this prophecy, used for Persians, is found again in Isa. 21:2; Jer. 51:11, 28; and in "Darius the Mede" of Dan. 6:1 and 11:1. This use of the name the Old Testament has in common with the Greek historians, and also with the Minaean inscription (Halévy 535) which makes reference to the war Cambyses waged against Egypt in 525 B.C.⁹⁵ There is nothing

⁹³ See Budde, "Die Klagelieder" (*KHCAT* [1928]), pp. 75 f., 85, 93 f., 104; Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, Part I, 96 ff.; Sellin, *op. cit.*, II, 10, 18 f.

⁹⁴ See above, pp. 266 f.

⁹⁵ See M. Hartmann in *ZA*, X (1895), 31 ff.; Ed. Meyer, *ibid.*, XI (1896), 327 f.

at all surprising about this usage, for although by Cyrus' victory over Astyages the Medes were subjected to the Persians, they still constituted the larger body of the new empire and also retained a prominent position in it.

b) Isa. 21:1-10 (as I have pointed out)⁹⁶ is not what the writer alleges it to be, a vision of the imminent fall of Babylon, but a prophecy in disguise, written after the fall of Babylon. This is shown by the fact that throughout both parts of his description of the attack on, and the conquest of, Babylon the writer uses the perfect without any interchange with the imperfect,⁹⁷ and above all by his repetition, at the end, of *naphēla*: "Fallen, fallen is Babylon," by which he emphasizes willy-nilly that the fall of Babylon is an actual fact. In genuine prophecies there is, logically, not a single example of repetition of the prophetic perfect. The two parts of which the pseudo-prophecy is made up are verses 1-5 and verses 6-10. Following the opening statement that "a direful vision" has come to him "from the terrible land," the writer goes on to describe not his own fear and trembling because of his vision but the terror and confusion into which Babylon has been thrown by the sudden appearance of the Median warriors at her gates. It is not the seer but Babylon that is represented as speaking in verses 2c-4: verse 2c, as the Greek shows, read originally '*alai 'elam 'alai šārē madaī bā'ū*', "The Elamites, the Median besiegers have descended upon me"; and verse 2d, which is generally admitted to be doubtful text, may on the strength of the Greek and Jer. 8:2 be conjectured to have read *ne'ēnaḥṭī hoshbartī*, "I sigh, I am crushed." So emended, verses 2-4 are cogent and consistent throughout and leave no room for the strange contradiction carried into them by the prevailing interpretation that the seer, though gratified at the fall of Babylon, is horror-stricken at the thought of it. The words,

The night of my pleasure has been turned⁹⁸ into terror,

⁹⁶ Where Did Deutero-Isaiah Live?" pp. 103 f., 108.

⁹⁷ As pointed out above, p. 21, it is by this consistent use of the perfect that *vaticinia ex eventu* are betrayed.

⁹⁸ *Sām* is impersonal construction and *lī* ethical dative.

with which the lament of Babylon over her fate ends, is, dramatically, followed by the description of another scene:

The table was set, the cloth spread,
They were eating and drinking [when the cry went up],
"Arise, ye princes, anoint the shield!"

Here we have the oldest version of the story told by Herodotus (i. 191) and Xenophon⁹⁹ and also in the Book of Daniel (5:1 ff., 26-30) that Cyrus entered and took Babylon by surprise as the king and his grandees were feasting.

The second part is equally dramatic. It becomes more complete when the line of 22:6, "Elam lifted up the quiver, and Kir uncovered the shield," is inserted in verse 9 after the words, "Lo, there came chariots and horsemen," whence it was originally omitted in the course of transmission.¹⁰⁰

This pseudo-prophecy was not composed in Babylonia but written in Judah on the arrival of the news of the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C. Positive proof of this are the words, "Like the tempest sweeping the South," that is, the barren, storm-swept hill country south of Judah: these words can, like the expression, "the streams of the South," of Psalm 126, have been used only by one living and writing in Palestine, where they were understood (this observation has been made also by other critics).¹⁰¹ Further proof to this effect is the statement with which the writer continues—that it is across the desert (i.e., the Syrian Desert, by which Palestine is separated from Babylon) that the news of the fall of Babylon has come to him. (I wonder whether, from the way the writer has put this, any inference may be drawn as to the method in the ancient Orient of spreading the news of such world-wide interest as that of the fall of Babylon, whether there is implied by it that couriers brought the news as far as the edge of the desert and then left

⁹⁹ *Cyrop.* vii. 5, 15.

¹⁰⁰ The words *bā' rekeb 'adām parāšim* of 22:6 were added as a cue to the omitted parts from 21:9, as I have pointed out in *The Prophets of Israel* (New York, 1914), pp. 288 f.

¹⁰¹ Marti, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 f.; M. Haller, "Das Judentum" in *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments* (2d ed., 1925), II, Part 3, 19; Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, Part 1, 80; O. Procksch, *Jesaia I (KAT [1930])*, p. 268; Sellin, *op. cit.*, II, 12.

it to those that knew the desert to get the news across the great barrier, whence other couriers spread it through the countries to the west.) It is important to note for our purposes that there is such a marked difference in style between Isa. 21:1-10 and Isaiah, chapter 13, that they must be considered as products of two different authors. Equally conspicuous is the difference in style as well as in spirit between these two prophecies and Isaiah, chapters 40-55.

As a final link in the chain of evidence, bearing on the question under discussion, it may be recalled that in the discourse on Psalm 78 we have seen (pp. 139-42) that it was during the Exile in all probability that the sagas of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers underwent their final metamorphosis and were committed to writing and that in one instance we found direct proof of this Exilic metamorphosis—namely, in the case of the Abraham story, specifically those parts of it which center around the tribute paid him in the words, "I have singled him out, in order that he may charge his sons and descendants to keep the way of the Lord, to practice justice and righteousness," which portray him as the type of man after the ideal of the prophets.¹⁰² Now the fact that this portrayal of Abraham is a work of the Exile and was unknown to Ezekiel in Babylonia, while Deutero-Isaiah, who writes in Judah, is conversant with it, clearly points to Judah or its vicinity as the place where it must have been composed. Furthermore, there is hardly any other conclusion possible for a general reason: the view commonly held that a lively commerce was kept up between the captives in Babylonia and those that had been left in the country¹⁰³ proves on closer examination more fanciful than real. The distance between Babylonia and Palestine was too great, being a journey of four or five months,¹⁰⁴ and the Babylonian captives as well as those that had remained in Judah were too indigent to maintain such commerce, even if the Syrian Desert had not been another formidable barrier. Note how Deutero-Isaiah urges

¹⁰² The parts in question comprise Gen. 12:1-8; 13-15; 18:1-33, to which chap. 19 is in a way supplementary.

¹⁰³ Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, Part I, 96, 184.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Ezra 7:8 f.

the exiles not to let the Syrian Desert deter them from returning to their country, how he assures them that God will change the desert to an oasis and make it abound in springs—a deed, he adds, which will eclipse Israel's crossing the Red Sea in the days of old.¹⁰⁵

I shall refrain from a detailed discussion of the exhortatory introductions and conclusions of the law code of Deuteronomy (chaps. 12–26) and the Deuteronomic redaction of the historical books, since it is not possible to determine in each case what is pre-Exilic and what is Exilic, nor is there any consensus of opinion on this question. It is, however, noteworthy that, unlike Ezekiel, neither the one nor the other shows any trace of Babylonian environment, that on the contrary in some of the indisputably Exilic additions there are repeated indications which clearly point to Palestine as the place where they were written: as for example, “The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from afar, from the ends of the earth” (*gōy meraḥōq miq-qēṣē ha'areṣ*) of verse 49 of the Exilic piece, Deut. 28:47–68: to the words, “a nation . . . from the ends of the earth,” by which Babylonia is meant, applies what has been remarked above with regard to Isa. 13:5 and other examples of the kind; or “Until you are wiped off this good land” and again “Until He has wiped you off this good land” (*ha'ādama haṭṭōba hazzō'th*) of verses 13 and 15 of the Exilic piece, Joshua, chapter 23; “this Temple” (*habbayith hazzē*) and “to this land and to this Temple” (*la'areṣ hazzōth wehabbayith hazzē*) of verses 3 and 8 of the Exilic addition, I Kings 9:1–9: note that “this land” or “this Temple” can have been said only by writers living in the country.

It is plain from this abundant Palestinian literature of the Exile that the intellectual and spiritual life of Israel was not transplanted to Babylonia when Jerusalem fell in 586 B.C., but it continued to flourish in the devastated country with a warmth and vigor at which we can only wonder. It is but natural to find that this was the state of things, not however because Hebrew culture, as some may argue, needed the soil and atmos-

¹⁰⁵ Isa. 41:17 ff.; 43:16–20.

phere of Palestine to thrive—the production of the Book of Ezekiel and of Psalms 137 and 42/43 in Babylonia shows better than anything else the fallacy of such a view—but rather because the upper classes that were taken to Babylonia constituted only a small part of the nation; the great mass of the people, surviving the catastrophe, were left in Judah, and even though after the assassination of Gedaliah many went to Egypt, those that remained still outnumbered the exiles in Babylonia by three to one, according to a conservative estimate. And not only numerically but also spiritually were they best qualified to produce men who amid the smoldering ruins would point the way to a new, richer life. The greatest among these was Deutero-Isaiah. His growth and development, which we have been able to trace, shows that through the well-nigh fifty years of the Exile the real vital force of the spiritual life of those in Judah was the vision and the faith of the prophets, without which the miracle of Israel's rebirth would never have come about.

PART III

Post-Exilic Psalms

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I. PSALMS OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH INSPIRED BY THE REBIRTH OF THE NATION

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PSALM 107

It is commonly admitted that Psalm 107 shows a lack of unity. This defect is not, however, remedied by eliminating, as a number of interpreters have done, verses 33-43 as the later addition of an inferior poet,¹ nor even by the additional elimination, suggested by others, of verses 3 (or 1-3), 11, 24-26 (or 24-27, or 23*b*, 24, 27), and 30.² We must take our cue, rather, from the inverted *nuns*, which bracket verses 23-28 and 39 or 40 and mark them (according to a statement in *Midrash Sifrē* on Num. 10:35-36) as misplaced. The text disorder extends, however, farther than it is indicated by the inverted *nuns*. The psalm consists of two unrelated pieces—a song celebrating Israel's redemption from the captivity, Psalm 107*A*, and a poem describing a storm at sea, Psalm 107*B*. What they have in common is the incidental feature that the two distichs, verses 6 and 8, which recur refrain-like in the two following strophes of Psalm 107*A*, occur also in Psalm 107*B*. This explains why this poem was placed after Psalm 107*A*—whether by the editors of the complete Psalter or by the editors of one of the collections of which the present Psalter is made up escapes our knowledge. Its present place in the body of Psalm 107*A* is the result of the text disorder which this psalm has suffered in the course of transmission. When the verses which originally followed verse 12 and verse 14 of Psalm 107*A* were omitted, they were evi-

¹ Cheyne, Kautzsch-Bertholet, Davies, Gunkel, Staerck.

² Duhm, Kittel, Briggs.

dently put into the margin at the bottom of the page, which happened to end with the last line of the poem. And when many years later the Psalter—or perhaps the collection to which the two psalms originally belonged—was recopied, all these omitted verses were mechanically taken into the text where they happened to be found; that is to say, they were joined to the poem we have labeled Psalm 107B. These verses have subsequently suffered additional text disorder. Thus verse 30*b* cannot be an original part of the description of the storm but must be another line of the misplaced verses of Psalm 107A. This is self-evident from its content, in particular from the fact that *maḥōz* can mean only “city,” and that the customary translation “haven” is a mere guess (see the note on the phrase). As soon as verse 30*b* is placed where it belongs, after verse 41*a* of Psalm 107A, it presents no difficulty whatever. Moreover, by the elimination of verse 30*b* the lines of the poem, Psalm 107B, are knit together in complete unity.

Verse 32, it seems to me, was originally a variant of the concluding verse 22 of Psalm 107A and not a part of the description of the storm, for the reason that it is in cadence different from the rest. Verse 43 was originally a marginal or editorial addition. Verse 42 may be another such addition or more probably was originally a marginal addition to Psalm 109A and was misplaced into Psalm 107.

A. PSALM 107A

- 1 Give thanks unto the Lord!
He is good, his love is everlasting:
- 2 So let them say whom the Lord has redeemed,
Whom he has redeemed from the hand of the foe,
- 3 Whom he has gathered from the lands
To the East and the West, to the North and the South.
- 4 They were wandering in the wilderness, in the trackless
desert,
Unable to find the city where was their home.
- 5 Hungry and thirsty, growing slowly weaker,

- 6 They cried to God in their misery
To deliver them from their distress.
- 7 He led them on the right road,
That they might come to the city where was their home.
- 8 Let them give thanks unto the Lord for his goodness
And for the wonderful things he has done for the sons of
men;
- 9 For he has satisfied the longing soul,
And the hungry soul he has filled with good.
- 10 They sat in darkness and in the shadow of death,
Bound in the irons of affliction,
- 11 Because they had rebelled against the behest of God
And scorned the counsel of the Most High:
- 12 Wherefore he bowed down their hearts with misery;
They came to ruin and there was none to help.
- 33 He changed the rivers into desert land,
Springs into thirsty ground;
- 34 He turned a fruitful country into a barren waste,
Because of the wickedness of its inhabitants.
- 39 They dwindled to a few,
Weighed down by their load of sorrow and affliction.
- 40 He poured contempt upon the nobles,
And made them wander in the trackless waste.
- 13 In their misery they cried unto the Lord
To deliver them from their distress.
- 14 He took them out of darkness and the shadow of death,
And broke their shackles asunder;
- 41a He lifted the wretched out of their misery,
30b And brought them to their longed-for city.
- 35 He changed the desert into pools of water,
The dry land into a region of springs.
- 36 There he let the hungry settle,
That they might restore the city where was their home,
- 37 And sow fields and plant vineyards
To yield fruit and harvest.
- 38a He blessed them that they might greatly increase;

- 41^b He made their families like flocks,
 38^b And suffered not their cattle to decrease.
 15 Let them give thanks unto the Lord for his goodness
 And for the wonderful things he has done for the sons
 of men;
 16 For he has broken down gates of brass
 And cut iron bars asunder.
 17 They who were wasting away because of their wicked
 course
 And suffered for their iniquities,
 18 They loathed every sort of food,
 And were at death's door.
 19 In their misery they cried unto the Lord
 To deliver them from their distress.
 20 He sent his word to heal them
 And save their life from destruction.
 21 Let them give thanks unto the Lord for his goodness
 And for the wonderful things he has done for the sons
 of men,
 22 And let them offer sacrifices of thanksgiving,
 And tell of his deeds in song.*

LATER ADDITION

- 43 Whoso is wise, let him give heed to these things,
 Let him reflect on the love of God.

THEME

Psalm 107A, as reconstructed, is a poem of signal beauty and perfect unity, centering in a single thought—the redemption of Israel from the night of exile. Opening the poem, the singer bids his redeemed people unite with him in rendering thanks unto God for his everlasting love:

Give thanks unto the Lord!
 He is good, his love is everlasting,

* Variant: 32 *And let them exalt him in the assembly of the people
 And praise him in the session of the elders.*

42 See Ps. 109A.

which is anything but a threadbare, conventional formula, as the latest study of the Psalms according to literary types would make us believe. How could the singer have opened his ode of thanksgiving more fittingly than with this appeal to his people? There was, besides, another reason for his emphasizing that God "is good, his love everlasting," for Isaiah, chapters 40-55, shows that all through the Exile the masses had lost faith in God, that to the last they exclaimed in despair, in the words of the Exilic Psalm 89B,

Lord, where are thy former deeds of love?—

unmoved even by Deutero-Isaiah's example of sublime faith.³ From this apathy and blindness Deutero-Isaiah seeks to rouse his countrymen in the exordium of the psalm (vss. 1-3) and the three strophes of unequal length which follow it. In each of these strophes the country's resurrection is contrasted with the destruction that went before, being treated summarily in the first and third and in detail in the middle strophe. The first line of the first strophe,

They were wandering in the wilderness, in the trackless desert,

considered by itself, is anything but clear as to what is meant by it. But all doubt as to its meaning disappears, since the line recurs, slightly changed in form, in the middle strophe, at the end of the lengthy description which the poet, freely using figurative language, gives of the ruin of the country:

They came to ruin, and there was none to help.
He changed the rivers into desert land,
Springs into thirsty ground;
He turned a fruitful country into a barren waste,
... And made them wander in the trackless waste.

It is clear then that the expressions, "the wilderness" and "the trackless desert" or "the trackless waste," are figures of speech for the ruin which had overtaken the land, and also that the words, "They were wandering" and "He made them wander," do not refer to the exiles in Babylonia but find their natural explanation in the fact that the larger body of those that survived

³ Cf. Isa. 40:27 ff.; 42:18-20; 43:8; 45:10-11; 46:12; 49:14, 24; 50:2; 51:12-13.

the catastrophe continued to live in the devastated country. The use of this figure requires no further discussion, after we have seen (in the discourse on Psalm 68A) what a common figure it is not only in Deutero-Isaiah and Psalm 68A but also in the pre-Exilic prophetic writings.

By the city referred to in the lines of the first strophe,

Unable to find the city where was their home,

and

He led them on the right road

That they might come to the city where was their home,

the capital Jerusalem is meant. The writer's way of putting it may on first thought seem strange, but it ceases to be so when it is remembered that Jerusalem was razed to the ground when conquered by Babylonia in 586 B.C., as is expressly stated in Ps. 137:7. But more decisive than this is the fact that also in this instance all doubt as to the meaning of the lines is removed by the way they are restated in the middle strophe:

He took them out of darkness and the shadow of death,

And broke their shackles asunder;

He lifted the wretched out of their misery,

And brought them to their longed-for city.

He changed the desert into pools of water,

The dry land into a region of springs.

There he let the hungry settle,

That they might restore the city where was their home.

The last line, aside from elucidating the parallel lines of the first strophe, is also of extreme general importance. It confirms the information furnished by Ps. 137:7, showing as it does that in 538 B.C. Jerusalem was still a heap of ruins. From this it follows that in the parallel lines,

He brought them to their longed-for city

and

That they might come to the city where was their home,

it is only imaginatively that the poet speaks of the city as existing. Similarly in the lines,

He changed the desert into pools of water,

The dry land into a region of springs,

he does not describe the transformation of the country as perfected, but as in progress. In the Hebrew original this is made perfectly clear by the use of the imperfect of progressive duration *yasēm*, which cannot be reproduced in the translation (unless by circumlocution).

There is an unusual wealth of imagery about the psalm—of natural imagery, which makes the description at once colorful and vivid. In addition to the metaphors considered already, note what a realistic picture we get of the penurious condition of the people in the devastated country, of their bitter struggle for existence, from the figurative language of such lines as

Hungry and thirsty, growing slowly weaker,⁴
They cried to God in their misery;

and

They sat in darkness and in the shadow of death,
Bound in the irons of affliction,

with the companion lines,

They dwindled to a few,
Weighed down by their load of sorrow and affliction;

and what an effective climactic figure we have in the following lines of the concluding strophe:

They were wasting away . . .
They were at death's door.

To see the fitness of the two last figures one has but to remember that as a nation Israel had ceased to exist, as Deutero-Isaiah puts it so well in the parallel figure of the fourth servant song,

He was cut off from the land of the living . . . stricken to death.⁵

RELATIONSHIP TO ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 40-55

The similarity the psalm bears to Isaiah, chapters 40-55, in language and style as well as in thought is most conspicuous:

a) It has in common with these prophecies the two phrases *gē'ūlim* and *ga'al* of verse 2, the first of which occurs in them once, and the second as often

⁴ *Tith'attaph* is another imperfect of progressive duration, which can be properly rendered without any circumlocution.

⁵ Isa. 53:8 (see p. 264).

as five times, with the logical difference, however, that, instead of telling what has happened as in the psalm, *ga'al* functions each time as a prophetic perfect.⁶ Add to these six instances, the ten of the active participle *gō'el*, all of which apply to God as "the Redeemer" of Israel,⁷ and it will be seen that this verb is typical indeed of Isaiah, chapters 40-55.

b) Verse 3 of the psalm has in common with Isa. 43:5-6 the specification that it is from the four points of the compass that Israel has been gathered, as also the verb *qibbes*, which in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, recurs twice more, besides, four times in the Niph'al.⁸

c) Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the psalm has in common with Isaiah, chapters 40-55, the use, in verses 4, 33-34, 40, and 35, of the figures "wilderness" and "desert" as designating the devastated country. This is, however, far from stating the case fully: the similarity between the respective passages of the two writings extends much farther than their use of the identical figure. Thus verse 35,

He changed the desert into pools of water
The dry land into a region of springs,

is, except for the third singular of the verb *yasēm*, instead of the first *'asīm*, verbatim identical with Isa. 41:18b, though the two differ entirely as to what is referred to in them. In the verse of the psalm the reference is to the transformation of devastated Judah, while in Isa. 41:18b the reference is to the Syrian Desert, which the prophet trusts will be changed into an oasis when the exiles pass through on their return to Palestine. Still more striking is the identity of the first two words alone, *yasēm midbar*, of verse 35 with *wayyasēm midbarāh* of Isa. 51:3. Not only has this parallel, like the verse in the psalm, the third singular of the verb *yasēm* but it also speaks of the transformation of Zion to come. Further, the words, "He changed the rivers into desert land," of verse 33 are, except for the change of the third singular of *yasēm* to the first, found verbatim in Isa. 50:2, but applied to another case than that referred to in the psalm—to the expected destruction of Babylonia. Verse 4 has the prepositional phrases *bammidbar* and *bishimōn*, "in the wilderness" and "in the desert," in common with Isa. 40:3 and 43:19-20, in the first of which *bammidbar* is, as in the verse of the psalm, a figure for devastated Judah, while in the second both phrases are used literally, the Syrian Desert being referred to. The verse has also the phrase *tā'ū* ("They were wandering") in common with Isa. 47:15, where, with different connotation, it is, however, said of the foreign traders in Babylonia who "will hasten away staggering" when ruin overtakes her. The word *tohū*, "waste," of verse 40 occurs seven times in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, once with the same meaning as in the verse of the psalm,⁹ and the other times with the meaning "void" or "naught."¹⁰

⁶ See (1) Isa. 51:10; (2) 44:23; 48:20; 52:9; 43:1; 44:22.

⁷ See *ibid.* 41:14; 43:14; 44:6, 24; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7, 26; 54:5, 8.

⁸ See *ibid.* (1) 40:11; 54:7; (2) 43:9; 45:20; 48:14; 49:18.

⁹ *Ibid.* 45:18, *lō' tohū b'ērā'āh*, "He did not create her to be a waste"; the antithesis is "He made her to be a livable place" or "a true abode."

¹⁰ See *ibid.* 40:17, 23; 41:29; 44:9; 45:19; 49:4.

d) The words "hungry and thirsty," *rē'ebīm gam šēmē'im*, of verse 5, the first of which recurs in verse 36 and also in verse 9, recall by way of contrast the words "They will not hunger nor thirst," *lō' yir'ābū wə'lō' yišmā'ū*, of Isa. 49:10, while the words "growing slowly weaker," *naphshām bahēm iith'aḏḏaph*, of the same verse are reminiscent of the words "Thy sons lay, fainting away ('ulləphū shakēbū) at the head of all streets," of Isa. 51:20.

e) Verse 7a is in thought related to Isa. 42:16a and 48:17c, with which it has also in common the phrases *wayyadrīkēm badderek*, while a different qualification—the relative clause *tēlek*—corresponds in them to the adjective phrase *yəshara*. It is, however, interesting to note that in the related passage, Jer. 31:7-8, *derek* is as in the verse of the psalm qualified by *yashar*, especially since in verse 9 of the psalm,

For he has satisfied the longing soul,
And the hungry soul he has filled with good,

the influence of verse 24 of this messianic prophecy of Jeremiah (31:1-33) is most marked. Note also that *mera'ath yōshēbē bāh*, "because of the wickedness of its inhabitants" (vs. 34) is a quotation from Jer. 12:4.¹¹

f) Verse 10 has in common with Isa. 42:7 the expressions, *yōshēbē ḥoshek*, "They sat in darkness," and *'asīr*, "bound," and with 48:10 the phrase *'onī*, "affliction."

g) Verses 14a and 14b,

He took them out of darkness . . .
And broke their shackles asunder

describe as realized what in Isa. 49:9a and in 52:2b, respectively, is depicted as visioned, with which it accords that also in language the first part of the verse resembles the former, and the second the latter.

h) Verse 16,

For he has broken down the gates of brass
And cut iron bars asunder,

is, except for the change of the imperfect of the first singular to perfects of the third singular, verbatim identical with Isa. 45:2. In both the reference is to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. In the passage of Deutero-Isaiah God promises Cyrus to walk before him and break down the gates of Babylon; accordingly, the psalm, using the identical language but looking on the conquest of Babylon as accomplished, describes the battering of her gates—though in reality it had not come to that—as the doing of God.

One other observation! The psalm emphasizes even as much

¹¹ This verse, as I have pointed out in *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 187 ff., stood originally in chap. 14, after vs. 6.

as Isaiah, chapters 40-55, if not more, that it was for its wicked life, its disregard for the behests of God, that Israel was destroyed. The obvious reason for this emphasis in both is the writer's desire at last to awaken the people and make them realize their sinful past and what God demands of man.

AUTHORSHIP

Notwithstanding this pronounced similarity to Isaiah, chapters 40-55, the psalm shows no trace of patchwork or labored imitation but, on the contrary, bears throughout the stamp of poetic spontaneity and originality. Not only has the psalm an unusual wealth of poetic imagery, but a good many of its images are original, being found nowhere else or being used here for the first time. These are:

"Bound in the irons of affliction," *'onī ūbarzel*, being a nice case of hendiadys; "He bowed down their heart with misery"; "Weighed down by their load of sorrow and affliction"; "They were (*yaggi'ū*) at death's door"; "trackless desert" and "trackless waste"; "poured out contempt"; and the figurative use of *wayyēsaggeb* in "He lifted the needy out of their misery."

Note also how the figure, "They sat in darkness," *yōshēbē ḥoshek*, which the psalm has in common with Isaiah, chapters 40-55, is signally enriched by "and in the shadow of death," *wēšalmaweth*, which follows it. Similarly the effect of

He changed the rivers into desert land,
Springs into thirsty ground,

common to both writings, is markedly heightened by the novel addition of

A fruitful country into a barren waste.

The composite substantive *'ereṣ pērī* of this line is peculiar to the psalm, being the only example found in Old Testament literature. All this leaves room for one conclusion only—that Psalm 107A is another of the psalms of Deutero-Isaiah, the hymn of thanksgiving to which the redemption of Israel inspired him.

The fact that this ode is the work of Deutero-Isaiah and that he lived and wrote in Judah, not in Babylonia, explains why it deals principally with the changed status of those who were

living in ruined Judah. The changed status of the exiles in Babylonia is made mention of in the couplet of the exordium,

Whom he has gathered from the lands
To the East and the West, to the North and the South,

and in the concluding lines of the middle strophe,

For he has broken down gates of brass
And cut iron bars asunder,

which refer to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. Properly the lines apply to the changed status of those who lived in Judah as well as to that of the exiles in Babylonia, as does also another couplet of the middle strophe,

He took them out of darkness and the shadow of death,
And broke their shackles asunder,

and one of the concluding strophe,

He sent his word to heal them
And save their life from destruction.

Yet, notwithstanding this, the noteworthy fact remains that the psalm describes neither the departure of the exiles from Babylonia nor their journey back to restored Judah or their arrival there. Nor do they even remotely make any allusion to it. Naturally so, for not only from its content but also from the further fact that Deutero-Isaiah commemorates the rebirth of Israel in another song, it may safely be concluded that Psalm 107A was written immediately upon the publication of Cyrus' edict setting Israel free. This being the case, it may readily be seen that, when he wrote it, the Babylonian exiles, who were still more indigent than their countrymen in Judah, had not as yet even had time to prepare for their long and dangerous journey to Palestine—a journey which under most favorable conditions took from four to five months.¹²

Startling as it may seem to find psalms by Deutero-Isaiah celebrating Israel's deliverance and freedom, it requires only a moment's thought to see that there is in reality nothing in the least surprising about this; that on the contrary it would be

¹² See above, pp. 283 and 297.

astonishing had this momentous event, without parallel in the history of antiquity, not inspired him, to use his own expression, to new songs. We have seen that early in the Exile the transcendent faith of the prophets took deep root in him, but that for a time he was still groping and succeeding only imperfectly in giving expression to the hope kindled in him by his great masters. We have also seen that soon after this he rose to the very heights of their vision and hope and how from that time on he set himself assiduously to the task of bringing about the resurrection of his people. We have finally seen what keen expectations the rise of Cyrus awakened in him, with what enthusiasm he followed his victorious career, convinced that this noble follower of Zoroaster was the friend and shepherd of God, yea, the Messiah, who was summoned to the scene for the purpose of setting Israel free and ushering in the new era of the universal dominion of God visioned by the prophets. What more natural, therefore, than that he should have burst into song when he saw his hope fulfilled, though as yet only in part.

One other remark! Verse 40 of Psalm 107A, is not, as is generally thought, a quotation from Job 12:21 and 24; the reverse is rather the case: the writer of Job quotes the psalm. This fact ceases to surprise when it is remembered that in the same chapter of Job we have, in *ki yad 'ādōnai 'āsētha zō'th*, "That the hand of God does this," a quotation also from Deutero-Isaiah (41:20)—a quotation which uses the words, however, with a different import.

3. *the South*] Read מִצָּרַיִם: cf. Isa. 43:5-6; the present reading is due to abbreviated writing, which the Massoretes failed to recognize.

4. *in the trackless desert*] Read, on the strength of vs. 40, מִדְּבָר (Ols-hausen and others). A number of interpreters, following Gr., have construed *derek* with *'ir mōshab*. This construction is, however, unacceptable, the Masoretic sentence division being established as that of the original text by the refrain-like recurrence of *'ir mōshab* at the end of vss. 7 and 36.

where was their home] The genitive *mōshab* is as *nomen verbi* unlimited as to time; it is, besides, a case where Hebrew omits the possessive pronoun, though English requires it. Note that *me'ošer ra'a* of vs. 39, and *me'onī* and *mishpēhōth* of vss. 41a and 41b are three other such cases: cf. also Ps. 98:8 and Isa. 55:12.

5-6. The two verses are not made up of co-ordinate sentences, as they are usually taken to be, but form a complex sentence: vs. 5a consists of two predicate adjectives,¹³ construed as adverbial accusatives; vs. 5b, aside from being imperfect of progressive duration, is a circumstantial clause; and vs. 6b is a final clause.

10. *the shadow of death*] *Šalmaweth* is according to the Massoretes and ancient Versions alike a genuine composite noun. Not only is there no ground for questioning this tradition but the widely accepted emendation *šalmūth* is etymologically untenable, as has been shown by Nöldeke¹⁴ and by Hehn.¹⁵ *irons of affliction*] *ʿOnī ūbarzel* is a nice case of hendiadys.

11. This stich is an example of such perfect alliteration that I deem it in place to draw attention to it: there are two alliterative series, the first being (*ki*) *himrū 'imrē ʿēl*, and the second (*wa*) *ʿdšath ʿelyōn naʿdšū*.

33-34. *He changed . . . He turned*] By the imperfect of progressive duration *yasēm* the devastation of the country is aptly described as a gradual process, as is also its restoration in verse 35.

39. *by their load of sorrow and affliction*] *ʿOšer* is not absolute state, as R.V. takes it, but construct, used figuratively: as to the omission of the possessive pronoun in Hebrew, cf. vs. 4. In Isa. 53:8, *meʿošer ūmimishpaṭ* is a hendiadys and means "because of strict justice" or "because of a rigid judgment."

41a. *out of their misery*] See the notes on vss. 4 and 39.

13-14. The two verses are, properly, in the relation of protasis to apodosis, forming either a temporal or a causal sentence, hence the imperfects in vs. 14.

30b. *to their longed-for city*] The rendering of *maḥōz*, "port," by Gr., Syr., and Hier. is a mere guess, which was suggested by the present erroneous position of vs. 30b, but which has no support in etymology: *maḥōz* is the same word as Assyrian *maḥazu*, "city," especially "principal city," which is also the meaning of Aram. and Syr. *maḥōzā*, as Nöldeke has shown.¹⁶ As soon as vs. 30b is put where it stood originally, the meaning and etymology of *maḥōz* is not open to doubt. The abstract *ḥepheš* is used here as equivalent to an adjective phrase, as in *šōphēṭ šedeq*, "righteous judge," and many other such examples.

37. *To yield fruit and harvest*] Read *רִית*: this slight emendation removes all difficulty, for note that the subject of "to yield" is "vineyards and fields," further that *pēri* is the usual designation of the fruit of the vineyard (cf. Isa. 65:21; Ezek. 17:8-9; Zech. 8:12) and *ṭēbūʿa* that of the produce of the soil (cf. Exod. 23:10; Lev. 25:20 ff.; Deut. 14:22).

17. *They who were wasting away*] Read *אֲנִילִים*, instead of *ʿewilim*, as Olshausen and others have emended.

¹³ I use this term as an equivalent of the German term *Praedicativ* as used by Reckendorf, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leiden, 1898), §§ 61, 180, and, following him, by Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1913), II, § 230.

¹⁴ *ZATW*, XVII, 183 ff.

¹⁵ *Orientalische Studien* (Leipzig, 1918), II, 79 ff. ¹⁶ *ZDMG*, LVII (1903), 419.

17-20. The sentence structure of vss. 17-19 is much the same as that of vss. 5-6: *'umlālīm* is predicate adjective, construed as an adverbial accusative; the imperfect of progressive duration *yith'annū* is a circumstantial clause, as is also *tēha'eph*; all these are subordinated to *wayyagī'ū*. Vss. 19 and 20 are, in their turn, in the relation of protasis to apodosis similar to vss. 13 and 14.

20. *their life from destruction*] *Mishḥithōthām*, which is corrupt text, has been excellently emended by Kahan (in Kittel) מִשְׁחִיתָם הַיָּמִים: the emendation is supported by Job 33:18, 22, and 28.

PSALM 107B*

A STORM AT SEA

- 23 They that sail the sea in ships,
That traffic on vast waters,
- 24 These see the works of God,
The wonders he does on the deep.
- 25 He commands, and the stormy wind rises,
And tosses the billows high:
- 26 They mount to the sky,
And sink to the ocean's depth,
So that the sailors' courage melts away in terror.
- 27 They reel and stagger like drunken men,
They are at their wits' end.
- 28 When in their despair they cry to the Lord
To deliver them from their distress,
- 29 He calms the storm to a gentle breeze,
So that the waves of the sea are still;
- 30a And they rejoice over the return of the calm.
- 31 They will give thanks unto the Lord for his goodness
And for the wonderful things he does for the sons of men.

For obvious reasons I deem it advisable to treat this poem here, though there is no positive evidence that it is by Deutero-Isaiah, for neither its literary excellence nor even the three lines it has in common with Psalm 107A are sufficient to establish their common authorship. In character the poem is distinct

* Author and date unknown.

from such nature songs as Psalms 29, 104, and 19A; for, though it has in common with them that nature is contemplated *sub specie aeternitatis*, is viewed in relation to the infinite Spirit who moves and governs it, yet this feature in no wise occupies the prominence it does in these three psalms but is overshadowed by the inimitable description of the storm at sea, essayed with marvelous skill in the space of a few lines. The description is most realistic, picturing before our eyes the raging sea and the storm-tossed boat with its helpless sailors. The poem is a gem and makes us realize how versatile the poetic genius of ancient Israel was, how much must have been lost of the great works of literary art which it produced. Evidence to this effect is found also in a number of headings of the psalms, in which the opening words are quoted of the song to the tune of which the particular psalm was set (cf. Psalm 22: "To the tune of 'The Hind of the Dawn' "; Psalms 45 and 80: "To the tune of 'The Lilies' "; Psalm 56: "To the tune of 'The Dove in the Distant Oaks' "; and Psalm 60: "To the tune of *Shushan Eduth*").

25. *rises*] Vocalize, with Gr. and Hier., רָיַעַמָּר.

29. *the waves of the sea*] Read, with Syr., גַּלֵּי הַיָּם.

B. PSALMS 93, 97, 98, 96

A SINGLE SONG

PSALM 93

- 1 The Lord reigns, clothed with grandeur,
 Girded with strength.
 Yea, firm stands the world, immovable:
- 2 Of old thy throne has been established,
 Through the ages thou hast been God.
- 3 Seas fill the air with their thunder,
 Seas fill the air with the roar of their angry waves:
- 4 But more majestic than the mighty roar of the waters
 is God on high,
 More majestic than the stormy surge of the sea.

- 5 Thy revelations are most true,
Holiness adorns thy house,
O Lord for evermore.

PSALM 97

- 1 The Lord reigns! Let the earth exult,
Let the strands far and wide rejoice,
9 That thou, O Lord, art sovereign over all the world,
That thou hast shown thyself supreme over all the gods.
2 Misty darkness surrounds him,
Justice and righteousness are the foundation of his
throne.
3 Lightning went before him,
It blazed round about his enemies;
4 His flashes lit up the world:
Seeing them, the earth was overawed;
5 The hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord,
At the presence of the Lord of the universe.
6 Let the heavens declare his righteousness,
And let all the nations behold his glory.
7 They that adore images, they that revel in things of
naught,
They can but be confounded,
Since all the gods have crumbled into dust before him.
8 Zion has heard and rejoices,
The towns of Judah exult because of thy judgments.*
11 Light has dawned for the righteous,
Joy has come to the upright of heart.
12 Delight in the Lord, ye righteous,
And praise his holy name.

PSALM 98

- 1 † Sing unto the Lord a new song,
For he has done wonderful things:

* Vs. 10: see Pss. 101:6 and 103:6.

† A Psalm.

- His right hand and his holy arm have won him victory.
2 The Lord has made known his salvation,
He has revealed his righteousness before the eyes of the
nations.
3 He has thought of his love for Jacob
And of his faithfulness to the house of Israel.
The earth far and wide has seen the salvation wrought
of our God.
- 4 Hail the Lord, all the earth,
Rejoice and burst into song.
5 Sing unto the Lord to the strains of the lyre
And the music of the strings:
6 With a flourish of trumpets and cornets
Hail the Lord your King.
7 Let the sea thunder, and all that is in it be roused,
Yea, the world, and they that live in it.
8 Let them clap their hands by the rivers,
And from every mountain shout their songs,
9 To greet the Lord as he comes to judge the earth:
He will judge the world righteously,
Justly will he pronounce sentence on the nations.

PSALM 96

- 1 Sing unto the Lord a new song,
Sing unto the Lord, all the earth.
2 Sing unto the Lord, praise his name,
Day by day spread abroad the salvation he has wrought;
3 Declare his glory among the nations,
His wonderful works among all peoples:
4 For great is the Lord and highly to be praised;
August is he, transcending all the gods.
5 All the gods of the nations are things of naught,
But the Lord made the heavens.
6 Grandeur and majesty array him,
Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.

- 7 Give unto the Lord, ye races of the earth,
Give unto the Lord glory and praise;
- 8 Give unto the Lord the glory due his name:
Do homage unto him and come into his courts;
- 9 Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness,
Be awed before him, all the earth.
- 10a-b Announce among the nations, The Lord reigns:
Yea, the world stands firm, immovable.
- 11 Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult,
Let the sea thunder, and all that is in it be roused,
- 12-13 Let the woods be glad and all that is therein,
Let the trees of the forest burst into song before the Lord
As he comes to judge the earth.
He will judge the world righteously,
- 10c Justly will he pronounce sentence on the nations.†

UNRELATED TO PSALMS 95, 99, AND 100

Psalms 93, 96, 97, and 98 do not form an organic group with Psalms 95, 99, and 100. The contrary view held by many interpreters, with the additional view advanced by some, that all seven are of common authorship¹⁷ is primarily attributable to the fact that the interpreters in question have neglected to pay proper attention to the literary character of these psalms. Had

† 13d *And the nations in his faithfulness.*

¹⁷ G. H. Ewald, *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, I, Parts I-II: "Die Psalmen" (3d ed.; Göttingen, 1866), pp. 349, 404, 406 ff.; Franz Delitzsch, *Kommentar über den Psalter* (5th ed.; Leipzig, 1894), pp. 602, 613 ff., 620, 623 f.; T. K. Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (New York, 1895), pp. 71 f.; MacLaren, *Expositor's Bible*, III, 33 f., 55, 61 f., 71 f., 78 f.; Kirkpatrick, "The Book of Psalms" (Cambridge Bible, 1894), pp. 563, 571 ff.; Davison-Davies, *New Century Bible*, II, 137, 140, 146 ff., 158. C. A. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms* (ICC [New York, 1908-9]), II, 296 ff., excludes Psalm 95 from the group 93, 96-100, which he regards as being originally one psalm. F. Baethgen (*Die Psalmen* [HKAT (3d ed.; Göttingen, 1904)], pp. 293, 295, 297 ff., 301) groups Psalm 95 as well as Psalms 99 and 100 with Psalms 96-98 but does not include Psalm 93 in the group (see p. 289). Staerk (*Die Psalmen* [2d ed.; Göttingen, 1920], pp. 45-56) and Gunkel (*Die Psalmen* [Göttingen, 1926], pp. 410 ff., 421-30, and *Einleitung in die Psalmen* [Göttingen, 1928], pp. 94-116) consider Psalm 99 as belonging in one and the same group with Psalms 93, 96-98, while S. Mowinkel (*Psalmenstudien*, II, 3 f., 8 ff., 38 ff., 45 ff.) and Hans Schmidt (*Die Thronfahrt Jahuves am Fest der Jahreswende im Alten Israel* [Tübingen, 1927], pp. 4 ff.) include also Psalms 95 and 100; however, in his *Die Psalmen* (HBAT [1934]) Schmidt does not include these two psalms in the group mentioned.

they done so, they would have seen that Psalms 93 and 96-98 are as poems so incomparably superior not only to Psalms 95 and 100 but also to Psalm 99 (which ranks literarily higher than either of the two others) and are, moreover, so conspicuously different from them in rhythmical and melodious qualities that they cannot possibly be the work of the writer of these or of any one of them. And not only in poetic qualities but also in their spiritual content Psalms 93 and 96-98 differ radically from 95, 99, and 100. Thus in Psalms 97 and 96 the words, "The Lord reigns," are followed, respectively, by "Let the earth exult, Let the strands far and wide rejoice," and "Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult," while in Psalm 99 they are, with their parallel clause, continued by "Let the nations tremble, let the earth quake." Further, unlike the broad vision of Psalms 93 and 96-98 of the universal reign of righteousness, the outlook of Psalm 99 is narrow and particularistic, being concerned only with the establishment of "justice and righteousness in Jacob"—an outlook which characterizes also Psalms 95 and 100. Owing to this narrow outlook as well as to the primitive notion associated with their parallel stich, "He is enthroned upon the Cherubim," the words, "The Lord reigns," have a different ring in Psalm 99 from that in Psalms 93 and 96-98, wanting the depth they have in these.

NOT CULT PSALMS

Nor is the latest theory, advanced by a number of interpreters, tenable that Psalms 93 and 96-98, with 47 and 99, or, even further, with 95 and 100, are cult psalms, celebrating Yahweh's enthronement, that is, his entering the sanctuary in triumph and ascending the throne—a celebration which (they think) was in pre-Exilic times yearly re-enacted on the New Year festival.¹⁸ They theorize further that this festival was copied after the Babylonian New Year festival and that the celebration customary in ancient Israel whenever a new king

¹⁸ Mowinkel, Hans Schmidt, Gunkel; also Staerk and Kittel, who label the psalms in question also "eschatological" or "prophetic hymns" and treat them principally from this aspect; Gunkel (*Die Psalmen*) speaks of Psalms 96 and 98 as "eschatological hymns," while Mowinkel, and to a lesser extent also Schmidt, treat ever so many other psalms as *Thronsbesteigungpsalmen*.

ascended the throne stood model for various details of the yearly celebration of Yahweh's accession to his throne, in particular the thoughts to which expression was given on that occasion. Their theory (treated very fascinatingly by Mowinkel), when looked into carefully, proves itself a web of fancy, without basis in fact. Gunkel himself, strange as it may seem, willy-nilly admits this. "To be sure," he says, "it remains a decided disadvantage that anything that we are able to say about this celebration we get only through conjecture. Whatever allusions there are in the poems pertaining to the celebration are very indefinite."¹⁹ He remarks further: "Royal poems, which were sung on the day the new king was anointed and tell about the coronation ceremonies, have not come down to us." Yet regardless of this admission he goes on to reconstruct such songs in detail for his purpose.²⁰ He finally admits that "there is nowhere in either the historical records or law books any allusion to such a festival of Yahweh's accession to his throne," and that "we are very badly informed even about the New Year celebration." But, in spite of these admissions, he goes on to say: "There is however in Babylonia and Assyria such a chief festival, observed in all sanctuaries of prominence, which bears not little resemblance to the presupposed Hebrew celebration"; to which he adds, "The similarity which the Babylonian New Year festival shows to the presupposed Israelitish festival suggests the conjecture that the latter was modeled after the foreign festival."²¹ In the face of these admissions it seems incomprehensible that neither Gunkel nor Mowinkel nor Schmidt was put on his guard and made to realize that he was building on the sand by the elaborate ritual of the Babylonian New Year festival, for the plain, circumstantial contents of this ritual, though in expression here and there reminiscent of the psalms under consideration, are in substance as far apart as the poles.²²

¹⁹ *Einleitung* . . . , pp. 105 f. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 95 ff. ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 109, and 110.

²² This ritual has been published and treated by Zimmern, "Das Babylonische Neujahrsfest," *Der Alte Orient*, Vol. XXV, Heft 3; "Zum Babylonischen Neujahrsfest," *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wissensch.* (Phil. hist. Kl.), LVIII (1906), 126-56; *ibid.* (1918), Vol. LXX, Heft 5; and also in Gressmann, *AOT*, I, 295 ff. See also the remarks on Ps. 47:6, pp. 350 and 352 f.

Their treatment of these psalms suffers, moreover, from a grave error in approach, as Eissfeldt has pointed out.²³ In determining the notion associated with Yahweh as King, they should have taken their cue not from the Babylonian myth of creation, nor from the ritual of the Babylonian New Year festival, celebrating Marduk's ascending his throne, but rather from the fact that the conception and designation of the Deity as King is widespread in Semitic religions and that, what is equally important, the epithet used is the same in all of them—*melek*. Eissfeldt's conclusion cannot be gainsaid. It becomes clinched, moreover, by the fact that in the second oldest psalm which we have, Psalm 68B, dating from the time of Deborah, the singer calls Yahweh indeed "my God and my King"—an example which is centuries older than any adduced by Eissfeldt.

It is clear, then, that neither has the designation of the Deity as King its origin in the cult and myth, nor is its significance in any way related to or colored by these. Rather, the term serves a hymnal purpose or has a social content. It predicates that as their Lord, God grants help and protection to his worshipers. It is important to add that "my God and my King" of Ps. 68B:25 is no exception to the rule but, on the contrary, confirms it, for the following verses 26–28 do not describe a cult procession, as Mowinkel, Schmidt, Gunkel, and even Eissfeldt, have taken them, but tell of the line of march of the victorious tribes of Israel in the celebration of their victory over Sisera. Nor does *halikōtheka halikōth 'ēlī ūmalkī baqodesh* mean "thy festive processions, the festive processions of my God and my King in the sanctuary," but "thy paths, the paths trod in grandeur by my God and my King."²⁴

Eissfeldt has drawn attention to another important point—that *'ādōnai malak* in the psalms under discussion does not mean "The Lord has become King" (as Mowinkel, Gunkel, and Schmidt render) but "The Lord is King," or, more correctly, "The Lord reigns."

²³ In his article "Jahweh als König," *ZATW* (N.F.), V (1928), 81–105.

²⁴ See above, pp. 38, 45, 47.

But as most noteworthy for our purposes it remains to be mentioned that Gunkel himself refuted his theory of these psalms by the sketch of their essence with which he concludes the discussion of them.²⁵ Summarily stated, he sees their essence in the ardent faith which they express in the advent of the universal Kingdom of God and the reign of righteousness the world over, and he adds:

It was at a time when Israel lay prostrate under the rule of the heathen world-power, the gods of which had triumphed, when the name of Yahweh was reviled, and the rule of wickedness was enthroned, that world-conquering faith soared to such assurance. There can be no talk of it that this faith belongs already to the oldest period of Israel, and that it grew out of the cult. Rather it is the achievement of the prophetic spirit,

which is manifest in these psalms.

THEIR INTERRELATION

This brings us to the heart of the matter. How should all the mythological rubbish, which Gunkel, Mowinkel, and Schmidt have read into them, be compatible with such luminous faith, such profound spirituality as is revealed in Psalms 93 and 96-98? Though their common theme is the same as that of Psalm 47—namely, the advent of the Kingdom of God—they are not to be grouped with this psalm (as they commonly are) but are, rather, a distinct group by themselves for more than one reason. First of all, there is no explicit but only implicit mention in Psalm 47 of the concomitant thought which is so prominent in these four psalms—that the universal Kingdom of God will be characterized by the reign of righteousness among men the world over. Another still weightier reason is that the theme is treated in them in strikingly the same way and that they show also a marked similarity in language and style. Thus Psalms 93 and 97 both open with the words, “The Lord reigns,” which in Psalm 96 repeated in the body of the poem, together with the words, “Yea, the world stands firm, immovable,” which in Psalm 93 follow the adjective clauses qualifying “The Lord reigns.” Further, the words, “Let the earth exult, Let the strands far and wide rejoice,” which follow “The Lord

²⁵ *Einleitung* . . . , pp. 114 ff.

reigns" in Psalm 97 are in Psalm 96 varied to "Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult." Similarly, "The earth was over-awed (*wattaḥel*) of Ps. 97:4 is in 96:9 altered to "Be awed (*ḥilū*) before him, all the earth." Note also the similarity between

Let the heavens declare his righteousness,
And let all the nations behold his glory

of Ps. 97:6 and

Declare his glory among the nations

and

He has revealed his righteousness before the eyes of the nations

of Pss. 96:3 and 98:2, respectively; further, between

That thou hast shown thyself supreme over all the gods

of Ps. 97:9 and

August is he, transcending all the gods

of Ps. 96:4. Note likewise that Ps. 97:7 and 9 have the expressions "things of naught" and "all the gods" in common with Ps. 96:4-5.

As to Psalms 98 and 96, both begin and end, respectively, with

Sing unto the Lord a new song

and

To greet the Lord as he comes to judge the earth:
He will judge the earth righteously,
Justly will he pronounce sentence on the nations,

and the lines that precede the identical ending of the two are in thought alike, though different in language except for the line, "Let the sea thunder and all that is in it be roused," and the phrase *yěṛannēnū*, which are verbatim the same in both. As to the lines which follow their common opening, note that "Day by day spread abroad the salvation he has wrought" of Ps. 96:2 and "The Lord has made known his salvation" of Ps. 98:2 have the phrase *yěshū'athō* in common, which is repeated once more in 98:3, and that "Declare . . . his wonderful works among all peoples" (96:3) and "For he has done wonderful things" (98:1) have *niphla'ōth* in common.

RELATION TO ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 40-55

The final reason why these psalms are to be considered as a distinct group by themselves is that, in addition to their marked interrelation, they bear an equally pronounced similarity to Isaiah, chapters 40-55. Thus the significant opening words of these psalms, "The Lord reigns," taken up again in 97:1 and 96:10, and sounding their keynote, is a variation of "Thy God reigns" of Isa. 52:7. "Clothed with grandeur, girded with strength" (*gē'ūth l'abesh 'oz his'azzar*), which in Psalm 93 follows "The Lord reigns," recalls *libshī 'oz zērō'a 'ādōnai*, "Put on strength, O arm of the Lord," of Isa. 51:9, while "Through the ages thou hast been God," with the closing words of Psalm 93, "Lord forevermore," reminds one of Isa. 41:4, "Who but I, the Lord, who am the first, and who will be with the last," as also of the many other parallel passages, in which this thought is again and again reiterated.²⁶

Of expressions which Psalm 97 has in common with Isaiah, chapters 40-55, note, first of all, *'iyīm*, "the strands far and wide"—an expression which, referring in particular to the isles and coastlands of the Aegean Sea, is fairly typical of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, occurring as often as eight times.²⁷ Its frequent occurrence in these prophecies may psychologically be explained by the fact that Deutero-Isaiah wrote them immediately after Cyrus' victory over Croesus of Lydia and his Ionian allies, when his mind was much preoccupied with what had just occurred in these distant regions. I shall mention next "It blazes round about his enemies" (vs. 3), the only other example of *tēlahet* used with *sabīb* being found in Isa. 42:25, *wattēlahātehū missa-bīb*, "It blazed round about it." Verse 7,

They that adore images, they that revel in things of naught,
They can but be confounded

shows similarity to Isa. 42:17, "They that trust in images, that say to molten images, Ye are our gods, shall sink back, covered with shame," while verse 6b, "And let all the nations behold

²⁶ See Isa. 42:8; 44:6, 8; 45:5-6, 14-15, 21-22; 46:9; 48:12, 16.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 40:15; 41:1, 5; 42:4, 10, 12; 49:1; 51:5.

his glory," recalls Isa. 40:5, "That the glory of God may be revealed, and that all flesh may see that it is the mouth of God that speaks." Attention should also be drawn to the similarity between "Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous" (vs. 11) and "That thy people may rejoice in thee" of verse 7 of Psalm 85 of Deutero-Isaiah.

As to Psalms 96 and 98, the line, "Sing unto the Lord a new song," with which each opens, and the line, "Let the sea thunder, and all that is in it be roused," which they have in common (see 96:11*b* and 98:7*a*), are verbatim repetitions of Isa. 42:10*a* and *c* (where, instead of *yōrēdē*, the text read originally *yir'am*), while "Sing unto the Lord, all the earth," following "Sing unto the Lord a new song" in Ps. 96:1, bears resemblance to "Let his praise be sounded all over the earth," which in Isa. 42:10 follows the words, "Sing unto the Lord a new song." Still more marked is the resemblance which "Yea, the world, and they that live in it" (*wěyōshēbē bāh*) of Ps. 98:7 shows to "Yea, the coastlands, and they that dwell in them" (*wěyōshēbēhēm*) of Isa. 42:10, following here as well as there the words, "Let the sea thunder, and all that is in it be roused." There is also notable similarity between Ps. 96:3,

Declare his glory among the nations,
His wonderful works among all peoples

and Isa. 42:12 "Let them give glory unto the Lord, declare his praise in the [distant] coastlands." Still more pronounced is the similarity between the lines of Ps. 96:11*a* and 12-13,

Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult.
. . . . Let the woods be glad and all that is therein,
Let the trees of the forest burst into song before the Lord,

and Isa. 44:23 and 49:13,

Sing, O ye heavens, for the Lord is sure to do it,
Shout, O earth below,
Burst into song, ye mountains and forest alike,
With all the trees therein.

Sing, O heavens, exult, O earth,
Burst into song, ye mountains.

And the parallel lines of Ps. 98:8,

Let them clap their hands by the rivers,
And from every mountain shout their songs,

call for comparison with Isa. 55:12,

The hills and mountains will burst into song before you,
And all trees of the woods will bang their boughs,

with which it has in common the expression *yimḥă'û kaph*, used though with a different connotation. There are four other instances of expressions or sentences of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, which recur verbatim or almost verbatim in Psalm 98: (1) "His holy arm" (vs. 1); (2) "before the eyes of the nations" (vs. 2); (3) "Let the earth far and wide behold the salvation wrought of our God" (vs. 3); and (4) *piṣḥū rannēnū* (vs. 4)—all four of which occur in Isaiah, chapter 52, the first, second, and third in verse 10, and the fourth in verse 9.

AUTHORSHIP

Yet, notwithstanding the pronounced similarity which these psalms show to one another as well as to Isaiah, chapters 40-55, there is not a trace of patchwork or labored imitation in any of them, but rather all four are marked by that freshness and that spontaneity which is the unfailing sign of every work of genius. To illustrate this all-essential point by a few examples, it may be noted with what skill and effect the opening line of Psalm 96,

Sing unto the Lord a new song,

is elaborated by the immediately following lines,

Sing unto the Lord, all the earth,
Sing unto the Lord, praise his name,
Day by day spread abroad the salvation he has wrought.

This elaboration, by which Psalm 96 is differentiated alike from its companion piece, Psalm 98, and the parallel to the common opening of the two in Isa. 42:10, portrays vividly how deeply the poet is stirred by the wonderful doings of God which have inspired him to his new song. Or take another illustration, the words, "The Lord reigns," with which the two first psalms of

the group open and which recur once more in the body of Psalm 96 (vs. 10). These words differ from their parallel, "Thy God reigns," of Isa. 52:7 by the substitution of "The Lord" for "thy God"—a substitution made advisably without doubt. It eminently fits the broad contents of the four psalms, the theme of which is the advent of the universal dominion of God; even as "Thy God reigns" fits the case of Isa. 52:1-2, 7-10, which describes how in the spirit the prophet beholds captive Zion rising out of the dust to new glory, and the first part of which ends pointedly with the words (referring to the harbingers of good tidings), "Who say to Zion, Thy God reigns." But this does not cover the case fully. In Psalm 93 "The Lord reigns" is further differentiated from the parallels in Isa. 52:7 and in Psalms 97 and 96 by the clauses, "Clothed with grandeur, girded with strength," which qualify it and lend to it a distinct beauty of its own. These qualifying clauses in their turn are noticeably differentiated from their parallel in Isa. 51:9, "Clothe thyself with strength, O arm of the Lord," since with "clothed" is "grandeur" combined as the object (in the Hebrew), and with "strength" is "girded" used as the verb. Note also, how in Psalm 97 the poet brings out the broad import of the opening words, "The Lord reigns," by the words which follow, "Let the earth exult, let the strands far and wide rejoice," while in Psalm 96 he obtains the same end by introducing "The Lord reigns" with "Announce among the nations."

It is not necessary to carry the analysis further. The illustrations given are typical of the relationship of the four psalms to one another as well as to Isaiah, chapters 40-55. With exception of the verbatim repetition of Isa. 52:10*b*, "The earth far and wide has seen the salvation wrought of our God" in Ps. 98:3*b*, their points of resemblance strike us more by what differentiates them from one another than by what they have actually in common. This holds good even of "His holy arm" and *piṣḥū wērannēnū* of Ps. 98:1 and 4, respectively, which at first glance may seem two other exceptions, but on closer examination the first will be seen to vary effectively from the identical phrase in Isa. 52:10 by "His right hand," with which

it is coupled, while the second is augmented by *wězamměrū* and forms with it a pleasing trias. These findings, then, bear out what has been maintained above—that the four psalms are unmistakably the work of poetic genius and not, as commonly held, of a second- or third-class writer copying others. This being the case, their common theme, the sameness of spirit that dominates them all, and their pronounced similarity in language and style leave room for one conclusion only—that they must all four be the work of one and the same author, while from their close resemblance to Isaiah, chapters 40–55, it follows that the author can have been none other than Deutero-Isaiah.

THE SPIRIT OF ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 40–55, BREATHES THROUGH THEM

This conclusion is clinched by the fact that it is the world of thought peculiar to him which is revealed in these psalms. They are all four marked by the same spiritual outlook, the same broad universalism and lofty idealism, which characterize his prophecies, Isaiah, chapters 40–55. So close is the similarity that these prophecies are the very key to their interpretation. They have in common with them, first of all, the noteworthy negative trait that there is not even remotely any mention in them of Israelitish world-power, nor even of the messianic kingdom with a scion of David at its head. The absence of this expectation in both writings will be seen in its true significance when it is remembered what prominence the dream of world-dominion and the restoration of the Davidic dynasty have in Ezekiel and the Exilic Psalms 80 and 89B. For our purpose it is important to note that by their disregard of this popular hope the four psalms are distinguished also from the contemporaneous Psalm 47, the author of which cherishes this imperialistic hope, his otherwise advanced views notwithstanding:

He will make us master over the nations,
Bring peoples under our feet,

he declares.

There is nothing more typical of Deutero-Isaiah's trend of thought than his disdain for this fond dream. Unlike Ezekiel, he does not consider Israel as the center or sole object of God's

interest, nor does he look upon its redemption as an end in itself; rather he regards Israel as but part of the general plan and its rebirth as the means to a larger end. By the transformation of Zion from a barren waste into a flourishing country, he emphasizes at the very opening of his prophecies,

The glory of God will be revealed,
That all flesh may see,
That it is the mouth of the Lord that speaks;

and goes on to explain that by this revelation men will be made to realize that back of the transient, visible world there is an eternal, invisible world—God and his universal plan of salvation.²⁸ The rest is but a detailed exposition of how the divine plan is to be materialized. Israel, that has experienced and knows God, has by virtue of its experience been destined “for a light to the nations, that the salvation of God may reach to the ends of the earth,” or, as he also puts it, that “unto God every knee may bow, and every tongue may swear but by the Lord.”²⁹ To this end, we are told, God has summoned Cyrus to the scene of history and is leading him from victory to victory. He has assigned him the task of overthrowing Babylonia, “the mistress of kingdoms,” ruling with tyranny, of dethroning her gods and exposing their impotence, so that the way may be cleared for the reign of righteousness on earth—the goal for which the world has been created from the first:³⁰

Shower righteousness, ye heavens above,
Let the skies pour it down:
Let the earth open her bosom,
That salvation and righteousness may burgeon and grow;³¹

or, as he expresses it in the Exilic Psalm 85:

Love and truth shall meet,
Righteousness and peace shall kiss each other:
Truth shall spring up from the earth,
And righteousness shall look down from heaven.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 40:3-8.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 42:6; 49:6; 45:22-24: 'ak ba'ḏḏōnai of vs. 24 is to be joined to vs. 23 and lē mōr is to be read instead of li 'āmar.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 45:18-19, where this thought is expressly stated; see p. 335.

³¹ See *ibid.*, 41:2-4, 25; 43:14; 44:28-45:8, 13; 46:1-2; 47:5-7; 48:14-15; also 51:4-6.

To find the transformation of society described in the foregoing passage of Deutero-Isaiah as the direct sequel of the expected overthrow of Babylonia by Cyrus is not surprising in the light of what we have seen above as to how Deutero-Isaiah came to place such high hopes in him. So convinced is he that the fall of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel will lead in the end to the universal recognition of God and the regeneration of all mankind that he bids all the world—society and nature alike—burst into song and render praise unto God for the salvation about to be accomplished.³²

DATE AND OCCASION

The same conviction, the same staunch faith, and the same world-embracing hope are expressed in Psalms 93, 97, and 98-96. When these psalms were written, the initial act of salvation as unfolded in Isaiah, chapters 40-55, had been fulfilled. The Babylonian world-power had been overthrown, and Israel set free and restored to nationhood. This is clear, first of all, from the opening strophe of Psalm 98:

Sing unto the Lord a new song,
For he has done wonderful things:
His right hand and his holy arm have won him victory.
The Lord has made known his salvation,
He has revealed his righteousness before the eyes of the nations.
He has thought of his love for Jacob,
And of his faithfulness to the house of Israel.
The earth far and wide has seen the salvation wrought of our God.

The persistent use of the perfect throughout these verses (without any alternation with the imperfect) shows that the poet speaks of what has happened and not of what he visions as sure to happen. Nor does the language of these lines leave any doubt about the event to which he is referring. The victory "His holy arm has won him" and "the salvation wrought of our God," which "the earth far and wide has seen" as "He thought of his love for Jacob," can be none other than Cyrus' victory over Babylonia and the ensuing deliverance of Israel, for, in predicting these events as imminent (in Isa. 52:9-10),

³² Cf. *ibid.*, 42:10-12; 44:23; 49:13.

Deutero-Isaiah employed the self-same language. What more natural than that this language should have spontaneously suggested itself to him now that he sings of them as accomplished?

In a like manner do the lines of Psalm 97,

Zion has heard and rejoices,
The towns of Judah exult because of thy judgments,

make it plain that as a result of the judgments of God, described in detail in the preceding part of the psalm, a joyous change of fortune has come about for Zion. The lines receive additional definiteness when it is remembered that they are practically a verbatim quotation from Psalm 48, which was inspired by the miraculous deliverance of Zion from Assyria in the year 701 B.C. On first thought the quotation might seem to be indicative of a lack of resourcefulness on the part of the poet. Looking into it more carefully, however, it appears more probable that he quoted the lines intentionally, if not spontaneously, because of the similarity between what happened then and what has occurred now: as then, even so now Judah has been saved from death and extinction by the judgment God has executed.

The directly following lines are still more weighty:

Light has dawned for the righteous,
Joy has come to the upright of heart;

for they show that the singer sees in what has just transpired on the scene of history the dawn of a new era, the promise that the reign of righteousness is in the process of approach, and so recall the conviction which Deutero-Isaiah expresses in Isa. 45:8—that by Cyrus' overthrow of Babylonia and the establishment of his own dominion the way will be paved for "righteousness and salvation to burgeon and grow." Likewise by the description given in the first strophe of God's judgments, which have revealed him as the supreme Lord of the universe, which the world has beheld awe-struck, does the poet make it clear that he speaks of a most momentous happening in history—such as the downfall of Babylonia indeed was.

There is one other prominent feature, common to all four psalms, which bears on the question of their date and occasion.

The exultant tone which rings through every line of them shows that the poet sings of present occurrences which have filled his heart with joy to overflowing. To maintain in the face of this feature that these psalms are eschatological hymns, celebrating Yahweh's future world-dominion, is nothing short of ignoring the elementary principles of sound interpretation.

But although the wicked rule of mighty Babylonia had ended, and "downtrodden, abhorred" Israel had been resurrected to new life and existence, neither the one nor the other event affected the world as Deutero-Isaiah had dreamed that they would. Nor did the humane rule of Cyrus produce the expected spiritual change in the fabric of society. Naturally so, for men who view history with a prophet's eye have been scarce in every age. Even the blind masses of Israel were not awakened from their spiritual stupor by God's revelation to them. But though he saw his hopes deferred, Deutero-Isaiah could not be daunted. Conscious of his own words in Isa. 51:6,

Though the heavens vanish like smoke,
Though the earth wear out like a garment,
And the inhabitants thereof die like gnats,³³
Yet my salvation shall endure forever,
And the triumph of my righteousness shall not be thwarted,

he reaffirms his faith in the ultimate realization of God's plan of salvation with undiminished ardor in the four psalms under consideration.

PLAN AND STRUCTURE

These four psalms are so skilfully knit together that they are in reality a single poem consisting of four parts. The order in which the four parts followed one another originally must have been as follows: 93, 97, 98, 96. Psalm 93 is the prelude, sounding the keynote, which is developed in Psalm 97; Psalms 98 and 96 are the finale, so to speak.

In the opening words of the prelude, "The Lord reigns," the keynote of the song is struck, with an effect as marked as their brevity. The universalistic import of the words requires no further comment, having being duly dwelt upon above. In con-

³³ Read *kinnām*.

formity with what is appropriate in a prelude, the poet does not go into the events by which the sovereignty of God has been manifested to all the world but touches instead on the sequel of this supreme manifestation, in words rivaling the opening lines in terseness:

Yea, firm stands the world, immovable.

Their meaning is plain from Isa. 45:18-19, where Deutero-Isaiah declares that God did not create the world nor reveal himself to Israel aimlessly but to the end that the earth may become a true abode for men through the reign of justice and righteousness. There is nothing ambiguous about the leading line, "The Lord reigns," since the poet goes on to emphasize that the throne of the God of the ages has been established of old, which means, ever since creation—another thought elucidated by Isaiah, chapters 40-55, where it is repeatedly dwelt upon.³⁴

The second strophe equals the first in pith and simplicity of description. Enlarging upon "Clothed with grandeur, girded with strength," the singer by one bold stroke depicts the incomparable sublimity of God, whose majesty transcends all the grandeur of nature—even the overwhelming sight of the stormy, raging sea:

Seas fill the air with their thunder,
Seas fill the air with the roar of their angry waves;
But more majestic than the mighty roar of the waters is God on high,
More majestic than the stormy surge of the sea.

Into these lines of simple beauty recent interpreters have read far-fetched mythological notions, forgetting that the tempestuous sea was for the ancient Hebrew a spectacle of overawing grandeur, even as it has been for men of all ages and climes. Proof of this, if at all necessary, is the description which Psalm 107B gives of a storm at sea, as also the line in Job (30:14):

Wave upon wave they sweep in amidst crash and ruin.³⁵

³⁴ Cf. Isa. 40:18, 21, 25 f.; 45:12; 48:12 f.; note that in 43:13 *miyôm* is used with the same meaning as *me'âz* is in the psalm here.

³⁵ See also the notes on Ps. 93:3-4.

The prelude ends as it began, by sounding again the keynote: "O Lord forevermore," which is a highly effective variation of "The Lord reigns" as well as of the line complementary to it, "Through the ages thou hast been God."

The first part of the ending, "Holiness adorns thy house," presents much the same case as does "In His Temple everything calls out, Glory!" of Psalm 29. Here as there the context shows that by "thy house" nature or the universe is meant, not the sanctuary. These words leave, therefore, no room for the inference which Baethgen has drawn from them—that the Temple must have been standing when the psalm was written. By "Thy revelations are most true" the poet has reference to God's revelations in history, in particular to the eminent one which has just been experienced and which has inspired his song. Note what prominence the thought of God's revelation in history occupies in Deutero-Isaiah's prophecies, Isaiah, chapters 40–55; how he opens them with the words, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, speaks ever more clearly³⁶ your God," by which he means to say that God is speaking through contemporary events—through the rise and the victories of Cyrus; note, also, how he emphasizes this thought again and again,³⁷ even as he declares repeatedly that God has pre-eminently revealed himself in the destiny of Israel, especially through his prophets, who have interpreted his will and purpose truly, and Deutero-Isaiah considers himself one of these.³⁸ All this illumines "Thy revelations are most true."³⁹

Opening the second part of the song, the singer sounds the keynote again in order to develop it. He dwells first on the universal import of the words, "The Lord reigns." Men the world over, he says, must rejoice at the manifestation of the sovereignty of God and the attendant demonstration of the unreality of other gods. Then he tells of the two momentous happenings by which God's supremacy has been revealed—the execution of judgment on Babylonia and the ensuing deliver-

³⁶ See pp. 19 f.

³⁷ Cf. Isa. 43:19; 45:21; 46:10 ff.

³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 41:26 f.; 42:9; 43:10; 44:8; 48:3–7, 14–16.

³⁹ Cf. also the note on the words, p. 341.

ance of Israel from the Babylonian bondage. In describing the first, he employs largely figurative language, suggested by the primitive notion that the thunderstorm is the supreme manifestation of God, but he does it with such skill that the crude notion is transformed into a marvelous piece of imagery, which suggests rather than states in so many words that Babylonia suffered overthrow at the hand of God. By closing the description with the reflection that, seeing His judgments, "the earth was overawed," overawed "at the presence of the Lord of the universe," the poet sounds again the keynote in different words, in much the same way as he does in the conclusion of the prelude by "O Lord forevermore."

In the second strophe he thereupon bids all nations behold the glory of God as revealed by these happenings and bids the heavens declare his righteousness—a seeming inversion of things, which is elucidated by the lines of Isa. 45:8,

Shower righteousness, ye heavens above,
Let the skies pour it down.

He then goes on to say that all idol worshipers can but be confounded, realizing as they must that their gods have sunk into the dust. Here as well as in the parallel line which precedes,

Thou hast shown thyself supreme over all the gods,

the reference is to the gods of the Babylonian pantheon, who have been powerless to avert the downfall of their devotees. On this point Deutero-Isaiah is more explicit in his song of derision over the imminent fall of Babylon, which begins:

Bel has sunk into the dust, Nebo has been laid low,
Their images have been transferred upon beasts,
They that were wont to be carried about by you,
They have been loaded upon the jaded animals.
They have been brought low, they have sunk into the dust,
Helpless to save their burden:
They must go into captivity themselves.⁴⁰

The second strophe concludes with an appeal to the righteous, who can see the dawn of the new day, to rejoice in the Lord and sing his praise.

⁴⁰ Isa. 46:1-2, which formed originally the beginning of chap. 47.

The beginning of the next part, that is, the first part of the finale, shows how skilfully the various parts of the quadripartite song are knit together to a harmonious whole. Working up to a climax, the poet repeats with greater intensity the appeal which he has just addressed to the righteous, bidding them "Sing unto the Lord a new song"—a song worthy of the "wonderful things He has done" and expressing that of which their heart is full. Still more noteworthy is that, although the singer is elated beyond expression over the marvelous rebirth of his people, he shows that he has outgrown all narrow nationalism, that his supreme concern is the rise of a new humanity. In the foreground of his thought is (as in the previous part) the effect which he hopes Israel's redemption will have on the nations far and wide. He is convinced that they cannot help seeing in it a revelation of Yahweh as the God of righteousness and realizing that the way to salvation has been shown to them. Consistent with this conviction, he goes on in the second strophe to bid all the earth burst into song and hail the Lord King and Savior of the world. So carried away is he in his enthusiasm over the universal salvation which is sure to come that he bids animate and inanimate nature alike to chime in with men's song of redemption and to "greet the Lord as he comes to judge [the rest of] the earth" as he has judged Babylon already. Consonant with the emphasis he lays in this as well as the previous part on the all-essential thought, that righteousness is the supreme attribute of God, he concludes the third part:

He will judge the world righteously,
Justly will he pronounce sentence on the nations.

As if this final goal of the revelation of God had already been realized, the poet in the second part of the finale bids all the earth "sing unto the Lord a new song," which is but another vivid portrayal of the surety of his faith—his absolute certainty that the goal is within sight. Whereupon he goes on to urge those of Israel who share his zealous faith to "spread abroad the salvation God has wrought" without cease and

tiring. In other words, he reminds them of the arduous missionary work which they must carry on before this final goal of God's revelation can become a reality—a thought which occupies great prominence in Isaiah, chapters 40–55. Not only is it the theme of the four songs of the servant,⁴¹ but it is also emphasized again and again throughout the rest of the prophecies, which are in reality pivoted on the songs of the servant. It will suffice for our purpose to quote 42:4, 6:

He will not tire nor weary,
Until he has set forth religious truth on earth,
And the distant coastlands await his revelation.

I have destined thee and set thee up
For my covenant's sake with humankind,
For a light to the nations.⁴²

There follows then in these psalms a brief eulogy of God as an example, as it were, of the missionary work which he exhorts the righteous to take up. Then he repeats in different language and with greater fervor the appeal to the races of the earth to give glory unto God and to "worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness."

He concludes the song in the same way he opened it, by sounding the keynote, "The Lord reigns," once again and following it up as in the prelude with the words, "Yea, the world stands firm, immovable," the import of which is well known by this time. This repetition is another excellent illustration of the subtle poetic unity of the song and the surpassing skill of the poet; as is also the renewed appeal to all nature—the heavens and the earth, the sea and the woods—to "burst into song before the Lord, as he comes to judge the earth," with the verbatim repetition of the two lines with which the appeal in the first part of the finale was concluded. The renewed appeal and the repetition are a consistent elaboration of the keynote by which the poet in the conclusion of his song emphasizes once more that the sequel of the advent of God will be the universal

⁴¹ These are Isa. 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12.

⁴² Cf. also *ibid.*, 48:20 and 49:6, quoted above (p. 285).

reign of righteousness. It is the same line of thought as he has developed earlier in Isa. 51:4-5:

Hearken unto me, O ye peoples,
Give ear unto me, O ye nations,⁴³
For a revelation shall go forth from me,
And the award I will render shall be as a light to the nations.
Presently will I bring nigh⁴⁴ the triumph of my righteousness,
Will my arm dispense justice to the nations.
The strands far and wide shall await me,
Hopefully shall they look for the manifestation of my arm.

Like his prophecies, Isaiah, chapters 40-55, the song, "The Lord Reigns," is a monument of Deutero-Isaiah's invincible faith, transcending in its heavenward flight the bounds of time and material conditions. One wonders which of the two is the greater, but one thing is sure—the thirst for righteousness has not anywhere been expressed with more fervor and beauty than in this sublime song. Nor can the passionate love for all humanity that breathes through it well be surpassed. As a piece of literary art the song may be described as an example of the simplicity of greatness.

93:1. *The Lord reigns*] The perfect *malak* has both here and in Pss. 97:1 and 96:10 the force of the present tense, describing an existing and enduring state, as vs. 2 shows.

Clothed with grandeur, girded with strength] Omit, with Baethgen, Buhl-Kittel, and others, the second *labesh* and 'āḏōnai following it as dittography: *ge'ūth labesh* and 'oz *hith'azzar* are nice examples of circumstantial clauses.

immovable] *Bal timmōt* is another circumstantial clause.

2-4. *thou hast been God*] Read, with Targ., at the end of verse 2 בָּנָה, which is the nominal predicate of 'atta: cf. Ps. 90:2. In the Hebrew, 'ēl became changed to 'āḏōnai, which was subsequently misplaced into the following verse, owing to the fact that the marginal correction *nasē'ū* of *yis'ū* was, with its cue word *nēharōth*, inserted at random before 'āḏōnai; for note that neither is the vocative 'āḏōnai to the point in vs. 3, nor is there another example of a similar usage of it.

Seas fill the air with their thunder, Seas fill the air with the roar of their angry waves] Direct proof that *nasē'ū* of the present first stich was originally a marginal correction of *yis'ū* and the *nēharōth* cue word may be seen in ἐπὶ ἡρᾶν οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐπιτρίψουσιν αὐτῶν of Pars. 183 in place of the Hexaplaric ἀρούσιν κτλ of the unicals, with exception of A, and ninety-one cursives, also in ἐπὶ ἡρᾶν ποταμῶν βάθῃ αὐτῶν of Aq., who, it is interesting to note, makes a wild guess

⁴³ Read 'ammim and 'ummim.

⁴⁴ Take 'argi'a, with which vs. 4 ends, with vs. 5.

at *dōki* and ignores even such an elementary rule as that of the genitive construction. The original reading נשנ instead of *yis'ū* does away with the change from the perfect to the imperfect, which in the present case—that is, emphatic repetition of the verb and its subject—would be contrary to rule and usage. The view of the latest interpreters to the contrary,⁴⁵ there is not even a remote allusion in vss. 3-4 to the ancient Babylonian myth of creation, specifically, the defeat, which Tiāmat and her helpers, opposing the creation, suffered at the hand of Yahweh. To be convinced of this, one has but to compare such passages as Isa. 51:9; Job 7:12; 9:13; 26:12-13, and also Isa. 27:1, in which Marduk's victory over Tiāmat is actually transferred to Yahweh. Nor are the verses figure of speech for "the heaving waves of the sea of nations, lashing themselves into fury against the rock of Yahweh's throne,"⁴⁶ but they tell in plain language that the grandeur of God transcends even the overawing sight of the surging sea. By the perfects *nasē'ū* the phenomenon is, in accordance with the nature of the case, described as one of constant occurrence. By *nēharōth* the "surf" or "currents of the sea" is meant: cf. Ps. 24:2; Isa. 44:27; Jonah 2:4; *qōl* means, as often, "thunder" or "roar": cf. Psalm 29; Job 37:4-5; and *dōki*, which occurs only here, denotes the crashing of the swollen—or angry—waves, while the idiom *nasē'ū* cannot be rendered literally but can be expressed only by an equivalent English idiom like *fill the air*.

But more majestic than the mighty roar of the waters is God on high, More majestic than the stormy surge of the sea] The text of vs. 4 is clearly in disorder, being no properly construed Hebrew. First of all, *'addir bammarōm 'ādōnai* is not in its proper place but stood originally after *mayim rabbim*. In the course of transmission these words were omitted and put in the lateral margin, obviously to the left of the text line, whence in the next copy they were mechanically joined to the end of the line instead of being inserted after *mayim rabbim*, as the copyist responsible for the omission had indicated that they should by the *pasek* which he put before the phrase. Further, instead of *'addirim mishbērē*, the text read originally, with different word division, אדיר מיִשְׁבְּרֵי, as emended by Dyserinck and others.

5. *Thy revelations*] *'Edūth* connotes the evidence which nature and history furnish of the existence of God and his rule of the world: as an analogy the frequent use of *μαρτυρεῖν* in the New Testament with similar connotation may be compared.⁴⁷

adorns] This seems to me to be the meaning of the Pilel *na'awā*: cf. *'anwēhū* (of the byform *nawā*), "I will glorify him," Exod. 15:2.

97:9. This verse, which has no force in its present place, fits excellently as a continuation of vs. 1.

2. *Misty darkness*] *'Anān wa'draphel* is a nice case of hendiadys.

Justice and righteousness are the foundation of his throne] Cf. Ps. 89A:15, where the same thought is expressed in almost identical words. The practical identity of the two does not, however, constitute a clear case of dependence,

⁴⁵ Staerk, Kittel, Gunkel, Mowinkel.

⁴⁶ Delitzsch, Baethgen, Kirkpatrick, and others.

⁴⁷ See Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon N. T.*, s.v.

since in Psalm 89A "Love and truth go before thee" follows "Justice and righteousness are the foundation of thy throne."

3. *Lightning went before him, It blazed*] *Tēlek* and *tēlahet* are imperfects of reiterated action, describing the lightning and its baleful effect, in accordance with the nature of the case, as recurring.

6. *Let the heavens declare*] As in Ps. 83:11, the precative perfect *higgīdu* functions as equivalent to an optative. This force of *higgīdu*, aside from being suggested by Isa. 45:8, is clear from the perfect with *waw conversivum* which follows.

7. *can but be confounded*] This is the modal force with which the imperfect is used here.

Since . . . have crumbled into dust or have sunk into the dust] Cf. that in the parallel lines, Isa. 46:1-2, referred to above, the synonym *kara'* is used with the same meaning. We have here paratactical sentence structure: vs. 7a is the main sentence and vs. 7b the logical causal clause.

10. The poetic unity is marred by the reflections in vs. 10, the first part of which was originally an omission from Ps. 101:6, and the second from Ps. 103:6.

11. *has dawned*] Read, with one MS and the Versions, יָרָא.

12. *his holy name*] Other examples of *zeker* denoting "name" are Exod. 3:15 and Pss. 30:5; 102:13; it is, in fact, the primary meaning of the word, as Assy. *zikru*, "name," shows.

98:3. *for Jacob*] Read, with Gr., לְיַעֲקֹב after *ḥasdō*: note that in the *pasek* after this word we have still an indication that *lēya'āqōb* was at one time read also in the Hebrew.

5. *to the strains of the lyre*] Omit, with nine MSS, Syr., and some codd. of Gr., the second *bēkinnōr* as dittography.

8. *Let them clap their hands by the rivers And from every mountain shout*] *Nēharōth* cannot be subject of *yimḥā'ū*, since "clap their hands" cannot be said of rivers, not even figuratively: note that in the parallel, Isa. 55:12, *yimḥā'ū kaph* means "All the trees of the woods bang their boughs," "bough" being one of the meanings of *kaph*. It is hence evident that *nēharōth* and *harim* are accusatives of place and that the subject of *yimḥā'ū* and *yērannēnū* is "They that live therein" of vs. 7.

96:4. *transcending*] Prepositions in Hebrew are primarily nouns used in the adverbial case: in 'al here we have an example of its original nominal function.

6-8. *in his sanctuary*] The heavens or universe are meant, as may be seen from the variant "in His place" of I Chron. 16:27, where we have in vss. 22-33 another version of Psalm 96.

come into his courts] It follows from the variant "come before Him" or "into His presence" of vs. 29 of the version in Chronicles that "his courts" is not to be taken literally, but is like *sē'ū minḥa*, "do homage," a figure of speech. It is clear, therefore, that the verse furnishes no basis for the inference Baethgen has drawn from it that the Temple was rebuilt at the time Psalm 96 was written.

11. *be roused*] *Yir'am* is a case of zeugma.

13a. *As he comes*] Omit the second *ki bā'* as dittography; it is missing in eight MSS, in the parallel text Ps. 98:9, and in I Chron. 16:33 (Buhl-Kittel).

13b, 10c. Vs. 10c, *yadīn 'ammīm bēmēsharīm*, where found at present, after "Yea, the world stands firm, immovable," is clearly not in its original place: it disturbs the sequence and is besides missing in the parallel line in I Chron. 16:30, where "Let the heavens rejoice," etc., follows "Yea, the world stands firm, immovable." Now, since in Ps. 98:9 (the parallel to Ps. 96:13), *wē'ammīm bēmēsharīm* follows *yishpoṭ tēbēl bēṣedek* as a complementary member, it may safely be concluded that similarly in Psalm 96 *yadīn 'ammīm bēmēsharīm* stood originally in vs. 13 after *yishpoṭ tēbēl bēṣedek* and that *wē'ammīm bē'ēmūnathō* was originally a marginal variant.

II. PSALMS OF OTHER WRITERS INSPIRED BY THE REBIRTH OF THE NATION

The rebirth of Israel was such a unique occurrence, beyond all previous human experience, as Deutero-Isaiah emphasizes in the fourth song of the servant,⁴⁸ that it is not to be wondered at that others besides him were inspired to expression by it. As many as six other writers have each left a psalm commemorating this momentous event. These psalms are 47, 65A, 66, 99A, 113, and 148 + 117, with which originally Psalm 148 concluded. What lends them special significance is the fact that they bear evidence that Deutero-Isaiah did not labor in vain, but that he influenced other writers of his day by his religious idealism, his belief that Israel's redemption was the supreme revelation of God before all the world to the end that all mankind might be led to Him. These six psalmists, however, were not all equally receptive to his broad hope. While his lofty universalism stirred some to the very depths of their soul and shaped the tendency and outlook of their songs, it affected the others only superficially, leaving no deep impression on the views expressed in their psalms. Measured by the degree of his influence, by which also their respective spiritual value may be gauged, these six psalms rank as follows: 65A, 113, 47, 66, 148 + 117, 99A, in which order we shall consider them. These psalms are of importance also in another respect. They confirm what has been pointed out above—that, while Deutero-Isaiah wrote Isaiah, chapters 40–55, and his psalms, there were other writers of rank living in the ruined cities of Judah.

A. PSALM 65A

*

- 2 Praise is due thee, O God, in Zion,
And the vows made to thee shall be redeemed.

⁴⁸ Isa. 52:15: "What never before had been told shall they see,
And what never before had been heard of shall they perceive."

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David. A Song.

- 3 Thou dost hearken to prayers:
Let mankind come to thee.
- 4 Though iniquities overwhelm us,
Thou blottest out our transgressions.
- 5 Blessed is the man whom thou dost choose
And admit to dwell in thy courts.
Oh, that we may be filled with the bliss of thy house, thy
holy temple!
- 6 Wonderful in righteousness,
Thou answerest our prayers, God of our salvation,
Hope of the ends of the earth and of the far-distant sea
shores,
- 7 Who, girded with might,
Settest up mountains in thy strength,
- 8 Who stillest the tempest of the seas† and the tumult of
nations,
- 9 So that the inhabitants of far-off regions are awed
At the signs of thy presence—
The regions of the rising sun and the setting sun.‡

The fact that the psalm has come down combined into one with Psalm 65B, an ancient incantation for rain, has, as is only natural, interfered seriously with its interpretation. It has been responsible for the general failure on the part of modern exegetes to recognize its date and meaning. Even Briggs and Gunkel are no exception to the rule, though they have treated verses 10-14 as an originally separate piece.

Yet the event which inspired the psalm is so clearly portrayed that already the Jewish Alexandrian translators (influenced by the tradition current in their days) had no difficulty in identifying it as the deliverance from the Babylonian Exile. Evidence of this is the excellently attested addition to the heading in the Greek Version: "An Ode of Jeremiah and Ezekiel from the narrative of the captivity when they set about to go forth."⁴⁹

† *The tempest of their waves.*

‡ As to *tarnin*, see note on Ps. 65B:14.

⁴⁹ Cf. Rahlfs, "Proleg.," *Septuaginta*, X, 64 f.

The writer of the psalm is so completely under the sway of the broad universalism of Deutero-Isaiah that the significance of Israel's redemption for humanity at large is for him the supreme issue, eclipsing every other. After beginning that praise is due to God in Zion and that the vows made to him (in the night of affliction—a point on which Psalm 66 is most explicit) shall be redeemed, for God has hearkened to their prayers, he breaks off to state with dramatic abruptness what is uppermost in his mind:

Let mankind come to thee.

In the next strophe he reiterates this issue with more emphasis than ever by declaring that God is the hope of men the world over. The influence of Deutero-Isaiah is markedly in evidence also in the lines:

Though iniquities overwhelm us,
Thou blottest out our transgressions.

They show that, unlike the writer of Psalm 66, who sees in the deliverance from Babylonia proof positive of Israel's guiltlessness, the author of Psalm 65A is deeply conscious of the people's sinfulness and like Deutero-Isaiah considers their redemption an act of divine grace, by which God has blotted out their iniquities so that they might not be barred from salvation.

Finally the line,

Who stillest the tempest of the seas and the tumult of nations,

refers to the conflict that convulsed the entire oriental world when Amasis of Egypt formed with Nabonid of Babylonia and Croesus of Lydia an alliance against Cyrus—a conflict that ended with Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia. Proof of this is that in the following lines the psalmist goes on to say:

So that the inhabitants of far-off regions are awed at the signs of
thy presence—
The regions of the rising sun and the setting sun.

In much the same way Deutero-Isaiah in Psalm 97 concludes his description of the overthrow which Babylonia suffered at the hand of God: "Seeing" God's judgments, "the earth was

overawed"—overawed "at the presence of the Lord of the universe."

2. *is due*] Vocalize, with the Versions, רָמִיָּה, as Ewald and most interpreters have emended.

5. *Blessed is the man*] Since the grammatical rule demands that 'ashrē be followed by a *nomen rectum*, it is obvious that אָדָם or הָאִישׁ dropped out from the text, an indication of which may still be seen in the *pasek* after 'ashrē.

6. *Wonderful*] Read, with Gr. and Hier., נִרְאָה : here, too, we have an indication, in the *pasek* after the word, that in the archetype the correction had been made in the margin.

sea shores] Read רִאִים (Graetz, Wellhausen, and others).

7. *in thy strength*] Read, with Gr. and Hier., בְּכֹחֶךָ.

8. An indication that *shē'ōn gallēhēm* was originally a marginal gloss may still be seen in the *pasek*'s, the first of which—the one before *shē'ōn y.*—was put in to indicate the phrase to which the gloss pertained, while the second originally was put in the margin before the gloss and, with the gloss, was taken into the text in the next copy. This strange procedure illustrates, as do the two previous cases and the many other examples of the kind, in what reverence Holy Writ was held: not only the verbal text but every dot, flourish, or sign of whatever sort was considered sacred and was hence painstakingly preserved.

B. PSALM 113

Praise ye the Lord.

- 1 Praise, O ye servants of the Lord,
Praise the name of the Lord:
- 2 Praised be the name of the Lord
Now and forevermore.
- 3 From the rising of the sun to his setting
Let the name of the Lord be praised.
- 4 The Lord is supreme over all the nations;
His glory transcends the heavens.
- 5-6 Who in the heaven or on earth
Is like unto the Lord our God,
Who is enthroned on high,
Yet condescends to look far below?
- 7 He lifts up the poor from the dust,
Raises the wretched from the dunghill
- 8 To seat them beside princes,

- And assign to them a place of honor.*
 9 He sets up the barren woman in her home
 As the joyful mother of children.
 Praise ye the Lord.

Like the song, Psalms 93, 97, 98, and 96, Psalm 113 bids all men to let the praise of God resound all the world over and motivates the appeal with the declaration that this incomparable God, transcending the heavens in glory, is the Sovereign of the world who controls the affairs of men below from his throne on high. From this similarity between them it may be deduced that Psalm 113 is singing of the same epochal event as Deutero-Isaiah's song. And the deduction is made certain by the more weighty fact that in the following part of the psalm the poet goes on to describe the change of fortune which has come to his people by much the same figure Deutero-Isaiah employs in his vision of Israel's transformation in Isa. 52:2, 54:1, and 49:21-22. In the first of these passages, he says to captive Jerusalem, "Shake thyself from the dust, arise from it," while in the two others he depicts Zion restored under the figure of a once barren, childless woman gladdened with numerous offspring. As to the figure, "He raises the wretched from the dunghill," which is a distinctly oriental figure, note that conversely Lam. 4:5 describes Zion overthrown as "hugging the dunghill."

Psalm 113 is on a par with the writings of Deutero-Isaiah in originality of style and description. And as in poetic skill, so does the writer measure up to his master in his lofty universalism. As for Deutero-Isaiah, so for him the God of Israel is the God of history and the supreme ruler of the world. Both are possessed by the ardent desire that His praise be proclaimed among all races and in all lands "from the rising of the sun to his setting."

1. *Hallelūyāh* at the beginning as well as at the end of the psalm seems to me to be a later liturgical addition.

4. *His glory transcends*] *Rām* is a case of zeugma and is to be construed as predicate also with *kēbōdō*.

5-6. *Who in heaven or on earth*] The adverbial phrases *bashshamāyīm*

* Cf. I Sam. 2:8.

ūba'areš are to be construed with *mī*. Their sentence position, which is grammatically unassailable, was primarily determined by the cadence of the lines.

Yet condescends to look far below] *Hammashpīli*, besides being complementary to *lir'ōth*, functions as a potential participle.

8. *To seat them*] Though Gr. reads *lēhōshibō*, the reading of the Hebrew is equally correct: according to this reading the objects of vs. 7 are to be construed also with *lēhōshibi*, being a case of brachylogy.

beside princes] Vs. 8 read originally *lēhōshibi 'im nēdībē*, נְדִיבֵי, or *'ammim*, as is shown by the fact that *'im nēdībim* of the first stich is missing in one MS, Syr., and Sah. and that Syr. reads, in fact, *'am*; and still more conclusive in that in I Sam. 2:8, where vss. 8 and 9 of Psalm 113 are quoted, the original text, as Gr. shows, reads *lēhōshibō 'im nēdībē 'ammim*; *nēdībē 'ammim* denotes "princes" in the sense of rulers of the country, as Num. 21:18 shows, where it is used as synonym of *sārim*; cf. also Ps. 47:10, where *nēdībē 'ammim* denotes "rulers of the world." The present reading of the verse is to be accounted for by the fact that *'am* was omitted in the course of transmission and, with *'im nēdībē* prefixed to it as a cue, was put in the lateral margin to the left of the text line, whence in the next copy it was, with the cue, joined mechanically to the end of the line. The reading *nēdībim* of the first stich is a very natural subsequent erratum, as is also the reading *'ammō*.

And assign to them a place of honor] Since vs. 8 is in its poetic structure obviously incomplete, I deduce from I Sam. 2:8 that the verse read originally as second stich, וְנָתַן כְּבוֹד נְדִיבֵי.

9. *He sets up the barren woman in her home*] *'Āqereth* is absolute state and *habbayith* is an accusative of place, as understood, in fact, by Gr., Hier., and Syr. As in many other cases of the kind, pointed out before, Hebrew does not use a possessive pronoun with *habbayith*, although English requires it.

C. PSALM 47

*

- 2 Clap your hands, all ye nations;
Sing unto God with a triumphant voice;
- 3 For august is the Lord, most high,
He rules supreme over all the earth.
- 4 He will make us master over the nations,
Bring peoples under our power.
- 5 He will make great our heritage,
The pride of Jacob, whom he loves.
- 6 God has entered amid peals of triumph
And the blast of trumpets.
- 7 Sing praises unto God, sing praises,
Sing praises unto our King, sing praises,

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of the Korahites.

- 8 For God is King over all the earth:
Sing unto him your carols of devotion.
- 9 God reigns over the nations;
He sits on his holy throne.
- 10 Let the princes of the world be gathered,
To become one with the people of the God of Abraham;
For the chiefs of the earth have to answer to God,
Who is highly exalted.

Like Psalm 113, the psalm opens with a spirited appeal to all nations to sing unto God with shouts of triumph. In the next strophe the appeal is repeated with more animation, and, coupled with it, the conviction is expressed that the peoples of the earth have just witnessed the revelation of God as the Lord and supreme ruler of the world. There cannot be any doubt as to the revelation that is referred to, since the concluding lines of the first strophe are elucidated by Isa. 40:1-11. Here Deutero-Isaiah tells how he hears a call sounded:

In the wilderness⁵⁰ clear the way for the Lord,
Prepare in the desert a highway for our God
That the glory of the Lord may be revealed,
And all flesh see that it is the mouth of God that speaks.

By "speaks" he means God is speaking through what is occurring on the scene of history. He then goes on to describe his vision of the transformation of Zion, how he sees God entering Zion in triumph at the head of the exiles, mentioning specifically:

Behold, God enters as a mighty one,
His arm exercising rulership.

Exulting beyond bounds, as he sees the vision of Deutero-Isaiah verified, the psalmist now declares on his part:

God has entered amid peals of triumph
And the blast of trumpets.

The meaning "He has entered" of *'alā* will be gone into more fully in the note on these lines. For the present it is important to observe that similarly the lines,

For God is King over all the earth:
Sing unto him your carols of devotion. . . .
He sits on his holy throne,

⁵⁰ I.e., the devastated land of Israel.

echo the "Song of Redemption" of Deutero-Isaiah, the leading idea of which is "the Lord reigns," and that, therefore, it behooves men the world over to burst into song. Together with "God has entered amid peals of triumph and the blast of trumpets," these lines make clear that it is the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus, with the attendant deliverance of Israel, in which the psalmist beholds the supreme revelation of God. Hence the real import of the concluding lines,

Let the princes of the world be gathered,
To become one with the people of the God of Abraham;
For the chiefs of the earth have to answer to God,
Who is highly exalted,

becomes evident. Like Deutero-Isaiah, the writer of Psalm 47 is swayed by the hope of a united humanity—united by its common faith in the God of Abraham and its realization that it has to answer to him for its way of life and conduct. What he has in mind by emphasizing "the people of the God of Abraham" is made clear by what has been pointed out earlier⁵¹—that those portions of the story of Abraham which portray Abraham as a religious model after the ideal of the prophets are the distinct work of the Exile, specifically of Deutero-Isaiah and his co-workers. The essence of this portrayal is expressed by Gen. 18:18-19:

Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation and through him all the nations of the earth shall be blessed. I have singled him out, in order that he may charge his sons and descendants to keep the way of the Lord, to practice justice and righteousness.

It is deplorable that his breadth of vision has been tarnished by the psalmist's giving way (in vss. 4-5) to the popular dream of world-rule, to which Ezekiel and the writer of Psalms 80 and 89B turned for solace in the Exile. This shows that, though his imagination was fired by the universalism of Deutero-Isaiah, yet, unlike the authors of Psalms 65A and 113, he did not penetrate to the depths of his gospel and thus failed to realize that true universalism is defeated by lust for dominion and hunger for worldly glory. As in the concluding verse, so in verses 4-5 the psalmist speaks of what he believes the present happenings

⁵¹ Cf. p. 297.

will lead to in the end. This interpretation follows also from the use of the imperfects in verses 4-5.

4. *He will make us master over*] The preposition *tahath* is used with its primary function as a noun: cf. the note on Ps. 45:6.

5. *He will make great*] The present text *yibhar*, it is evident, cannot be the original reading, since it would imply that the "heritage" was as yet non-existent, whereas from the opposition, "the pride of Jacob," the very opposite follows, that the heritage was known and existing. Read, with transposition of *b* and *r*, *yrh'ib*, as Stade⁵² and others have correctly emended. The reading is further supported by the fact that vs. 5 now becomes supplementary to vs. 4, *He will make us master over the nations, etc.*, for by *our heritage* Palestine is meant, for complete dominion of which the psalmist hopes: cf. in addition to Pss. 80:12 and 89B:26, Deut. 11:24; 4:38 and Isa. 58:14. *Lanu* is a pleonastic *dativus commodi*.

6. *God has entered*] The customary rendering of '*alā*, "has gone up," or *stieg empor*, has obscured its meaning and laid the verse open to fanciful interpretation. As soon as the word is taken for what it means, the verse is plain and simple and consistent with both what precedes and what follows. With the same meaning as here, '*alā* occurs again in Ruth 4:1, *bo'az 'alā bashsha'ar*, "Boaz entered the gate," being used as equivalent to *bā' bashsha'ar*, just as '*alā 'ēlōhīm* is used as equivalent to *hinne 'ādōnai bēhasaq yabō*, "Behold, the Lord enters as a mighty one," of Isa. 40:10, after which these words have been modeled. Cf. also the repeated use of '*alā* as the equivalent of *halak*, as, for example, Num. 20:19, *bammēsilla na'ālē*, expressed in vs. 17 by *derek hammelek nēlek*; Judg. 1:8, '*ālē 'ittī*, followed by *wēhalaktī gam 'ānī 'ittēka*; Hos. 8:9, *hēma 'alū 'ashshūr*, expressed *ibid.*, 7:11 by '*ashshūr halakū*; or Mic. 2:13, where '*alā liphnē* means "march before," being used as the synonym of '*abar liphnē*; cf. further the frequently occurring phrase '*alā 'al leb* "enter one's mind"; or Prov. 26:9, *hō'ah 'alā bēyad*, "As a thorn piercing the hand." In the face of all these examples, it seems incomprehensible indeed that the prevailing translation of '*alā 'ēlōhīm* should never before have been challenged. Still more amazing is it that Gunkel and others see in '*alā 'ēlōhīm*, which they render and interpret "God ascended" the throne, positive proof that Psalm 47 celebrates Jahweh's ascension to the throne,⁵³ overlooking the fact that '*alā* by itself could only then be taken as connoting "ascending the throne" if '*alā 'al kissē* would occur elsewhere. But there is not a single example of such a phrase anywhere in biblical writings. Nor does '*alā* by itself ever mean "go up to the royal castle," as Gunkel maintains. Of the many references he gives of its supposed use with this meaning,⁵⁴ in I Kings 1:35 *wā'ālithēm*, as '*ahdrow* following it shows as well as vs. 40, means "march behind him"; in Gen. 46:31 '*ē'ēlē wē'agīda lēphar'ō* means "I will go and tell

⁵² ZATW, XXIII, 169.

⁵³ See Gunkel, *Einleitung* . . . , p. 105, *Die Psalmen*, p. 202; Mowinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f.; H. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Staerk, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Kittel, *Die Psalmen* (KAT [5th and 6th ed.; Leipzig, 1929]), p. 174.

⁵⁴ *Die Psalmen*, p. 202.

Pharaoh"; similarly in I Sam. 23:19 *wayya'dlū zippīm 'el shā'ul* means "The Ziphites went to Saul"; in Ps. 68B:19 *'alītha lamarōm* means "Thou hast come out victorious"; and in Hos. 2:2 *'alū min ha'areš* means "They will win mastery over the land," being besides irrelevant for what Gunkel seeks to prove, no matter how one renders it, as are also Num. 16:12, 14, and Judg. 4:5. But even if admitted for argument's sake that the word could have this meaning, it would be impossible to build any case on it as far as Psalm 47, or for that matter any other psalm, is concerned.

10. *Let . . . be gathered*] *Ne'ēsāphū* is precative perfect, functioning equivalent to an optative, as *higgīdu* of Ps. 97:6.

To become one with the people] Read, on the strength of Gr. and Syr., □ 𐤓 □ 𐤓 (De Lagarde and others); *'im* dropped out, owing to homoeoteleuton.

chiefs renders to my mind the figure *maginē* accurately; to question and emend the phrase, as some interpreters have done, is unwarranted.

D. PSALM 66

*

- 1 Sing joyously unto God, all lands,
- 2 Sing the splendor of his name.
Do honor to his glory.
- 3 Say to God, Wonderful are thy works.
Because of thy mighty power thine enemies cringe before thee.
- 4 Let all the world adore thee and sing thy praise,
Sing the praise of thy name.
- 5 Come, look at the works of God,
How awful he is in his dealings with men:
- 6 He changes the sea into dry land,
That men may pass through the deep on foot—
This still fills us with joy.
- 7 He rules in his might through the ages;
His eyes keep watch on the nations:
The unruly will not forever be exalted.
- 8 O praise our God,† ye nations;
Sound aloud the glory of God,
- 9 Who has kept us alive
And has not suffered our foot to stumble.
- 10 Truly, thou hast tried us, O God,

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Song. A Psalm.

† Another reading: *Praise God*.

- Thou hast tested us as silver is tested;
11 Thou didst cast us into prison
And put chains around our loins;
12 Thou didst let men ride over us:
We went through fire and water,
But thou hast led us forth to freedom.
- 13 I will make offerings in thy house,
14 To redeem the vows which my lips pronounced,
Which my mouth declared in my tribulation.
15 I will offer to thee holocausts of fatted cattle,
With the savory odor of rams,
I will sacrifice bullocks and he-goats.
16 All ye that fear God come, listen,
Hear me tell what he has done for me.
17 Fervently I prayed to him,
And I was made to triumph over the foes who held me
vanquished.
18 Were my heart conscious of guilt,
The Lord would not have hearkened to me.
19 But God indeed has hearkened to me,
He has heeded my prayer.
20 Praised be God, who has not been deaf to my prayer,
Who has not withdrawn his love from me.

The opening lines (vss. 1-4) betray at a glance the influence of Psalms 98 and 96, the finale of Deutero-Isaiah's "Song of Redemption," but they are not a labored imitation of it. Rather the poet has assimilated his model and, though repeating some phrases of it, he reproduces whatever he has appropriated from it in his own individual style. This holds good also of the following lines (vss. 5-7) which, like Isa. 43:16-18 and 51:10, mention the Exodus from Egypt as a famous parallel of the days of old to the marvelous happenings of the present, the last line of which, "The unruly will not forever be exalted," was doubtless suggested by the words, "But the rebellious will live in a barren land," of Psalm 68A:7. Note how differently the phrase

which the two psalms have in common is applied in them: there, by *sōrērīm* the impenitent of Israel are meant; here, unruly Babylon.

The decisive point, however, for determining the date and occasion of the psalm is the fact that the description in verses 8-12 of the people's rescue clearly alludes to their deliverance from Babylonia. It, too, is couched in language strikingly similar to that of Deutero-Isaiah. Thus the line, "Who has kept us alive," is reminiscent of "Escape from death rests with the Lord," of Ps. 68A:21. The lines,

Truly, thou has tried us, O God,
Thou hast tested us as silver is tested,

remind one of Isa. 48:10, "Verily, I have tested thee, but without gain of silver, I have tried thee in the crucible of affliction"; as "Thou didst cast us into prison," together with "But thou hast led us forth to freedom," recalls "I will lead forth the prisoner from prison" and "I will say to the prisoners, Go forth" of Isa. 42:7 and 49:9. Even more pronounced is the resemblance between "We went through fire and water" and "When thou passest through water. . . . When thou goest through fire" of Isa. 43:2, while the line, "Thou didst let men ride over us," tells in different language what in Isa. 51:23 is expressed by the words, "Who [thy tyrants] said to thee, Bow down that we may walk over thee, Make thy back level with the ground for those desiring to walk over it." Both passages find their explanation in the fact that in the ancient Orient it was customary for the victor to compel the vanquished opponent to lie full length on the ground and to ride over him. Thus in the inscription at Behistun, Darius I is pictured with his foot on the vanquished Gaumāta, and in the sculpture at Naksh-i-Rustam, Ardashir I on horseback is treading on a prostrate enemy, the Parthian king Ardavan.⁵⁵

Those interpreters who admit that verses 8-12 speak of the deliverance from Babylonia but argue that, since verses 13-15 presuppose the Temple service as existing, the psalm must date

⁵⁵ See F. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (London, 1935), pp. 78 f., 81 f.

from a time after the dedication of the second Temple in 615 B.C.⁵⁶ have overlooked the fact that Ezra 3:1-6 tells expressly that in the very first year of the return from the Exile Joshua and Zerubbabel built an altar on the ancient site of the Temple and restored the sacrificial service, "even though the foundation of the Temple had not yet been laid" and that also Haggai (2:14) mentions this provisional altar service. Aside from this, it has escaped these critics that the psalmist follows an established custom in saying, "I will make offerings in thy house," even though the Temple had as yet not been rebuilt. There are not a few other examples to show this.

Thus throughout his prophecy urging the rebuilding of the Temple, Haggai speaks of it as "this house," as if it were standing.⁵⁷ In a way still more conclusive are the edict of Cyrus (Ezra 6:3-5), ordering the rebuilding of the Temple and containing the specification:

Also the golden and silver vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took away from the Temple at Jerusalem and brought to Babylon, shall be returned, be brought back to the Temple at Jerusalem, everyone to its proper place: Thou shalt deposit them in the house of God;

and the recapitulation of these instructions (*ibid.*, 5:15):

Take these vessels, depart, and deposit them in the Temple at Jerusalem, and the house of God shall be built on its old site—

the two parts of which, as 6:3-5 shows, are in no way contradictory, as some critics think.⁵⁸ The people's customary reference to the Temple as ideally existing finds its explanation in the fact that they considered the site of the Temple as the chosen abode of God for all time to come, as Ps. 78:68-69 and 132:13-14 expressly state.

The second part of the psalm, verses 13-20, is not, as many interpreters hold, another poem, unrelated to verses 1-12 and combined with them by a later compiler, but are an integral part of them, taken up with the people's offering thanksgiving unto God for their wonderful preservation. The "I" of these

⁵⁶ Baethgen, *op. cit.*, p. 197; Staerk, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 f.; Kautzsch-Bertholet, *Die Psalmen: Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (4th ed.; Tübingen, 1923).

⁵⁷ Cf. Hag. 1:4; 2:3, 7, 9.

⁵⁸ See also p. 229.

verses is collective, not individual, being the nation personified. Thus it is evident from the language used that the line,

And I was made to triumph over the foes who held me vanquished,

speaks not of personal but of national deliverance: it restates summarily what verses 9–12 relate in detail—the rebirth of the nation after her overthrow by Babylonia. Note also the conspicuous similarity between *lĕkū ūrē'ū*, “Come, look at” of verse 5 and *lĕkū shim'ū*, “Come, listen” of verse 16; further in urging all those “that fear God” to listen to his song, the poet, as may be deduced from the meaning of the term, “All ye that fear God,” in Pss. 115:11, 13; 118:4; and elsewhere, addresses himself primarily to non-Israelites who are desirous of knowing God, specifically, proselytes: all of which shows that in the second as well as in the first part of the song, he seeks to make known to the world at large the wonderful doings of God for Israel.

Spiritually Psalm 66 does not rank with the three preceding psalms. No matter how much the author has been influenced by Deutero-Isaiah, the real essence of his preaching he has not grasped. If he had, he could not possibly have taken his people's deliverance as proof of their guiltlessness, but, like the writer of Psalm 65A, he would have been overwhelmed by the consciousness of their sinfulness and God's boundless mercy toward them. Nor does he show the enthusiasm with which the writers of Psalms 65A, 113, and 47 have been fired because of the revelation of God as the august Lord of the world, nor has he been roused as they have to a vision of the universal blessings to follow God's revelation, eager though he is to make men recognize the glory of God and sing his praise. This is not surprising but accords with the fact that his mind is, above all, taken up with what God has done for Israel. Final evidence of his limited vision is that he has not outgrown the belief of his age in the efficacy of material sacrifices.

3. *Wonderful*] As to the function of *mā*, see the note on Ps. 104:24.
cringe before thee] Cf. Ps. 81B:16; 18:46, where *yĕkaḥšhū* with *le* is found again with this meaning.

5. *in his dealings*] Read plural *'alilōth*, with two MSS and the Versions.

6. *He changes*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., דִּפֵּךְ (Staerk and others).

men may pass] The third plural is used impersonally.

through the deep] Read נִדְרֹת: cf. Ps. 93:3.

This still fills us with joy or, literally, *We still rejoice at it*] Instead of *shām* read שְׂמִינֹה (Graetz and many others): which had been written in an abbreviated form and was not recognized by the Massoretes. The suffix of *bō* refers to the content of the two preceding sentences: cf. the same example in Ps. 118:24.

7. *not be exalted*] With the Kēre and many MSS, read *yarūmū*.

forever] With some MSS and Syr., read לְעֹלָם, as many interpreters do.

11. *into prison . . . chains*] *Mēsūda*, which may denote "net" (cf. Ezek. 12:13; 17:20) is taken by Aq., Sym., Quinta, and Hier. as meaning *prison* while Targ. renders *mū'aga*, which occurs only here, and the meaning of which is not certain, *chains*; and there is no reason for distrusting these authorities.

12. *to freedom*] Read, with the Versions, לְרִוְחָה—a reading generally accepted.

13. *I will make offerings*] Cf. the note on Ps. 71:16.

17. *Fervently I prayed*] Cf. the remarks on Ps. 89B:3aa as to the use of *bēphī* with verbs of praying, declaring, etc., for the purpose of lending emphasis to the verb.

And I was made to triumph over the foes that held me vanquished] The second stich has convincingly been amended by Wellhausen: רִוְמִי מִתַּחַת לְשׁוֹנֵי. The present reading is to be explained by the fact that *romanti* was written abbreviated, and that *lēšōnē'ai* was spelled phonetically, that is, without the silent 'Aleph; the dropping out of the initial *m* of *mittahath* is a subsequent erratum, owing to homoeoteleuton. As to *mittahath*, denoting *held . . . vanquished*, cf. the notes on Pss. 45:6 and 47:4.

18. *Were my heart conscious of guilt*] 'Awen 'im ra'ithi bēlibbī has been generally misinterpreted and has even been unwarrantedly emended: as often, *ra'ithi* is used of mental perception and means "could I discern," and *belibbī*, meaning "with my mind," is in a way a pleonasm, so that, more idiomatically expressed, the two together really say, *Were my mind conscious of*: cf. I Sam. 24:11, *da' ūrē'ē*, "Know and realize"; I Kings 20:7, *dē'ū na' ūrē'ū ki ra'a zē mēbāqgesh*, "Know and be aware that this man is out after evil"; Eccl. 1:16, *libbi ra'ā harbē hokma*, "My mind has discerned much wisdom." Note also that the reason for the postpositive 'im is to assign to 'āwen prominent sentence position in order to emphasize it.

20. *who has not been deaf to my prayer, Who has not withdrawn his love*] *Hēsir* is a case of zeugma.

E. PSALM 148/117

I Praise ye the Lord.

Let the heavens peal forth the praise of the Lord,

Let the skies above resound with his praise.

- 2 Praise him, all his angels,
Praise him, all his hosts:
3 Sun and moon, praise ye him,
Praise him, ye stars of light;
4 Praise him, highest heaven,
And ye waters above the heavens.
5 Let them praise the name of the Lord,
For he commanded, and they were created;
6 He has established them for ever and ever;
He has laid down the law which they must obey.
- 7 Let the earth be loud with praise of the Lord:
Praise him, ye sea monsters and all ocean deeps,
8 Lightning and hail, snow and mist,
Stormy wind, fulfilling his word;
9 Mountains and all hills,
Fruit trees and all cedars,
10 Beasts and all cattle,
Crawling animals and winged birds,
11 Kings of the earth and all peoples,
Princes and all rulers of the earth,
12 Young men and maidens too,
Old men and boys.
13 Let them all praise the name of the Lord,
For he alone is exalted:
His grandeur transcends heaven and earth.
- 14 He has exalted the horn of his people,
Glory has come to his faithful servants,
To Israel, the people near to him.
117:1 O praise the Lord, all ye nations,
Extol him, all ye peoples,
2 Because his love toward us has been boundless,
And the truth of the Lord endures forever.
Praise ye the Lord.

It may be seen at a glance that what has been transmitted as Psalm 117 is not a complete psalm but must be either a

fragment or lines omitted from another psalm. It is the latter, for there is external evidence that these verses have been omitted from Psalm 148 and originally formed its conclusion. The evidence is found in the Targum, where Psalm 148 ends with the identical words with which Psalm 117 begins: *shabbēhū yath yhw̄h*, that is, *hallēlū 'eth yhw̄h*. *Hallēlūyāh*, with which Psalm 148 now ends, is not read in the Targum, nor in the Greek or Syriac. The fact that the Targum reads *hallēlū 'eth yhw̄h* also at the end of Psalm 148 shows that originally not the entire two verses were omitted from Psalm 148 but that the opening words *hallēlū 'eth yhw̄h* had been left behind, and that these were repeated as a cue before the omitted parts when they were put in the margin or another blank space. As further proof that these verses were originally a part of Psalm 148, note that it is the only psalm to which *hallēlū 'eth yhw̄h* (instead of *h.y.*, without *'eth*) is peculiar: the psalm begins with it and repeats it also at the beginning of the second strophe. It is not found in any other psalm, Jer. 20:13 being the only other instance which has *hallēlū* followed by *'eth yhw̄h*. Final proof that the verses belong to Psalm 148 is that they complete it excellently, as we shall presently see. But first another remark! To find the omitted verses in such a remote place from Psalm 148 ceases to be surprising when it is remembered that the psalm had a history of transmission long before it received its present place in the Psalter. Note that Psalm 113 is one of the psalms to which it belongs by date and subject matter, with which, we may be sure, it was at one time grouped.

DATE AND OCCASION

The lines,

He has exalted the horn of his people,
 Glory has come to his faithful servants,
 To Israel, the people near him,

clearly refer to a great turning-point in the history of Israel, which, most interpreters have concluded rightly, must be the rebirth of the nation in 538 B.C., and others have gone a step farther and deduced that it was the direct occasion for the

psalm. Their deduction is confirmed by the lines, with which the psalm originally ended:

O praise the Lord, all ye nations,
Extol him, all ye peoples,
Because his love toward us has been boundless,
And the truth of the Lord endures forever.

These lines are in tone and content so conspicuously related to Deutero-Isaiah's "Song of Redemption" (Psalms 93, 97, 98, 96) and also Psalms 65A, 113, 47, and 66 that it is obvious that they sing of the same historical event that inspired these. Thus, "And the truth of the Lord endures forever" is elucidated by the similar declaration in Ps. 93:5, "Thy revelations are most true," which, we have seen, refers to God's promise through his prophets that the destruction of the nation shall be followed by a rebirth.

One dare not lose sight of its relationship to these psalms, else one runs the risk of overestimating (as many have done)⁵⁹ the call to praise of strophes one and two, instead of recognizing it as what it really is—a diffuse elaboration of Deutero-Isaiah's appeal (in the finale of his "Song of Redemption") to nature and society alike to join in a universal song of praise of God for the salvation he has wrought. It follows from this that poetically Psalm 148/117 does not rank high. Nor does it spiritually. More even than the writer of Psalm 66 is its author taken up with the boundless love of God for Israel and the glory which "has come to Israel, his faithful servants." Because of this he bids the whole universe praise God.

6. *they must obey*] Read plural *ya'dbōrū*, as most interpreters do.

14. *glory has come to his faithful servants*] The rules of parallelism as well as sentence structure show that *tšhilla lēkol ḥāsīdaw* cannot mean "the praise of all his saints," as it is generally taken to mean, but that it is a nominal clause, the subject of which is *tšhilla* and the predicate *lēkol ḥāsīdaw*.

F. PSALM 99A

- 1 The Lord reigns, let the nations tremble;
He is enthroned upon the cherubim, let the earth quake.
- 2 The Lord is great in Zion,

⁵⁹ Especially Delitzsch, Staerk, and Kittel.

And he is supreme over all the nations:

3a Let them praise his great and august name.

3b, 4 He is holy and arrayed in royal power;
He loves justice.

Thou hast restored just rule,
Hast established justice and righteousness in Jacob.

5 Oh, exalt the Lord our God,
And worship at his footstool:
Holy is he.*

Because Psalm 99A begins, like Psalms 93 and 97, with the words, "The Lord reigns," many interpreters (as mentioned above) have been misled into taking it for another psalm of the writer of these and their finale, Psalms 98 and 96, holding that it forms an organic group with them, even though the contrast between these and Psalm 99A could not well be greater. For Deutero-Isaiah the fact that God has manifested himself as the sovereign of the world is cause for universal rejoicing, whereas according to the opinion of the writer of Psalm 99A it must make the nations shake and tremble. Further, Deutero-Isaiah is consumed with the desire to make men all the world over see the revelation of God in history and hail him King. Of this craving, only a faint echo is heard in Psalm 99A in the words, "Let them praise his great and august name," uttered without passion and warmth. This shows that its author is spiritually akin not to Deutero-Isaiah but rather to Ezekiel and his later follower, Joel, whose narrow outlook and limited vision he shares, being satisfied that God has shown himself great in Zion and has meted out justice to his own people. It is to them that his call to extol God and worship at his footstool is in reality addressed.

1. *He is enthroned upon the cherubim*] See Ezekiel's visions, chaps. 1 and 10.

3b, 4. *and arrayed in royal power*] 'Oz melek is not the subject of 'aheb, as it is taken to be in the customary interpretation, "The King's strength also loveth judgment," which is absurd. The text, however, is perfect and needs

* Variant: *Exalt the Lord our God,
And worship at his holy hill,
For the Lord our God is holy.*

no emendation: 'oz is another predicate of *hu'*, consisting of an adverbial accusative, and *melek* is a qualificative genitive: cf. Ps. 45:2, *lēshōnī 'et sōpher mahir*.

9. This verse is not the original continuation of vss. 6-8 but a variant of vs. 5.

PSALM 99B

A FRAGMENT

- 6 Moses and Aaron, his priests, and Samuel were wont to invoke his name.
 When they prayed to the Lord, he answered their prayer.
 7 In the pillar of cloud he spoke unto them.
 They kept his testimonies and the law that he gave them.
 8 O Lord our God, thou didst answer them,
 Thou wast to them a God that forgives.
 . . . and visited punishment for their evil deeds.

Verses 6-8 differ from Psalm 99A not only in subject matter but also in diction and cadence, so that it is obvious that they cannot be an original part of it but that they must be a fragment of another psalm. What is left of the psalm is not sufficient to permit any inference regarding either its date or its purport. The explanation of Moses' being classed as priest is in all probability to be found in the fact that according to the priestly story, Leviticus, chapter 8, he functioned as priest at the dedication of Aaron and his sons to priesthood, and the further fact that the priests at Dan were the lineal descendants of Moses, as Judg. 18:30 tells.⁶⁰ As in this fragment, so in Jer. 15:1, "Though Moses and Samuel interceded with me," Samuel is ranked with Moses as an intercessor of fame.

6. *His priests . . . were wont to invoke*] *Bē* of *bēkōhānaw* and *bēqōrē'ē* is *bē essentiae*; *qōrē'ē* functions as a potential participle.

8. There is clearly a gap after *hayītha lahēm*, as *nōqem* cannot possibly be another attributive of 'ēl: the emendation *nōqām* proposed by Buhl is unacceptable, since the Kal of *naqā* is intransitive and never anything else.

⁶⁰ The present reading *Manassēh* is a correction by "the Scribes" of original *Mosheh*, as the nun *suspensum* shows.

III. PSALMS OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD FROM DARIUS I TO ARTAXERXES II MNEMON (520-359 B.C.)

THE PSALMS AS A SOURCE OF POST-EXILIC HISTORY

It is generally thought that the surveys of pre-Maccabaeen post-Exilic times given in biblical histories are incomplete by reason of the unusual scarcity of source material bearing on these centuries. This view regarding the dearth of source material is, however, quite erroneous, for in the post-Exilic psalms we possess a source of supreme value for the history of post-Exilic times from the Restoration of the year 538 B.C. down to the beginning of the third century B.C. In addition to the eleven inspired by the Restoration, sixty-six of these psalms bear more or less directly—as only contemporary sources can—on the life and conditions of these centuries. Being lyrical, not narrative poems, they naturally describe events only inferentially—a feature which makes their interpretation difficult. In addition, they chronicle but incompletely those events to which they allude, often failing even to state essential facts. But they give something far more vital than could be looked for in the most detailed annals. They give a picture of the poet's complete world—the outer world of happenings and the inner world of the spirit. They reflect truthfully the social and political conditions of the pre-Maccabaeen centuries. They make it clear that, except for the high hopes awakened in the people, first by the rebirth of the nation in 538 B.C., and later by the world-rule of Alexander the Great, these centuries were the darkest in Israel's history, presenting in fact a continuous struggle for existence. Above all, they reveal the spiritual effect of the long-protracted struggle—the faith by which Israel lived for centuries in the face of ruin and defeat.

Forty-eight of these sixty-six psalms can be dated exactly, and nine approximately, so that in the light of this material it is possible to amend the present inadequate treatment of post-Exilic history. Psalm 122, in which the spirit of Haggai and Zechariah dominates, dates from the time of the ministry of

these prophets (520-518 B.C.). There is evidence that it was written when Zerubbabel, the governor of Judaea, and Joshua, the high priest, urged by Haggai and Zechariah, undertook to build the Temple. The clue to its interpretation and date is found, first, in the perfect *samaḥti*, "I shall rejoice," the force of which has hitherto not been recognized, and, second, in the attributive "rebuilt" qualifying "Jerusalem," which, contrary to all rule, has generally been misinterpreted as a predicative adjective. As a result of these two errors, the meaning and occasion of the psalm have been misunderstood.

Psalm 102, which in spirit is radically different from Psalm 122, dates from the same time. Its interpretation has been obstructed by the text disorder it has suffered in the process of transmission. When the original order is restored, it is apparent that the psalm is not, as is widely thought, made up of two heterogeneous poems but is a uniform whole with perfect sequence. It was written when the erstwhile unbounded enthusiasm over Israel's redemption had given way to bitter disillusion under the force of existing conditions—when the contrast between the grim reality and Deutero-Isaiah's dream of Zion's restoration to glory was vivid in the people's minds. Although the writer of Psalm 102 could not banish this heavy thought from his own mind, yet he did not yield to despair but drew strength and hope from Deutero-Isaiah's lofty vision. The metaphorical language by which he describes the desperate situation provides an interesting study.

The influence of Haggai and Zechariah is apparent also in Psalm 132. It is evidently a prayer for the fulfilment of the hope which these two prophets held out to Zerubbabel when urging him to rebuild the Temple—the hope that God would reinstate him on the throne of David. It was composed either in 516 B.C., when the building of the Temple was completed, or some years later. The psalm does not rank high either spiritually or poetically. Psalm 147 is another inferior product. It is a song of thanksgiving occasioned by the completion of the walls of Jerusalem in 445 B.C. and composed for their dedication.

Psalms 5, 7, 9/10, 11, 35, 18, 12, 83, 17, 27, and 16 all date from the time of Artaxerxes II Mnemon. Combined, they tell a graphic story of the real conditions in Judaea in those years, how the country was politically as well as economically under the complete control of the foreign or "Gentile" population of the land and the adjacent countries, and how, destitute of all power, the people were the helpless prey of their enemies, unable to ameliorate their intolerable plight. Psalm 9/10, an alphabetic acrostic, calls for some further remarks. Because of the persistent refusal of grammarians and exegetes to reckon with the precative perfect, the psalm has been generally mistaken for a hymn of thanksgiving, though in reality it is a cry for help. This, however, is far from stating the case fully. To uphold the customary interpretation modern exegetes have taken recourse to gratuitous emendations and have ignored other rules of syntax. In the process of its transmission the psalm has suffered considerable text disorder, by which every stanza from teth to taw has been affected and the acrostic seriously disturbed. No wonder that as transmitted the psalm is an inferior poem without rigid sequence or unity. But now that the original order (as I trust it will be found) has been restored, largely by the aid of external evidence, not only is the psalm an alphabetic acrostic without any break or irregularity (except for the lost daleth stanza and the first distich of the mem stanza) but it is also a lyric of literary perfection, the work of a first-class poet. This being the case, there can no longer be any doubt that Psalms 9 and 10 are a single psalm, as they are rightly counted in the Greek Version and by St. Jerome.

Psalm 18 is another poem which has been misinterpreted. Misled by its spurious heading, ancient and modern exegetes alike have with utter disregard of its tense-picture taken it for an ode of thanksgiving, though it is a stirring cry out of the depths. It far excels Psalm 9/10 in spiritual power and as a poem, as do Psalms 11, 17, 62, 27, and 16. These six psalms, of which 27 and 16 are of common authorship, rank among the profoundest psalms. They are all imbued with the spirit of the

prophetic teaching, whose vital truths have been voiced again in them and in them have taken on a new form and received a fresh interpretation. Thus these psalms and many others, of equal excellence, show that the spirit of the prophets was a living force in downtrodden Israel of post-Exilic times and bore ever nobler fruit.

Psalms 11, 17, 62, 27, and 16 are at present commonly interpreted as prayers of an individual who was suffering bodily affliction or persecution; as are Psalms 5, 7, and 35. Sound analysis shows that in every one of these psalms the psalmist is agitated not by personal affliction but by the common distress and that the "I" is collective—a personification of the nation, or that the voice of the nation is speaking through the poet—to draw a sharp distinction between the two is not always possible. Quite apart from this collective "I," the poet often speaks in his own person: in Psalms 11, 17, 62, 27, 16, and also in 18; and in many more of the following sections⁶¹ the poet's own self enters prominently into the picture. Indeed, these psalms are intensely personal, revealing the poet's inmost soul. He points out what gives him fortitude of spirit in the country's adversity and even fills him with confident hope. This he does in order to lift his sorely tried people to the luminous heights on which he stands and to make them realize that they can be saved by one course only—faith in God and righteous living.

Psalms 3 and 4, which are the work of one author, are two other highly spiritual prayers of the same type. It is not possible, however, to determine whether they date from the time of Artaxerxes II or from the troublous years that went before.

Psalm 46 is another song of glorious faith dating from the stormy years of the reign of Artaxerxes II, when all over his vast empire one country after the other rebelled against Persian rule. It is this world-situation which is reflected in the psalm. The broad universalism of Deutero-Isaiah and his predecessors breathes through its noble lines.

⁶¹ Psalms 6, 31, 71, 30, 38, 88, 22, 13, 143, 116A, 55A, 57A, 69, 142, 141, 109A, 56, 61, and also 118.

Psalm 129 with its companion piece, Psalm 124, written by the same author, and Psalm 121 are possibly three more poems of the time of Artaxerxes II. They illustrate what psalm after psalm of this period has illustrated, affirming as they do that faith in God has saved Israel again and again when escape from destruction seemed humanly impossible.

But while there is no direct evidence that these three psalms are products of this period, Psalm 14, of which Psalm 53 is another version, may safely be assigned to it. The psalm does not have for its theme the infidel's denial of the existence of God, as it is generally interpreted, but it treats the same thought as verses 10:5, 6*a*, 13*aa*, 6*b*-7, 8*a*, 9*a*, and 10-11 of Psalm 9/10. Like these verses, it describes how their hopeless condition drives the common, "ignorant" people to despair and shakes their faith in God. Since there is, besides, a marked similarity of expression in the two psalms, Psalm 14 may be considered another composition by the author of Psalm 9/10. From the point of view of the religious evolution it is important to note that the two psalms and the parallel lines in Ps. 94:7, 20, and also Psalm 49, show that the orthodox belief in material retribution was far from being generally accepted in those days and that the writer of the Job drama and Psalm 73 did not stand alone in his revolt against this shallow doctrine. Another noteworthy point, bearing on both the religious and the social history of post-Exilic times, is that "the wicked" and "evil-doers" of these and numerous other psalms are not the godless within the ranks of the nation, as is commonly thought, but foreign oppressors, or "the Gentile population of the land" and adjacent countries, which, as Neh. 10:32 and 13:16-21 show, controlled affairs to such an extent that they even monopolized commerce and trade.

To find the century after Ezra and Nehemiah—commonly termed "the obscure century"—productive of so many psalms of spiritual excellence is in no wise surprising, for it was the age in which the Job drama was written, whose immortal author influenced many a contemporary. Moreover, he himself wrote psalms, three of which can be positively identified as his work:

Psalm 39 and those profound poems, Psalms 73 and 139. Psalm 17 is in all probability another of his lyric pieces, composed long before the drama and the other psalms; and the famed Psalm 23 may also be his work.

Since Psalms 63 and 36B, two other profound poems of consummate beauty, have the leading idea of Psalms 27 and 16 for their subject, and since the first, moreover, is elucidated by the closing scene of the Job drama, they may possibly be two more products of the first half of the fourth century. The concluding verses 10–12 of Psalm 63 are not a genuine part of it, having no connection with the rest of the psalm. They were omitted from Psalms 64 and 72 and put in the margin, whence in the next copy they were joined at random to Psalm 63. When these verses are eliminated and the perfects of verses 3*a* and 8*a* are interpreted as what they are, precative perfects, we have a poem of perfect unity.

Still more important documents are the fifteen psalms dating from 344 B.C., which, as will be shown in the next section, tell the full story of what happened in that fatal year. One matter of interpretation must be mentioned here. Again, as in the case of many psalms of the previous group, the question arises: "Who is the speaker?" Psalms 6, 31, 71, 30, 38, 88, and 22 (which are all seven the work of one author) and Psalms 13, 143, and 116A are at present generally interpreted as prayers of an individual fatally stricken, although there is abundant evidence that the references to bodily disease and death are figures of speech describing the life of the nation as ebbing away and threatened with extinction, or as having been all but swept out of existence. Furthermore, the now prevailing interpretation has failed to take into account that neither this figurative description of national decline nor the peculiar use of "I" as a personification of the nation is limited to the Psalms, but both are very common also in prophetic literature. In fact, some of these descriptions in the Psalms are modeled after similar figures in the prophetic writings. Thus, for example, the metaphorical description in Ps. 38:8*a*, 4, 6 of the ruin threatening the sinful nation is dependent upon the figure which Isaiah

(1:5-6) employed in describing the diseased body politic of his day.

When twelve years after the disastrous year 344 B.C. Alexander the Great accorded the Jews special privileges for their loyalty to him during the revolt which had broken out against him in Palestine in 332/31 B.C. while he was in Egypt, the people thought that a new era of political freedom had at last dawned for them. This sanguine hope found expression in five psalms. The foremost of these is the great ode, Psalm 118; three others are Psalms 103, 138, and 40A; and the fifth, which is disturbingly different from the rest, animated as it is by a revengeful spirit, is Psalm 149. In the light of the untoward conditions which, the psalms show, prevailed in Israel during the Persian period and grew steadily worse until they reached their culmination in the crushing blow dealt by Artaxerxes III Ochus in 344 B.C., the meaning of these five psalms becomes clear, as does the glorification of Alexander the Great in Isa. 14:29-32, another contemporary record, and in later Jewish legend. The noteworthy fact about the ode, Psalm 118, is that it is another poem by the author of Psalms 6, 31, 71, 30, 38, 88, and 22. Proof of this is that, although in tone and subject matter it is the opposite of these psalms, singing of deliverance and liberty, instead of dreading or bewailing disaster, it bears a close resemblance to them in style, language, and spirit and is of the same literary excellence as they. Their author ranks high among the spiritual heirs of the prophets, as do the authors of Psalms 13, 143, 90, 94, and 116A—all five of which were written in 344 B.C., after the calamitous blow had fallen.

Two other psalms of the same spiritual excellence as these are Psalms 130 and 32, of which the second reads as if it had been written as a companion piece to the first. The fact that the consciousness of the nation's sinfulness looms large in so many psalms of the fatal year 344 B.C. suggests that these two psalms may have been written in the decade after that year.

Psalms 118 and 22 bear on the spiritual life of those centuries in another important respect. They show that missionary activity must have been carried on with zeal and success by Israel

long before the time of Alexander the Great. Psalm 87, which cannot be later than the first quarter of the third century B.C., tells of the remarkable response with which this propaganda met throughout the surrounding pagan world—in Egypt and Babylonia, in Philistia and Phoenicia, and even as far as distant Ethiopia. This success refutes the widespread view that the ancient world harbored only hatred and contempt for the Jewish people, showing as it does that the men and women who held Israel and what it stood for in high regard must have been legion. As a matter of fact, it was the indefatigable missionary activity carried on by the synagogue throughout many lands for centuries that paved the way for the mission of Christianity later. What drew the pagan world to Judaism was the ethical monotheism of the prophets with its insistence on a righteous, moral life as the end and object of religion. This missionary zeal is another eloquent testimony to the potent influence of spiritual prophecy upon post-Exilic Israel.

The liberty which Israel enjoyed during the reign of Alexander the Great was short-lived. It came to an end with Alexander's death. In the stormy years that followed, Palestine was for two decades the battleground for the rival armies of Ptolemy and his allies and of their opponent, Antigonus—four times invaded and occupied by Ptolemy and twice by Antigonus. When in the spring of 312 B.C. Ptolemy had won a complete victory over Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, at Gaza, he overran the whole of Palestine, reducing it to submission and conquering all its important cities, including Jerusalem. Twelve psalms tell the story of these turbulent years. They are Psalms 55A, 59, 57A, 140, 69, 142, 141, 109A, 56, 61, 64, and 44. Psalms 59, 57A, 140, and 64 were written earlier in the years 318–312 B.C., before Jerusalem had suffered siege and conquest at the hand of Ptolemy. Psalms 55A, 69, 142, 141, 109A, and 61 were composed while Jerusalem was under siege, and Psalm 44 after it had been conquered. As to Psalm 56, because of its fragmentary condition, the question of whether it was written while Ptolemy's attack on Jerusalem was impending or while it was in progress cannot be decided. Psalm 109A reads like a

companion piece to Psalm 69, composed by the same author, and Psalm 64 appears to be a companion piece to Psalm 140. The six psalms written while the siege of Jerusalem was in progress, and also the fragmentary Psalm 56, are spiritually and poetically on a par with the many excellent psalms of the last seventy years of the Persian rule and the decade of the reign of Alexander the Great. Psalm 44, however, is altogether inferior to these: it differs in spiritual outlook from the rest of the psalms of the years 318-312 B.C. just as strikingly as Psalms 74 and 79 differ from all other psalms of the year 344 B.C.

Psalm 84 is another song in the night which bears on the conditions of those times. It is a product either of the two last decades of the fourth century B.C. or of the decade after the calamitous blow suffered in 344 B.C. The messianic Psalm 75, which was written in all probability soon after the battle at Ipsus (301 B.C.), may in a way be referred to as presenting a case parallel to that of Psalm 22. Both unfurl the banner of hope in the face of the most disheartening experiences. Mention is to be made also of Psalms 25 and 101 and of Psalms 33 and 34 as (*a*) personal prayers and (*b*) liturgical hymns of a highly spiritual type from the fourth century B.C., although there is no reference to existing conditions in any of them.

Psalms 52, 58, and 82 denounce not the high and mighty in Israel but foreign sovereigns of those days for their wicked rule. All three pray for the undoing of the wicked oppressors, and Psalm 82, moreover, decries emperor worship. Thus they supplement the abundant information furnished by the psalms of the Persian period and the two decades after Alexander's death, with regard to conditions in post-Exilic times.

As a last illustration of the great value of the Psalms as a source of post-Exilic history I shall refer here to the statement which Josephus quotes from Hecataeus of Abdera that "after Alexander's death myriads more [of the Jews] migrated to Egypt and Phoenicia because of the disturbed condition of Syria." By "myriads more" he implied that emigration had been going on long before the two last decades of the fourth

century B.C. This hitherto unreported statement indicates more vividly than anything else how desperate were the conditions in Judaea in those times. The fact which it makes plain is tellingly confirmed by the exhortation of the writer of Psalm 37 to his fellow-citizens to "stay in the land and be loyal." Conversely the meaning of the psalmist's exhortation is clarified by Hecataeus' statement.

PSALM 122

*

- 1 I shall rejoice when they say to me,
"Let us go up to the house of the Lord,"
- 2 When again we set foot in thy gates, O Jerusalem—
- 3 Rebuilt Jerusalem, like unto a city
The parts of which are joined together:
- 4 Whither the tribes shall go up, as has been promised unto
Israel,
The tribes of Yahweh, to profess God.
- 5 Yea, thrones for administering justice shall be set up there,
Thrones for the house of David.
- 6 Pray for the peace of Jerusalem.
May those that love thee find peace.
- 7 May peace be within thy walls,
Happiness in thy palaces.
- 8 For the sake of my brethren and fellow-men I wish for thy
peace;
- 9 For the sake of the house of the Lord our God I desire thy
happiness.

Because of the prevailing translation, which is faulty in more than one respect, Psalm 122 has generally been misinterpreted. First of all, the interpreters have, contrary to all rule, mistaken the verbal adjective *habbēnūya* of verse 3 for a predicate, losing sight of the fact that the nominal predicate is never used with the article—a characteristic by which it can be identified and distinguished from the attributive. As illustration—one of the

* Song of Ascent. Of David.

many that might be cited—compare Prov. 16:17, *bēkol 'eth 'ōheb harē'a wē'aḥ lēšara yiwwāled*, “A true friend shows himself loving [*ōheb* has potential force] at all times, being a brother born for time of trouble.” The article of *habbēnūya* shows that it can only be attributive to *yērūshalayīm*, with which it forms an apposition to the preceding *yērūshalayīm*, modifying it. Taken for what it is, “Rebuilt Jerusalem” is, with the lines that precede, the very clue to the accurate interpretation, as well as to the date, of the psalm. The interpreters have also mistaken the prophetic perfects of verses 4–5 for past tenses or for perfects denoting a permanent state of affairs, and as a result of this they have failed to recognize the real force of the perfect *samaḥti* of verse 1, which with the infinitive clause *bē'omrām* (as the text read originally) and with *ōmēdōth hayū* forms a composite temporal sentence. As a further result of this error, they have missed the simple meaning of the last clause, “When again we set foot in thy gates, O Jerusalem,” and not only have been uncertain as to its translation but also have given it various forced interpretations. Finally, they have mistaken *ōmēdōth hayū*, which is classical Hebrew, and also the erroneous *bē'ōmērīm* as examples of late decadent language and have drawn from these unwarranted conclusions as to the date of the psalm (see the notes below).

DATE AND OCCASION

The psalm is clearly post-Exilic. Had it been composed during the Exile, a reference to the fall of the nation or a prayer for her restoration would have been psychologically unavoidable. For determining the date more definitely, we have two data. From the words, “Rebuilt Jerusalem,” it is clear that, when the psalm was written, Jerusalem had as yet not been restored. Nor had even the Temple been rebuilt, as is shown by the psalmist's declaring that he will rejoice when pilgrimages to it can be resumed. We get then as *terminus ad quem* 516 B.C., the year when the second Temple, as Ezra 6:15–18 tells us, was completed and dedicated; and as the most probable date 520 B.C., when, urged by Haggai and Zechariah, Zerubbabel,

the governor of Judaea, and Joshua, the high priest, set to work to build the Temple. In spirit and religious outlook the psalm is closely related to the preaching of these two prophets, which is essentially different from the religious idealism of Deutero-Isaiah. Like them, it makes the welfare of the people dependent upon the rebuilding of the Temple and emphasizes that the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, ushering in the messianic era, with the return of the rest of the exiles, will be the crowning result of the rebuilding (cf. Hag. 1:4-11; 2:15-16, 18-19, 21-23; Zech. 1:16-17; 2:6-9, 14-17; 3:1-8; 4:6-10a, followed originally by 3:9-4:5, 10b-14; 6:10-13;⁶² 8:1-15; and note that in Zech. 1:16-17; 2:6-9, 14-17, and 8:3 the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration of Jerusalem are spoken of as inseparable from each other, just as they are in vss. 1-3 of Psalm 122). There is another noteworthy point of contact between the psalm and the two prophecies: the wish, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem," which is twice repeated with emphasis, in "May peace be within thy walls," and again in "For the sake of my brethren and fellow-men I wish for thy peace," receives point and color from Hag. 2:9, "And upon this place I shall bestow peace," even though the world around is thrown into turmoil, and from Zech. 8:9-12:

Thus says the Lord of hosts, Take courage, ye who hear these words by the mouth of the prophets in these days that the foundation of the house of the Lord of hosts is laid to rebuild the Temple: before these days . . . they that went and came did not enjoy any peace from the enemy, for I set all men against one another. But now will I act differently toward the remnant of this people, says the Lord of hosts, I will sow⁶³ peace.

All this shows that, if not composed by Haggai or Zechariah, Psalm 122 is the work of one who was very close to them.

One other word! From the foregoing analysis it will be seen that the customary treatment of the psalm as a pilgrims' song has no basis in fact, but that it is due primarily to the bias with which the psalm has been approached because of its label, "Song of Ascent." I deem it in place to add that it is a grave

⁶² In vs. 11 read *zerubbabel* after *bērō'sh* and transpose *yēhōshū'a b. yēhōšadaq* to vs. 13 before *kōhen*.

⁶³ Read, with Gr., *'ezrē'ā shalom*.

mistake to be guided, in interpreting either this psalm or any of the fourteen others so designated, in terms of their label, considering that nothing whatever is known about its significance, or why Psalms 120-34 were so labeled. The various explanations suggested are admittedly mere conjectures. The fifteen psalms furnish absolutely no clue themselves to the solution of the question, being a heterogeneous group, differing in content and purport as well as in poetic structure and character. It is obvious, then, that it was not on any intrinsic ground but for external reasons only that they were grouped together under a common label.

1. *when they say to me*] The present reading *bē'ōmērim* is erroneous vocalization for original **בְּאִמְרֵי**. As I pointed out twelve years ago,⁶⁴ the prevalent view that *bē'ōmērim* is used as equivalent to *bē'omrām*, of which usage there is no other example anywhere in Hebrew, rests on a grave error. Franz Delitzsch, referring to Geiger, *Lehrbuch der Mishna*, § 16, 2, was the first to maintain that in *bē'ōmērim* we have an example of the use of the participle as in the language of the Mishna, and his view has prevailed ever since.⁶⁵ The fact of the matter is, however, that such a use is not found in the language of the Mishna any more than in biblical Hebrew. What Geiger discusses in the paragraph cited by Delitzsch is, first, the use of the participle with the personal pronoun to form the present tense and, second, the use of the participle in the plural to express the indefinite pronoun "one"; as examples of the latter he cites *qōrē'in*, "one reads," *lōrēm'in*, "one severs." Now, as to this second use of the participle, it is by no means a peculiarity of late Hebrew and Neo-Hebraic but is a common feature also of biblical Hebrew. This has been duly pointed out by Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 116f. Of the examples quoted there, I shall mention: Exod. 5:16, "And one tells (*ōmērim*) us, Make bricks"; Jer. 38:23, "And one will bring out (*mōšī'im*) all thy wives and thy children to the Chaldaeans"; Ezek. 36:13, "Because one says (*ōmēr-im*) unto you."

2. *When again we set foot*] To substantiate the statement made above that '*ōmēdōth hayū* is not a sign of decadent language, as is commonly thought, but is classical Hebrew, it will suffice to quote Deut. 9:24, *mamrim hēyithēm*; Josh. 5:5 *mūlim hayū*; Judg. 1:7, *hayū mēlaqqēdīm*; Job 1:14, *hayū hōrēšhōth*.

3. *The parts of which are joined together*] That is, by the walls surrounding the city.

4. *as has been promised or vouchsafed*] Either the abstract '*ēdūth* is used with the force of a verbal noun, as, for example, *šidqī* in Ps. 4:2 or, what is more probable, on the strength of Targ. *mashid*, emphatic infinitive **מָשִׁיד**, used passively, is to be read; cf. Zech. 3:6, *wayya'ad bēhōshū'a*, "He vowed" or "He promised unto Joshua."

⁶⁴ HUCJV (1925), p. 110.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 741; cf. Baethgen, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

PSALM 132

*

- 1 Remember, O Lord, to David's credit
 The self-affliction he underwent,
 2 How on oath he promised the Lord,
 Vowed to the Mighty One of Jacob,
 3 I will not enter my home,
 Nor will I lie on my bed;
 4 I will not give sleep to mine eyes
 Or slumber to mine eyelids,
 5 Until I find a place for the Lord,
 A dwelling for the Mighty One of Jacob.

 7 Let us go to His dwelling,
 Let us worship at his footstool.
 8 Arise, O Lord, to enter thy resting-place,
 Thou and the Ark of thy glory.
 9 Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness,†
 And thy faithful servants shout for joy.
 10 For thy servant David's sake
 Turn not away thine anointed.
 11 On oath the Lord made David the sure promise—
 And he will not go back on it—
 Thy own offspring will I set on thy throne.
 12 If thy sons keep my covenant and my law,
 Which I shall teach them,
 Then shall their sons sit on thy throne forever.
 13 For the Lord has chosen Zion,
 He desires it for his dwelling.
 14 This is my resting-place forever,
 Here will I dwell, for so I desire.
 15 I will richly provide for its needs,
 I will satisfy its poor with bread.
 16 Its priests I will clothe with salvation,
 And its faithful servants shall shout for joy.
 17 Here I will make the horn of David to wax great,

* Song of Ascent.

† Or *with salvation*.

- Prepare a lamp for mine anointed.
 18 His enemies I will clothe with shame,
 But his own crown shall be illustrious.

6 We heard of it in Ephratha,
 We found it in the woodland.

The view advanced by some interpreters that verses 1-10 contain the story of David's conveying the Ark from Kiriath-jearim to Zion, as it was told by the later legend,⁶⁶ cannot be argued. First of all, by no exegetical ingenuity can verse 6,

We heard of it in Ephratha,
 We found it in the woodland,

supposedly the salient point of the story, be shown to have anything to do with the conveying of the Ark from the house of Abinadab in Kiriath-jearim to Zion, for the simple reason that "the woodland" is not identical with Kiriath-jearim and that, moreover, the Ark had never any connection with Ephratha, which is another name for Bethlehem.⁶⁷ Aside from this, the pronominal suffix of *shēma'nūha* and *mēša'nūha* cannot possibly refer anticipatorily to "the Ark" mentioned two verses later, nor even can *shēma'nūha bē'ephratha* ever mean "We heard that it was in Ephratha." Nor was it at all necessary to send out a reconnoitering party in order to locate the Ark at the house of Abinadab, where it had been for twenty years, with his son installed as priest to minister unto it. It is obviously impossible, then, to know to what this verse refers, which must have got into the psalm from somewhere else, being unrelated to both the verses that precede and those that follow.

Further, although the vow to deny one's self certain bodily comforts, such as wine and sexual intercourse, or washing and perfuming the body, or combing and cutting one's hair and beard, or wearing robe and turban, or sleeping in a comfortable tent and bed, was a very common practice in ancient times,⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Among others Staerk, *op. cit.*, pp. 254 f.; Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 405; and especially Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, pp. 565 f.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gen. 35:19; 48:7; Ruth 4:11.

⁶⁸ Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1897), pp. 122 f.; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (Strassburg, 1914), pp. 119 ff.

there is not anywhere in the literature of those days another example of a person's vowing to forego all sleep and rest. Naturally so, for such a vow could not be lived up to for any length of time, being contrary to the absolute needs of nature. It is besides incompatible with the real David, who was in the whirl of active, busy life all his days—a warrior and conqueror. A portrayal as unreal and absurd as that of verses 1–5 of Psalm 132 cannot have been derived from any legend current in pre-Exilic times about David, who as late as the days of Amos was famous as a composer of worldly music and song.⁶⁹ This portrayal can only be the invention of the crude imagination of the writer of the psalm. It even exceeds the ludicrous picture of David presented by the author of Chronicles, who imagines that the building of the Temple had been on his mind above every other affair of state, that it had been his dying concern and the legacy which he left to Solomon, that for years he had made all preparations for it, storing up the necessary materials and funds and designing the plan, even as he had worked out the Temple ritual and all details of its administration.⁷⁰

Finally, since verse 6 neither deals with David's conveying the Ark to Zion nor is even an original part of the psalm, it follows that verses 7–10 are not, as generally interpreted, a prayer uttered by David and the people of his days, that Yahweh enter, with the Ark, the resting-place prepared by David, but that they are the prayer of the psalmist, or rather his contemporaries, meant to apply to the situation of their own days. Further proof of this is, first, the fact that of the exhortation, "Let us go to his dwelling, let us worship at his footstool," the second stich is copied from Ps. 99A:5—one of the psalms inspired by the Restoration. But more conclusive is the further fact that the prayer, verses 8–10, which with some immaterial changes occurs also in II Chron. 6:41–42, forming the con-

⁶⁹ See Amos 6:5, "Who improvise to the accompaniment of the harp, like David they compose melodies" or "songs," while holding a banquet, *nota bene*. As to *kēlē šir* meaning "melodies" or "songs," cf. my note (*JBL*, XLV [1926], pp. 156 ff.) on "II Chronicles 30:2: *biklēlē 'oz la-YHWH*," which means "with the song, beginning 'oz la-YHWH."

⁷⁰ Cf. I Chron. 22:2–26:28; 28:1–29:19.

clusion of the Exilic dedication prayer of Solomon,⁷¹ is not a later addition from Psalm 132, as it is generally thought, but that rather the reverse is the case, the writer of Psalm 132 having copied the Exilic prayer. What points to this conclusion is the fact that the lines are a fitting ending of the Exilic prayer, are, in fact, more to the point in it than they are in the psalm. Their point is made plain by Ezekiel's two visionary voyages to Jerusalem, described in chapters 8-11 and 40-48 of his book, specifically by 10:18-19 and 11:23 of the one and by 43:1-7 and 44:1-2 of the other, the first of which was undertaken for the purpose of witnessing the destruction of Jerusalem carried into effect by the agents of heaven, and the second for the purpose of seeing the future Temple and future Jerusalem in a vision. In 10:18-19 and 11:23 he relates as the final act of his first vision how the glory of Yahweh departed from the Temple and the city, leaving by the east gate of the Temple and withdrawing to the mountain east of the city, while in 43:1-7, making express reference to his previous vision, he tells how he beholds "the glory of the God of Israel coming by the way of the east" and "re-entering the Temple by the east gate" to dwell there forever as the place of His throne and the place of the soles of His feet, and in his characteristic diffuse manner he modifies the description in 44:2 by stating that "this gate will be closed, remain unopened, neither shall anyone be allowed to enter it, until the Lord, the God of Israel, will enter it." These visions of Ezekiel the Exilic writer of II Chron. 6:2-42 doubtless had in mind when, urging that God heed the prayer of the captive nation for her restoration, he concluded the same,

Arise, then, O Lord God, to enter thy resting-place,
 Thou and the Ark of thy glory.
 Let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation,
 And thy faithful servants be gladdened with goodness.
 O Lord God, turn not away thine anointed,
 Remember the deeds of love shown to David thy servant.

⁷¹ The version of the prayer in I Kings 8:13-53 has in place of this conclusion and vs. 4, introducing it, a conclusion of a more general character, which consists of vss. 50b-53.

But whereas in the Exilic prayer, which, *nota bene*, is written in verse throughout, these lines are appropriate; in Psalm 132 they are a belated petition, for the Restoration was a matter of the past, and the Temple had even been rebuilt when the psalm was written. This blunder betrays verses 8-10 of it as what they truly are—a case of plagiarism. There is nothing surprising about this, but on the contrary it is in keeping with the general literary inferiority of the psalm. Its writer has neither originality nor poetic gift but exploits the works of others.

Note that *'im yishmēru banēka* (vs. 12) is also copied verbatim from verse 16 of the Exilic prayer and that *yēshēbū lēkissē' lak* closely resembles *yōsheb 'al kissē'* of the same verse. Further, that in the assertion that it was "on oath" that "the Lord made David the sure promise" to establish his throne forever, and that "He will not go back on it," he copies verses 4-5, 30, 34-37, and 50 of the Exilic Psalm 89B, while in the declaration, "The Lord has chosen Zion . . . for his dwelling-place . . . forever," he depends, not only upon the Exilic dedication prayer of Solomon (cf. vss. 2, 5-6, 20, 34, and 38) but also upon Ezek. 43:7, 9 and Zech. 1:17; 2:14, 16; 3:2; 8:3, the common source of all of which is Ps. 78:68-69. The expression *'ašmīah qeren* (vs. 17) is copied from Ezek. 29:21, applied however to David, instead of to Israel, as in Ezekiel. One fails to see how some interpreters can have made out that the psalm "is vividly dramatic" and marked by "poetic imagination."⁷²

DATE

Its dependence upon the Exilic dedicatory prayer of Solomon, Psalm 89B, and Ezekiel shows that the psalm cannot be pre-Exilic, as it is taken to be by some interpreters.⁷³ Nor can it be Exilic, for altogether aside from the fact that "Let us worship at his footstool" is copied from "Worship at his footstool" of Psalm 99A, this is clear from the contrast between the Exilic Psalm 89B and Psalm 132: there we see the psalmist crushed by despair at God's inexplicable overthrow of the dynasty of David and his country, while here the writer has taken new hope, feels reassured that Yahweh has "chosen Zion for his dwelling," has reclaimed it for his eternal resting-place. This shows that, when the psalm was written, not only had the nation been restored but also the Temple had been rebuilt, and Yahweh had returned to dwell in Zion, as Ezekiel beheld in his vision, and as Zechariah predicted that he would as soon

⁷² Among others Kirkpatrick and Staerk.

⁷³ Among others Kittel and Gunkel.

as the Temple would be re-erected. One thing only was missing to make the change of fortune complete: the hope which Zechariah and Haggai did hold out to Zerubbabel, the scion of David, when urging him to rebuild the Temple, that God was about to reinstate him on the throne of David, had not materialized. And it is the fulfilment of this hope, that is, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty and political independence which the people crave in the psalm. Like Zechariah's hopes for Zerubbabel, their aspirations were nationally limited. But as there is a gap at the end of verse 5, it is impossible to know whether the psalm was written in 516 B.C. on the completion of the rebuilding of the Temple, in which case Zerubbabel would be referred to in the entreaty, "Turn not away thine anointed," or at some unknown time after this event.

5, 7. *A dwelling . . . His dwelling*] *Mishkēnōth* is amplificative plural.

8. *Thou and the Ark of thy glory*] As in Pss. 29:1, 96:7 and 150:1, 'oz denotes *glory*.

9. *with righteousness or with salvation*] Not only from vs. 16 but also from II Chron. 6:41 it would seem that *śedeq* is used as a synonym of *tšhū'a*.

11. *the sure promise*] 'Emeth is not the object but an adverbial accusative. *he will not go back on it*] I have not hesitated to render *lō' yashūb mim-mennāh* with this colloquial phrase, since it is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew idiom.

17. *I will make the horn of David to wax great*] *Qeren* is a very common biblical figure for power.

18. *shall be illustrious*] This seems to me to be the meaning of the figurative use of *yašiš*, of which there is no other example.

PSALM 102

1. *Prayer of a Wretch Who in His Despair Pours Out His Grief to God*

- 2 Hear my prayer, O Lord,
Let my cry reach thee.
- 3 Hide not thy face from me in my hour of need,
Incline thine ear unto me,
Answer me quickly when I call;
- 4 For my days vanish like smoke,
And my body burns like fire.
- 12 My days are like a declining shadow,

- And I am withered like grass:
5 Parched and withered like grass is my heart;
I forget to eat my bread.
10 Yea, ashes do I eat for bread,
And I mingle my drink with my tears.
- 6 I am mere skin and bones from all my grieving.
7 I am like a screech owl in the desert,
Like an owl in desolate ruins.
8 I lie awake,
I am like a lonely bird on the roof.
9 Mine enemies ply me with abuse all the time,
Mine avowed foes rave at me.
11 Because of thy wrath and thy fury
Thou hast lifted me up high and flung me away.
- 24 He has broken my strength in life's journey,
He has shortened my days.
25 I cry, My God, do not take me away in the midst of my
days,
O thou, whose years endure through the ages.
26 Thou of old didst lay the foundation of the earth,
And the heavens are the work of thy hands.
27 Even should they vanish, thou wouldst endure;
Even should they all wear out like a garment* and dis-
appear,
28 Thou wouldst remain the same;
And thy years would not end.
13 Thou, O Lord, abidest through eternity,
Thy glory endures through the ages.
- 14 Arise, have mercy on Zion,
It is time to be gracious to her;
Yea, the set time has come.
15 Her stone heaps are dear to thy servants,
They are filled with grief at her piles of dust.
29 May thy servants' children abide,

* Marginal gloss: *Thou wilt change them as one changes a garment.*

- Their offspring be established before thee.
 16 May the nations revere thy name,
 And may all the kings of the earth be overawed by thy
 majesty
 17 When the Lord rebuilds Zion,
 When he reveals himself in his glory.
 18 May he heed the prayer of the destitute,
 May he not despise their prayer.
 20 Yea, may the Lord look down from his sacred height,
 Look down from heaven to earth,
 21 To hear the groans of the prisoners,
 To release those who are in the throes of death,
 22 In order that the name of God may be declared in Zion,
 His praise be sung in Jerusalem
 23 When nations and kingdoms gather there to worship God.
 19 Let this be recorded for future ages
 That a people yet unborn may sing praise unto the Lord.

TEXT DISORDER

It is commonly admitted that Psalm 102 shows a conspicuous lack of sequence. But the various attempts at restoring order by elimination or dissection have not been productive of satisfactory results, as a brief review of them will show. Thus Hitzig has expunged verses 26-28, and Bickell, verses 24-28, while Duhm thinks that the psalm is made up of two poems, one of which consists of verses 2-12, and the other, of verses 13-21, 26-29, 22-23; verses 24-25*a* he considers a quotation from another poem, added to verses 2-12, while he leaves undecided, whether verse 25*b* is another quotation, pertaining to verse 28*b*, or the conclusion of a lost strophe. This is with some modification the view also of Briggs, who considers verses 24-25*a* as well as verses 25*b*-28 a later addition but does not transpose verses 22-23 after verse 29. Likewise Kittel and Mowinkel are of the opinion that the psalm is a composition made up of two heterogeneous poems—a "personal elegy," consisting originally of verses 2-12 plus 24-29, and an eschatological

hymn, comprising verses 13-23—and they have maintained, moreover, that by a later hand the two parts of the elegy were purposely torn apart and the hymn was put between them “in order to give the elegy a national character.”

The solution of the difficulty is, however, much simpler, being found in the fact that the psalm, like many others, has suffered text disorder in the course of transmission. Thus verse 12 is plainly not in its original place after verse 11, but, as its language and figures show, must originally have followed verse 4, where it fits so excellently that no further comment is necessary. I shall only draw attention to the nice paronomasia:

And I am withered like grass:
Parched and withered like grass is my heart.

Equally obvious is it that verse 10, which is conspicuously out of place between verses 9 and 11, must originally have stood after verse 5: note what a climactic effect results from the writer's continuing the line, “I forget to eat my bread,” with “Yea, ashes do I eat for bread.” I may likewise leave it to the reader to judge for himself what a cogent continuation verses 24-28 form of verses 2-12, as rearranged—the more so since it has been discerned already by Kittel and Mowinkel that verses 24-28 followed originally verses 2-12, with the difference, however, that they include also verse 29 in the continuation. But that this verse did not form a part of the continuation originally is shown by the fact that verses 24-28 in their turn must have been followed originally by verses 13-15, since the line of reasoning which the writer pursues in verses 25b-28, as to the eternity and unchangeableness of God, is concluded by verse 13, the connecting particle of which is not an original reading, being absent in the Greek. Verse 29 must originally have preceded verse 16, being the logical antecedent of it: the writer of the psalm, as verses 21-23 and 16-17 show, regards Israel's preservation as the prerequisite of the universal recognition of God which he desires. Verse 19, it seems to me, was added to the psalm as a postscript, similar in a way to the addition of verse 1 as a superscription.

THE NATION PERSONIFIED IN THE "I"

As rearranged the psalm forms a uniform whole with perfect sequence. The interpretation of the "I" of the first part cannot be subject to doubt, for since in the second part the psalmist bids God "Arise, have mercy on Zion. . . . Hear the groans of the prisoners. . . . Release those who are in the throes of death," it is plain that it is not personal affliction but the common misery which he speaks of in verses 2-11, 24-25*a*—in other words, that it is the voice of the nation that is speaking through him. "My days vanish like smoke. . . . They are like a declining shadow. . . . My body burns like fire. . . . I am withered like grass. . . . I am mere skin and bones from all my grieving" are all figures of speech, describing the life of the nation as ebbing away and threatened with extinction. This type of figure, together with the mode of style met with in the peculiar use of "I" as personification of the nation will be discussed more fully later, in connection with the group of seven psalms which were inspired by the crisis of the year 344 B.C., in which this figure as well as mode of style has similar prominence. It will suffice to remark here that of the intensity of personal feeling by which the first part of the psalm is marked, Kirkpatrick rightly says, "The poet is one into whose heart the sorrows of the nation have entered so deeply that he feels them all his own. . . . He almost loses his own personality in that of his people." This profound sympathy, together with his broad vision and spiritual depth, makes him truly the mouthpiece of the nation.

THE WRITER A FOLLOWER OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH

The writer of the psalm shows the influence of Deutero-Isaiah to a marked degree. He is swayed by his vision that through Israel's redemption the glory of God is to be revealed before all the world, and mankind led to revere him. Evidence of this is his prayer,

May the nations revere thy name,
And may all the kings of the earth be overawed by thy majesty
When the Lord rebuilds Zion,
When he reveals himself in his glory.

The last line closely resembles in language and thought the words, "That the glory of God may be revealed," of the vision with which Deutero-Isaiah opens his prophecies. This broad hope occupies the same prominence in the psalm as it does in Isaiah, chapters 40-55. It is the real motive of the psalmist's prayer that God "arise and have mercy on Zion," both parts of which pointedly conclude with the affirmation of this hope. As further illustration of his religious idealism note that for the psalmist God will be truly

... declared in Zion,
His praise be sung in Jerusalem,
When nations and kingdoms gather there to worship God—

a breadth of vision which cannot well be excelled.

Further, like Deutero-Isaiah he stresses the idea of the eternal sovereignty and the unchangeableness of God, the Creator, as the sure guaranty that the salvation he has promised is bound to be fulfilled some day. Here, too, we have a clear case of literary relationship, since parts of the thought are couched in the very language of Deutero-Isaiah, specifically '*atta hū*' of verse 28, which is modeled after '*ānī hū*' of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, where it occurs five times,⁷⁴ and *kabbeḡed yibēlū* (vs. 27), copied from *kabbeḡed tibēlē* of Isa. 51:6. Another feature which the two verses have in common with Isa. 51:6 is that they make a mere hypothetical statement and do not express any eschatological notion.

DATE

From its dependence upon Deutero-Isaiah it follows not only that the psalm must be a later product than Isaiah, chapters 40-55, which was written toward the close of the Exile, but also that it cannot be a product of that time. For, had it been written then, as some interpreters hold, the author, as a true disciple of Deutero-Isaiah, would have been carried away by his master's conviction and message of cheer for Zion that "her bondage is ended, her guilt expiated," and, instead of grieving over the death struggle of the country and crying out in despair

⁷⁴ 41:4; 43:10, 13; 46:4; 48:12.

that in wrath and fury God has flung them away, he would have burst into song over the transformation which was about to come. Rather the psalm must date from the dreary post-Exilic years when Deutero-Isaiah's dream of the restoration of Zion to glory and power was more remote from realization than ever, and when conditions grew steadily ever more desperate. As further proof of this date, note that as this psalmist implores God to "arise and have mercy on Zion," so does Zechariah (1:12) plead, "O Lord of hosts, how long yet wilt thou have no mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah at which thou hast been angry now seventy years?" Weight is added to this parallel plea by the words "now seventy years." These find their explanation in the fact that when Zechariah was prophesying (518 B.C.) approximately seventy years had elapsed since the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and that Jeremiah had predicted that at the expiration of seventy years of the Exile God would verify his good promise to bring them back to their country;⁷⁵ by emphasizing "Thou hast been angry now seventy years" Zechariah meant, then, to imply that Jeremiah's prediction still awaited fulfilment. These explanatory words of the parallel in Zechariah to the psalmist's plea, "Arise, have mercy on Zion," elucidate the lines that follow it,

It is time to be gracious to her;
Yea, the set time has come,

inasmuch as they make it plain that by "Yea, the set time has come" the psalmist has reference to the prophecy of Jeremiah—that after the lapse of seventy years God would make true his good promise. On account of all this, it seems to me highly plausible that the psalm was written at the same time that Zechariah was prophesying, even though it must be admitted that Zion might have been described as "stone heaps" and "piles of dust," at any time from the Restoration down to the return of Nehemiah in 445 B.C. As proof of this, note that, when asking Artaxerxes I to permit him to go to Judah to rebuild Jerusalem, and again on his arrival in the country, Nehemiah

⁷⁵ Jer. 29:10; see above, pp. 185 f.

dwelt on the fact that the city was still lying in ruins.⁷⁶ And he tells further that, when he undertook to restore the walls of Jerusalem, Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, expressed his opposition and contempt for the undertaking in the words, "What are these wretched Jews doing? Will they revive the charred stones out of the piles of dust?"⁷⁷—words which describe the state of Jerusalem in much the same way as do "her stone heaps" and "her piles of dust" of verse 15 of this psalm. Even after her walls had been restored, "the population of Jerusalem was small, and houses were not built," as Nehemiah expressly tells.⁷⁸ His memoirs contain still another piece of valuable information which throws light on the real conditions of the country not only before Nehemiah appeared on the scene but also after his arrival in the country. They tell of the measures which Nehemiah took to enforce the observance of the Sabbath. He forbade his own people to buy grain or merchandise "from the peoples" or "the Gentiles of the land" on the Sabbath or other holy days and ordered that the gates of Jerusalem be kept closed throughout the Sabbath so that the Gentile traders could not bring in and sell their merchandise.⁷⁹ This shows that the Gentile population of the land and adjacent countries controlled affairs to such an extent that they even monopolized trade and commerce. Further proof of this state of affairs is the record of Hecataeus of Abdera (quoted in Josephus),⁸⁰ as will be shown in discussing Psalm 9/10. Yet, notwithstanding all this, additional indication that the psalm dates from the time of Zechariah rather than Nehemiah may be seen in the lines,

He has broken my strength in life's journey,
 He has shortened my days.
 I cry, My God, do not take me away in the midst of my days.

 May he heed the prayer of the destitute,

 To hear the groans of the prisoners,
 To release those who are in the throes of death.

⁷⁶ Cf. Neh. 2:3-8, 17.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 3:34.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 7:4.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 10:32; 13:16-21.

⁸⁰ *Contra Apionem* i. 193.

Of the figures in these lines, the last, "those who are in the throes of death," and the term, "the prisoners," are appropriate in that, despite the Restoration, the nation had not yet recovered from the deathblow dealt her in 586 B.C. but was still struggling for her existence, and the larger part of the exiles had yet to return. And the prayer, "Do not take me away in the midst of my days," that is, in my prime of life, finds its explanation in the expression, "God of my joyous youth," of Psalm 42/43, and in the line, "Thou has shortened the days of his youth," of the Exilic Psalm 89B, after which "He has shortened my days" is modeled. In both these lines the nation's existence prior to her fall in 586 B.C. is looked upon as the time of her youth. Now in the days of Zechariah, being close enough to the catastrophe which ended the nation's youth, a writer may naturally have said, "He has shortened my life," and have prayed, "My God, do not take me away in the midst of my days," but for one writing as late as the days of Nehemiah it would have been unnatural to speak in this way.

IDEALISM OF THE WRITER

In the light of the conditions under which Psalm 102 was composed, the idealism of the writer stands out more than ever. Unlike the writers of Psalms 122 and 132, he is concerned neither about the Temple nor about the restoration of the dynasty of David,⁸¹ but draws strength and hope from the faith of Deutero-Isaiah that light must dawn some day, however dark the present may be. Attention must be drawn to the weary prayer of the psalmist,

Hide not thy face from me in my hour of need,
and his despondent cry,

Because of thy wrath and thy fury
Thou hast lifted me up high and flung me away.

They show how he was weighed down by the sense of national guilt, by the realization that, notwithstanding what they had gone through and experienced, the masses of Israel were still

⁸¹ Note that likewise into Deutero-Isaiah's prophecies the restoration of the dynasty of David does not enter.

walking in darkness. This disquieting consciousness of guilt is met with more fully developed in Psalms 130 and 32.

1. *Who in His Despair*] *Ya'ādoph* is used in a mental sense.

His Grief] Cf. I Sam. 1:16, *merob sîhî wêka'sî*, "because of my great grief and agitation."

4. *like smoke*] The preposition *bē* is *bē essentialia*.

my body] As often elsewhere, *'āšamōih* denotes "frame," "body."

12. *My days are like a declining shadow*] A very picturesque comparison, as it is toward evening that the shadow declines more and more, until it disappears altogether with the setting sun: cf. Jer. 6:4, "Woe unto me, for the day vanishes, the shadows of the evening decline."

5. *Parched*] This meaning of *hukkā* follows from both the parallel phrase *wayyibash* and the comparison "like grass."

to eat my bread] This is to be taken literally. Among the Arabs of Palestine or Arabia up to the present day the meal consists customarily of a piece of dry bread, and the addition of some dry dates is considered a feast.

6. *I am mere skin and bones*] This is the English equivalent of the Hebrew idiom *dabēqa 'ašmî libēsārî*.

7. *Like an owl in desolate ruins*] Among the Arabs the owl is called "mother of ruins."

9. *Mine avowed foes rave at me*] *Nishba'ū bî* cannot mean "do curse by me," as R.V. and most interpreters render, since *nishba'* is never used as a synonym of *killel*, and since, moreover, the idea which the translators seek to express by this curious rendering is expressed in Hebrew either by *luqqaḥ meḥēm qēlala*, Jer. 29:22, or by *hinnaḥtem shimkēm lishēbū'a*, Isa. 65:15. Rather the phrase is used here in the sense of the German idiom *verschworen sein gegen jemand*, that is, "They are dead against me," which A.V. seeks to express by the Hebraism "are sworn against me." Since *nishba'ū bî* is a subjective clause, the predicate of which is *mēhōlalai*, the best idiomatic rendering is *mine avowed foes*; *mēhōlal* is a case of the use of the passive participle in the sense of the active: see p. 591 n. 196.

11. *Thou hast lifted me up high and flung me away*] The line is a figure of speech, having its origin in the peculiar action of the tornado, as it is graphically described in Job 27:21 and 30:22: "The east wind will whirl him aloft, and sweep him away from his place. The wind is bearing me aloft, and is carrying me away."

24-25a. *He has broken*] Cf. Judg. 16:5, where *lē'annōthō* denotes "to overpower him."

my strength] The Kēre is the original reading, being supported by Sym., Hier., Syr., and Targ.; it is borne out also by the fact that the Kēthib leaves *'innā* without object.

in life's journey] *Derek* is a case of ellipsis, the modifying genitive—*ḥayyīm* in all probability—being omitted: this follows from both *yamai* of the parallel clause and *bahāšî yamai* of vs. 25a.

27. *Thou wilt change them as one changes a garment*] This cannot be an original part of the verse but is clearly a marginal gloss by one who mistook

the verse as expressing the later eschatological belief in the disappearance of the heavens and the earth at the end of time.

13. *Thy glory*] Cf. Hos. 14:8, *zikērō kēyēn lēbanōn*, "Its glory will be as the fame of the wine of Lebanon."

15. *her piles of dust*] *ʾApharāh* is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun *ʾāremōth* being omitted: the full phrase occurs in Neh. 3:34, while the ellipsis recurs in 4:4.

22. *may be declared . . . His praise be sung*] The infinitive *lēsapper* of the active voice is used in a passive sense and is also a case of zeugma.

19. *yet unborn or that is to be born*] *Nibēraʾ* functions as a potential participle: cf. *nōlad*, Ps. 22:32.

PSALM 147

- 1 Praise ye the Lord.
It is meet that we sing praise unto our God—sweet song.
- 2 The Lord does build Jerusalem;
He gathers the dispersed of Israel.
- 3 He heals the broken in heart,
And binds up their wounds.
- 4 He tells the number of the stars,
He can name them all.
- 5 Great is our Lord, abounding in strength,
His wisdom is infinite.
- 6 The Lord upholds the lowly,
But the wicked he humbles in the dust.
- 7 Sing unto the Lord a song of thanksgiving,
Sing unto the Lord to the music of the harp.
- 8 He covers the sky with clouds,
He provides rain for the earth,
He makes grass spring forth on the mountains;
- 9 He gives food to the beast,
And to young ravens which cry for it.
- 10 He delights not in the strength of horses,
Nor takes pleasure in a man's thighs.
- 11 The Lord delights in them that revere him,
In those that trust in his goodness.
- 12 Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem;
Praise thy God, O Zion,

- 13 For he has renewed the crossbars of thy gates,
He has blessed thy children within thee.
- 14 He will bring peace to thy borders,
With the marrow of wheat will he fill thee.
- 15 He sends out his command to earth,
His word flies very swiftly.
- 16 He gives snow white as wool,
He scatters hoarfrost gray as ashes;
- 17 He showers his hailstones like morsels—
Who can stand his frost?
- 18 When he issues his order, they melt,
When he lets his wind blow, they dissolve.
- 19 He has made known his word unto Jacob,
His laws and statutes unto Israel.
- 20 He has not granted such blessing to another people;
Nor revealed to them his laws.
Praise ye the Lord.

Psalm 147 does not rank high either spiritually or poetically, though it must be emphasized that the language and thought are by no means borrowed from other writings to the extent generally supposed. Thus *nā'wā tēhilla* of verse 1, which is considered a borrowing from Ps. 33:1, drops out as an example, since *nā'wā* is not an original reading, being absent in the Greek, but a gloss added from Psalm 33. Verse 3 is stylistically so superior to *laḥābosh lēmishbērē leb* of Isa. 61:1 that it cannot possibly be copied from it: "heals the broken in heart" is much better than "bind up the broken in heart," and "binds up their wounds" is correct usage. Of verses 4-5, "He can name them all" is copied from Isa. 40:26, and "His wisdom is infinite" from verse 28, with a certain modification, however; but "He tells the number of the stars" is quite different from "He brings out their host in full number." In verse 8, "He makes grass spring forth" seems to be copied from Ps. 104:13-14, though "on the mountains," on which the stress lies, makes this somewhat doubtful; the rest of the verse, however, though related to it in thought, is in language so conspicuously different from

Ps. 104:13-14 that any dependence upon it is out of question. Similarly striking is the difference in language between "And to young ravens which cry for it" and Job 38:41; from which it follows that the common source of both must have been current folklore. Verse 10 is in thought somewhat similar to Ps. 20:8 and 33:16-17, but in style and language it can be only contrasted, not compared, with them. Since "He will bring peace (*hassām shalōm*) to thy borders" of verse 14 is what anyone would naturally say, while "I will make thy officers peace" (*samtī shalōm*) of Isa. 60:17 is strikingly odd, it is obvious that the writer of the latter must have been the one that copied, and not vice versa, as is commonly thought. The supposed similarity of the concluding verses 19-20 to Deut. 4:7-8 is limited to *ḥuqqīm ūmishpāṭīm*. There remains, then (in addition to what has already been pointed out), verse 14b, which is copied from Ps. 81B:17, and *nidēhē yisra'el yēkannes* of verse 1, which may possibly have been modeled after *meqabbeš nidēhē y.*, of Isa. 56:8, though it must be remembered that *nidēha* and *qibbeš*, said of exiled Israel, are not uncommon expressions.

The psalmist bids Jerusalem praise God for having strengthened the crossbars of her gates, that is, by metonymy, for having restored her walls and having thus blessed her population visibly. What God has done fills him with confidence for the future. It gives him the hope that God will gather those of Israel who are still exiled and will evermore rebuild Jerusalem, and above all, that God will bring peace and prosperity to her borders. To render unto God fit praise and thanksgiving for his goodness, he recounts how God provides for men and beast, and how his wonderful might is manifested in nature. Recalling the helpless condition of his people, he takes comfort in the thought that God delights in those that fear and trust in him rather than in valor and military prowess. In conclusion, he mentions as the greatest boon which God has bestowed upon Israel that to them, and to them alone, he has revealed himself and made known his laws and statutes. Evidently for him Deutero-Isaiah and the other great prophets had not existed, even as laws and statutes are to him the sum and substance

of God's revelation—a viewpoint characteristic of Ezra and Nehemiah, in whose days the psalm was written, as verse 13 shows.

DATE

The psalm was occasioned by the completion of the walls of Jerusalem in the year 445 B.C., being composed in all probability, as Delitzsch has observed, for the festival of their dedication, which is described at length in Neh. 12:27-47. Proof of this may be seen, first of all, in the fact that, in the detailed account given in Neh. 3:1-32 of the rebuilding, the verb *hehēsîq*, "he renewed," or "repaired," is constantly used in relating how one part after another of the walls was restored, and also in the fact that with reference to each of their five gates it is stated, "They set up its doors, its locks, and its crossbars."⁸² Further, the hope and prayer of verses 2 and 14—that God may rebuild Jerusalem evermore and bring peace and prosperity to its borders—reflect truthfully the situation as it then existed, to which attention has already been drawn in the discussion of Psalm 102. Thus Neh. 7:4 comments on the completion of her walls as follows: "Now the city was big and extended over a large area, but the population was small, and houses were not built," while Neh. 3:33-4:17 and 6:1-13 tell of the conspiracy of Sanballat, Tobiah the Ammonite, Geshem the Arabian, and the Ashdodites to frustrate the restoration of the walls by threatening the Judaeans with war and plotting against the life of Nehemiah. Note, finally, that, like the writer of the psalm, Nehemiah (6:16) declares of the success of his undertaking, "This work was wrought of our God."

1. *unto our God*] Read, with Gr. and Targ., 'נָּבָא.

sweet song] Omit, with Gr., *ki* and *nā'wā*, which is a gloss added from Ps. 33:1.

2. *He gathers the dispersed of Israel*] *Yēkannes* is imperfect of reiterated action, fitting the facts of the case: in addition to those that returned from Babylonia, first with Zerubbabel, then with Ezra, the psalmist hopes that those still left behind may soon come back, as Isa. 56:8 puts it, "I will yet gather others to those that have already been gathered."

⁸² Cf. vss. 3, 6, 13, 14, 15.

8. Rahlfs⁸³ rightly takes *wē'eseb la'ābōdath ha'adām*, which some of the codices of Gr. have in excess of the Hebrew, but which is missing in Sah. and Vet. Lat.^G, as an addition within Gr. from Ps. 104:14. That the words are not an original reading is shown also by the first stich of the following verse.

16-18. The fact that, from the mention of snow and frost, some interpreters have deduced that when the psalm was written a severe winter had been experienced, and that others have gone even so far as to argue that the psalm must have been composed in the spring, when the experience was still fresh in the writer's mind, and that, therefore, the festival of the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem, which was celebrated in the autumn, cannot have been the occasion of the psalm, only shows what a lack of imagination may be capable of.

18. *they dissolve*] It follows from the context that this must be the meaning of *yizlū mayīm*, and not "and the waters flow," as it is generally rendered: *mayīm* is an adverbial accusative.

19. *his word*] The Kēthib *dēbarō* is the reading of all the Versions except Targ.; the erroneous Kērē was caused by the plurals of the second stich.

20. *Nor revealed to them his laws*] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Targ., לֹא יִסְתַּחֲרֶה.

PSALM 3

*

- 2 O Lord, how have mine enemies increased!
Many are they that rise up against me.
- 3 Many are they that say of me,
No help will come to him from God.
- 4 Yet thou, O Lord, art my shield,
Thou art my glory: thou wilt exalt me.
- 5 When I cry aloud to God,
He will answer me from his holy mountain.
- 6 When I lay me down to sleep,
I shall awake again, for the Lord sustains me.
- 7 I fear not the myriads of people
Set round about against me.
- 8 Arise, O Lord, help me, O my God.
Yea, smite all mine enemies upon the cheek,
Break the teeth of the wicked.
- 9 In God's hand is the victory.
May thy blessing be granted unto thy people.

⁸³ *Septuaginta*, X, and *Septuaginta Studien*, II, 161 (n. 1), 224.

* 1. A Psalm of David when he fled from his son Absalom.

Psalm 3 is a cry for help, with which verse 8b is anything but incongruous, for its perfects have not the force of a past tense but are precative perfects, as the imperatives which precede, "Arise, O Lord, help me, O my God," show. The psalm was inspired not by personal suffering of the writer but by the general distress of the country, which is personified in the "I." Proof of this is, first of all, the declaration,

I fear not the myriads of people
Set round about against me—

which would be an intolerable exaggeration were the psalmist speaking of attack or enmity directed against him personally. Still more conclusive is the petition with which he concludes the psalm,

May thy blessing be granted unto thy people,
as are also the words with which he prefaces it,

In God's hand is the victory.

The customary interpretation, "Salvation" or "Victory belongs unto the Lord," which obscures not only the meaning of the line but also its bearing upon the existing situation, is grammatically untenable, for the definite article of *hayyēshū'a* shows that the psalmist does not state a general truth but speaks of the victory which he and his people so ardently crave: similarly, the practically identical words in Prov. 21:31, *wēla'-dōnai hattēshū'a*, "But the victory is in God's hand," speak of the victory looked for by any warring army, and in Judg. 15:18; I Sam. 14:45; and II Sam. 19:3, *hayyēshū'a* and *hattēshū'a* speak in each case of the victory which has just been achieved. On the other hand, whenever these two phrases denote "salvation," "help," or "victory" in the abstract sense of the term without reference to any particular victory, whether achieved or desired, they are, even as in verse 3 of the present psalm, used invariably without the article.⁸⁴ We shall have occasion later in the course of this study to deal more fully with the peculiarity of style which the psalm has in common with a great

⁸⁴ Cf. I Sam. 11:9, 13; Pss. 33:17; 37:39; 60:13; 80:3; 118:14, 15, 21; 119:155; 144:10; 146:3; Isa. 26:1; 45:17; 46:13; 49:8; 52:7; 59:11, 17; 60:18.

many others—the collective “I” personifying the nation. For the present it may briefly be remarked that, properly analyzed, it presents, to a large extent, an admixture of general with personal feelings and experience. Thus in the present case the suffering described was borne by the people and the psalmist alike, but the spiritual harvest reaped therefrom was primarily the psalmist’s own experience and was far from being shared by the people as a whole, whom he endeavors to lift to his own heights of faith.

How desperate the situation has become is vividly described in the opening line,

O Lord, how have mine enemies increased!—

the dramatic effect of which is heightened by the reflection which follows:

Many are they that say of me,
No help will come to him from God.

The subject of these lines is identical with that of the preceding line:

Many are they that rise up against me.

Yet, notwithstanding the country’s hopeless situation, the psalmist’s faith remains unshaken:

Yet thou, O Lord, art my shield,
Thou art my glory,

he declares. So sure is he that God will come to the rescue of his sorely tried people that he defies the countless enemies bent on their undoing. By his own fortitude of soul he seeks to show his people that what they need above everything else is trust in God, in whose hand is the victory. He tells them further that he dreads not the dark night of their adversity but commits himself to God, who sustains him. This meaning of the lines,

When I lay me down to sleep,
I shall awake again, for the Lord sustains me,

is borne out also by the parallel figure in the following psalm:

I will lay me down and sleep in peace,
For thou, O Lord, and thou alone, wilt make me dwell in safety.

These parallel lines have the more weight, since Psalm 4 is a companion piece to Psalm 3. Their customary interpretation, by failing to recognize their sentence structure and taking them literally instead of figuratively, has carried into the lines a meaning altogether foreign to them. This being the case, it will be seen that the titles "Evening Hymn" and "Morning Hymn," commonly given to Psalms 3 and 4, respectively, have no basis in fact.

DATE

It should hardly be necessary to remark that the heading, which claims that David wrote the psalm "when he fled from his son Absalom," is fictitious were it not for the fact that there are still interpreters who either accept this statement unreservedly or see no valid reason for questioning its historicity. The fact of the case is that there is nothing in the psalm to fit the situation in which David found himself when toward the close of his long and glorious reign he was forced to flee from Jerusalem because of Absalom's revolt; for up to that moment he had marched from victory to victory and had dealt defeat to, or beaten into submission, the country's enemies round about. These, then, instead of ever increasing, had in reality been ever more waning, while he and his country had waxed in power by leaps and bounds. Further, the mental attitude of the psalmist who, when surrounded by enemies, turned to God as his sole hope and refuge, is radically different from that which David displayed under similar circumstances. The real David, as Psalm 57B/60B and also the Books of Samuel portray him, though confident that God was leading him in his military enterprises, yet relied on his sword through thick and thin, valuing military prowess above everything. Even when he fled from his own son, he had recourse to arms as the only sure means of quelling the revolt.

Aside from this, the religious advance met with in the psalm precludes Davidic authorship. The exultant trust in God which the writer manifests amid desperate conditions is the fruit of the preaching of the prophets, there being no example of it prior to their appearance. This being the case, it is also obvious

that the psalm cannot date from the time of the pre-Exilic prophetic preaching. Had it been written then, the tone of the psalm would have been different. The psalmist, instead of assuring his people that God would crush their enemies and bestow his blessing upon them, even though he describes them as spiritually wanting, would, like the writer of Psalm 50, rather have been filled with concern for their safety should they not mend their ways and conduct. But, writing as he did in post-Exilic times, after Deutero-Isaiah, in conscious departure from the pre-Exilic prophets, had declared that God in his bounteous love would blot out the people's transgressions and redeem them, though they did not merit it, he adopted, as a matter of course, the view of the prophet of the Exile, since it had received the seal of history. Similarly, the post-Exilic writer of Psalm 130, who in his departure from pre-Exilic prophecy goes still farther than Deutero-Isaiah or the author of Psalms 3 and 4, declares:

If thou wert mindful of iniquities,
Who, O Lord, would endure?
But there is forgiveness with thee:
Wherefore thou art held in awe.

The psalm reflects, moreover, the social and political conditions which mark the centuries of post-Exilic Jewish history prior to the Maccabaeon period. But there is no definite clue for fixing its date more exactly. When the real conditions of those dark centuries are borne in mind, the lines,

Yea, smite all mine enemies upon the cheek,
Break the teeth of the wicked,

to which some interpreters have taken umbrage, cease to have any odium attached to them. Hemmed in by enemies on all sides, from whom no escape seemed possible, what more human than that the psalmist should have prayed for their defeat and humiliation? Proof that this is the meaning of the figures employed in these verses may be seen in Psalm 58:7; Mic. 4:14; Job 4:10 and 29:17; and Lam. 3:30.

4. *thou wilt exalt me*] Like *nasā' rō'sh*, Gen. 40:13 and II Kings 25:27, *merim rō'sh* means "to exalt one"; used intransitively in the Qal the phrase,

construed with 'al, means "to be triumphant" or "to be victorious": cf. Pss. 13:3; 27:6; 110:7; cf. also *herim qeren*, Pss. 75:5-6 and 89:18, "to exalt one's horn." *Merim* functions as potential participle; another possible meaning of the phrase is: "Thine is the power to exalt me." As in Arabic, so in Hebrew this is the prevalent function of the participle, occurring with special frequency in the Psalms. This function may be briefly defined as the use of the participle to denote not the occurrence of the action as such but the disposition of, or the tendency of the subject toward, or its qualification for, the action. For the accurate interpretation of biblical texts this function of the participle has to be constantly borne in mind.

5. *When I cry aloud*] *Qōlī* is an adverbial accusative and, in addition, a case of ellipsis, the attributive *gadōl* having been omitted. An analogous case of ellipsis is Gr. *φωνῇ*, "aloud."⁸⁵ The verse is a temporal sentence formed with the imperfect in the protasis and imperfect with *waw consecutivum* in the apodosis.

6a. *When I lay me down to sleep, etc.*] Vs. 6a is a composite temporal sentence not introduced by a temporal particle and formed with the perfect in both the protasis and the apodosis; *wa'ishana* is not co-ordinate with *shakabti* but dependent on it, being a final clause formed (as often) with the imperfect with *waw consecutivum*.

9. *May thy blessing be granted unto thy people*] The nominal clause, vs. 9b, expresses a wish: cf. Pss. 9:7; 17:14a; 83:2a.

PSALM 4

*

- 2 Answer me, O God, when I call,
Thou who wilt right me;
Give me room and freedom in my distress:
Have mercy on me and hear my prayer.
- 3 How long, O fellow-men, shall my glory be turned into
shame?
How long will ye love vanity, pursue falsehood?
- 4 Know ye that the Lord will manifest to me his wondrous
love:
He will hear me when I call unto him.
- 5 Stand ye in awe and sin not:
Commune with your own heart when on your nightly
couch,
And be at rest.
- 6 Make sacrifices for righteousness' sake

⁸⁵ *Iliad* iii. 161.

* 1. For the Hymnal. For Strings. A Psalm of David.

- And trust in God,
 7 Even though there are many who ask,
 Who will ever again make us see happiness?
- Show us, O Lord, the light of thy countenance:
 8 Give joy unto my heart—
 Greater joy than men feel when grain and wine abound.
 9 I will lay me down and sleep in peace,
 For thou, O Lord, and thou alone, wilt make me dwell
 in safety.

A COMPANION PIECE TO PSALM 3

Psalm 4 is a companion piece to Psalm 3, both having grown out of the same situation. It is marked by the same unbounded trust in God, the same religious fervor, as Psalm 3. In lofty simplicity and poetic effectiveness it even excels it. To realize its literary excellence one must not, however, turn to the customary translation, in which the poetic unity is marred and the different parts of the psalm are notably inconsistent, because the translators, ancient and modern alike, have without exception failed to recognize the precative perfects *hirhabta* and *nathatta* of verses 2 and 8 and have misinterpreted the one as stating a past occurrence and the other as describing the psalmist's frame of mind, regardless of the fact that both perfects are preceded, and one of them also followed, by imperatives. More amazing than this prevalent misinterpretation is the course followed by some interpreters⁸⁶ who, finding the prevailing interpretation unsatisfactory, have emended the precative perfect *hirhabta* to the imperative. The confusion thus caused by the persistent refusal of biblical students to reckon with the precative perfect does, however, not end with this unwarranted emendation, which has at least to its credit that it does not materially affect the meaning of the expression: the change of the three imperatives of verse 2 to the past tense by other interpreters is nothing short of wanton text emendation.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Graetz, Budde, and Staerk.

⁸⁷ De Lagarde, Kessler, and Gunkel have been guilty of this.

As in Psalm 3, the psalmist does not offer a personal prayer but is the spokesman of the nation in distress. There is ample proof of this—more so even than in the case of Psalm 3. First of all, “I” and “we” interchange, “Show us, O Lord, the light of thy countenance” being followed by “Give joy unto my heart.” Further, note what prominence the psalmist’s exhortation addressed to his people receives in the psalm, how he pleads with them to give up their love of vanity and false pursuits, and how he urges them not to sin by giving way to despair, as many of them have done, but to trust in God and so find rest of soul. This part has proved especially vexing to the advocates of the individualistic interpretation, but it presents no difficulty when the “I” of the psalm is taken for what it is—the voice of the nation speaking through the conscience of the poet. Finally, he tells expressly from the very outset that it is the freedom of the nation for which he prays:

Give me room and freedom in my distress—

a meaning which will be further substantiated below in the note on the line.

This leads us to the all-important feature of Psalm 4—that it is supplementary to Psalm 3. Having concluded that psalm with the prayer for the defeat of the country’s enemies, the writer now opens the companion psalm by asking conversely that God make his people a free nation. Further, in the previous psalm he has mentioned how the sad plight of the country is viewed by their many enemies, while in the present he tells how it has reacted on his countrymen, how it has filled their hearts with despair.

But more essential than these new aspects is the fact that he now takes up directly what he considers the supreme need of his people—faith and righteous living. He seeks to make them see that it is by their false standards and empty pursuits—not by their adversity, it follows by implication—that the glory of the nation has been turned into disgrace. Then he goes on to reprove them for their lack of faith and tells them that, if they would cease to sin, would hold God in awe and trust in

him, peace would soon enter their hearts and reconcile them to their fate; yea, they would realize that righteous living demands sacrifices.

Concluding the psalm, he reaffirms his faith by expressing most positively (by the precative perfect) the hope that God in his grace will grant greater joy to his heart than that which men universally feel over a plentiful harvest. He has in mind the joy that will fill his heart when freedom will at last come to his nation, as the line,

Give me room and freedom in my distress,

of the opening verse shows. This line harmonizes also stylistically with those of verse 8: in both the psalmist employs the precative perfect as a means of expressing his assuredness that his prayer will be answered.

AUTHORSHIP

The foregoing analysis shows that, close as the relation between the two psalms is, there is nowhere in Psalm 4 any trace of labored imitation, but that on the contrary the psalm grows, as it were, organically out of Psalm 3, supplementing it in a very essential respect. It is obvious, then, that both psalms must be the work of one and the same author. It is also important to note that the influence of the prophets is still more marked in Psalm 4 than in Psalm 3. It is their religious ideal which the psalmist as their spiritual heir holds up to his contemporaries for their aspiration.

2. *Thou who wilt right me*] *Sidqī* functions as a verbal noun, governing the pronominal suffix as a direct object, as again in Jer. 23:6 and 33:16, *'ādōnai šidqenū*, "The Lord will right us."

Give me room and freedom] As proof of this meaning of *hirḥabta*, cf. Ps. 18:20, *wayyōšī'enī lammerḥab*, "May He free me," and Ps. 31:9, *he'ēmadta bammerḥab raglai*, "But thou wilt grant my feet to stand on free soil." From the remarks on *bammerḥab* in Psalm 31 it follows that *hirḥib*, construed with *lē*, expresses two ideas—"to make" a country "free" and "promote its growth." As another illustration of this characteristic of verbs I shall mention *yarash*, denoting both "dispossess" or "drive" a person "out" of hearth and home and "take possession of"—the common method in the primitive stage of society of acquiring land or property. This is the characteristic of verbs in Indo-European languages as well as in Semitic.

in my distress] This is a case where Hebrew omits the possessive pronoun, though English requires it—a construction of which we have had other examples before.

3. *O fellow-men*] This meaning of *bēnē 'ish* is supported (1) by Lam. 3:33 and (2) by II Sam. 20:1, where *'ish*, used as collective, denotes "the body politic" or "citizens": *yisra'el* is a later addition to *'ish lē'ohalaw*, as the plural as well as the suffix of *lē'ohalaw* shows: cf. also the note on Ps. 49:3.

4. *will manifest to me his wondrous love*] Read, in accordance with Ps. 31:22, **לִי יִפְתֹּחַ**.

6-7. *Make sacrifices for righteousness' sake*] The abstract *šedeq* is a qualitative genitive: other examples of the kind are Ps. 7:14, *kēlē maweth*, "death-bearing weapons"; Isa. 53:5, *mūsar šēlōmenū*, "chastisement which brought salvation to us"; Job 8:6, *šillam nēwath šidqeka*, "He would make thy home to prosper in proof of thy righteousness"; 36:17, *dīn rasha*, "the judgment that pursues the wicked."

Even though there are many] Vss. 6b and 7a are a concessive sentence, of which the protasis is formed with the participle and the apodosis with the imperative.

Show us] The imperative form *nēsā'*, with the Nūn retained, recurs in Ps. 10:12, and there is similarly a number of examples of the infinitive form *nēsō'*; for the spelling with *samek*, after Aram., a later copyist is responsible. The emendation *nās me'alēnū* by Gunkel and *kissā* by Graetz and Budde are on a par with those of *hirḥabta* of vs. 2 pointed out above.

8. *men feel*] The suffixes of the third plural of *dēgānām* and *tirōshām* are used impersonally.

Sela of 3:3, 5, 9, and 4:3, 5, recurring in thirty-seven other psalms and also in the psalm, Habakkuk, chapter 3, calls for a brief remark. Nothing whatever is known about the etymology or meaning of the word. The only thing which is certain is that it is nowhere a part of the text. It seems to be a technical term, which may have reference to musical accompaniment.

PSALM 5

*

- 2 Give ear to my words, O Lord,
Pay heed unto my sighing.
- 3 Harken to my plea, my God and my King,
As I pray unto thee.
- 4 O Lord, hear my cry in the morning—
In the morning when I look to thee with hope and offer
up prayer.
- 5 Truly, thou art not a God to be pleased with wickedness:
The evil man dare not seek refuge with thee;

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David.

- 6 The impious cannot endure thy presence.
Thou hatest all evildoers,
- 7 Confoundest those that speak lies;
The bloodthirsty and deceitful man God abhors.
- 8 But I, through thy abounding love, I may enter thy
house,
Or I may worship thee in awe by facing thy holy Temple.
- 9 Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness to confute mine
enemies,
Make thy way plain to me.
- 10 There is no truth in their mouth,
Their mind is an abysm of evil,
Their throat a gaping sepulcher,
Their tongue is smooth.
- 11 Convict them, O God;
Let their own plots bring them to fall.
Thrust them down for their many sins,
For they defy thee.
- 12 But let all those that take refuge in thee rejoice,
Let them ever shout for joy, because thou shelterest
them:
Let them that love thy name exult in thee.
- 13 Surely thou, O Lord, wilt bless the righteous,
Thou wilt surround them with favor as with a shield.

The question whether Psalm 5 is the cry of an individual or of the nation in trouble is not difficult to decide, for the concluding verses,

But let all those that take refuge in thee rejoice,
Let them ever shout for joy, because thou shelterest them:
. . . Surely thou, O Lord, wilt bless the righteous,
Thou wilt surround them with favor as with a shield,"

show that the psalmist is the spokesman of his people, that it is their change of fortune for which he prays so ardently. By "the righteous" of the last verse, the context shows, the righteous nation is meant, *ṣādīq* being used as a collective: other examples of this use are Ps. 7:10; Isa. 24:16; Hab. 1:13 and 2:4.

For the further interpretation of the psalm and for determining its date, I deem it advisable to proceed with verse 8:

But I, through thy abounding love, I may enter thy house,
Or I may worship thee in awe by facing thy holy Temple.

Light is shed on the second of these lines by the dedication prayer of Solomon (I Kings 8:23-53). This product of the Exile distinguishes between prayers offered up in the Temple and prayers uttered in any other place and asks that God heed not only the first but also the second and that he do so even if the prayer is offered up in the distant enemy's land.⁸⁸ From the distinction made in this prayer it is clear that in the lines of this psalm that are under discussion, the writer means to emphasize that by the grace of God he may enter the Temple or worship God anywhere. Further, the words of the dedication prayer, "If they pray to thee in the direction of their land . . . the direction of the city which thou hast chosen and the Temple which I have built to thy name" (vss. 44 and 48), are most explicit with regard to what the lines of the psalm express rather briefly by the preposition *'el*, that it was the common practice in those days to look in the direction of the Temple in Jerusalem when praying anywhere else. The practice is mentioned again in Dan. 6:11:

Now Daniel went to his house and three times a day he would kneel to pray and give thanks to God as heretofore, while he had the windows of his room open in the direction of Jerusalem.

And it is referred to also in Ps. 28:2 with the same brevity and by the identical preposition as in Psalm 5:

Hear my prayer when I cry unto thee,
When I lift my hands toward thy holy shrine.

The practice has continued to prevail among orthodox Jews down to the present day. In a similar way, the Mohammedan while praying looks in the direction of the Kaaba of Mecca, and he calls the practice *Qibla*, "the direction in which one is faced" at prayer.

The meaning of verse 8 thus ascertained leaves no room for

⁸⁸ See vss. 44-50.

the prevailing interpretation of the psalm that it is a liturgical hymn designed to be recited during the offering of the daily morning sacrifice. Nor does the verse permit the inference that the psalmist considered himself graced by God for being privileged to be present at this sacred ceremony. Rather will it be seen that he minimizes the importance of the Temple and its cult and, in common with the Exilic writer of Solomon's prayer, stresses instead the idea that God may be sought and worshiped anywhere. This advanced view, however, did not begin to take hold of the minds of the masses until the Exile. The best proof of this is the Exilic dedication prayer of Solomon. How incomprehensible such a view was to the people before the Exile may be seen from Hos. 9:1-5, where the prophet, speaking from the point of view of the people, asks them in a vein of irony what they will do in the enemy's land at their festive season, on the day of Yahweh's feast, when they will be unable to worship him according to rite and custom? But since Exilic origin of our psalm is clearly excluded, Exilic conditions being nowhere reflected in it, there is room for one conclusion only—that it must date from post-Exilic times.

Another religious advance is met with in the lines,

O Lord, hear my cry in the morning—

In the morning when I look to thee with hope and offer up prayer.

In these lines the writer makes the point that his motive in offering up prayer in the morning is not because this is the customary time of prayer but because his heart is stirred anew with hope in God—a point which requires no further elucidation.

Still more important for the progress of religious thought met with in the psalm and for fixing the date more definitely are the following lines:

The evil man dare not seek refuge with thee;

The impious cannot endure thy presence.

The profound thought expressed in these lines has generally escaped the interpreters, possibly because of the brevity with which it is stated. It is elucidated by two passages of the Book

of Job, in one of which it is expressed briefly as here, and in the other in great fulness and detail. Speaking from his own inner experience, Job declares in the one (13:14):

This indeed [that he can account to God for his conduct] has been
my support,
For the godless cannot approach him;

while in the other passage (27:7-10; 31:2-3) he says:

May mine enemy fare like the wicked,
Mine adversary like the unrighteous,
For what would be the hope of the godless man
If God were to cut off, were to blot out, his life?
What fellowship has he with God on high,
What communion with the Almighty in the heaven above?
Is He not a terror for the wicked,
A dread for evildoers?
Will God hear his cry when trouble comes to him?
Or will he find delight in the Almighty,
Be able to call unto God at all times?⁸⁹

It is the heart-searching thought emphasized in these two passages of Job which is restated in substance and couched in different language in the foregoing lines of the psalm. And there is, besides, other evidence of the author's dependence on Job. The most noteworthy is the line, "There is no truth in their mouth," which has the expression *někōna*, used with the meaning "truth" or "truthfulness," in common with the words, "because ye have not spoken to me truthfully,"⁹⁰ of Job 42:7-8. This point of similarity is especially weighty, since the use of *někōna* with this meaning is limited to these two examples. Note also that the line, "Thou hatest all evildoers," has the phrase *pō'ālē 'awen* in common with the line, "A dread for evildoers," of Job, quoted above, and that it is also in thought reminiscent of it.

DATE

From the fact that it is dependent upon Job it follows that the psalm must have been written later than 400 B.C., which

⁸⁹ As to 31:2-3 following originally after 27:8, cf. my *The Book of Job*, pp. 54-58, 133 ff.

⁹⁰ In these two verses of Job *někōna* is an adverbial accusative.

is the approximate date of Job. This date is borne out also by the situation reflected in the psalm. It is much the same dark situation we have seen pictured in Psalms 3 and 4, only by this time the state of affairs has evidently become even more gloomy and more hopeless. Note the psalmist's impassioned plea to God for help in the opening lines. Note also the description of the treacherous, bloodthirsty enemies, of whom the psalmist says,

Their mind is an abysm of evil,
Their throat a gaping sepulcher.

The enemies are not opponents or traitors within the ranks of the people, as generally thought, but, as in many other psalms of this period, are foreign oppressors—a point which will be considered more fully in discussing Psalm 9/10. In the light of this situation the plea,

Convict them, O God,
Let their own plots bring them to fall;
Thrust them down for their many sins,
For they defy thee,

ceases to be vindictive; also "Surely thou, O Lord, wilt bless the righteous"—that is, righteous Israel—loses much of its savor of self-righteousness, for, measured by the wicked doings of the enemy, Israel might have been deemed righteous. It is, however, worthy of note that the writer of Psalms 3 and 4 has a higher and more rigid standard and accordingly does not consider Israel especially righteous. The disheartening conditions under which the psalm was composed are vividly portrayed also in the lines,

Truly, thou art not a God to be pleased with wickedness

and

Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness to confute mine enemies,
Make thy way plain to me.

They show how difficult it was for the writer not to lose hope and how at times he must have been on the verge of despair.

4. *when I look to thee with hope and offer up prayer*] As to the grammatical structure and meaning of *'e'ērak* and *wa'āšappē*, note that the second is a circumstantial clause and that the indirect object *l'ka* of the first is to be

construed also with *wa'dšappē*, being a case of brachylogy. Another such case is *qōlī*, which is to be construed as direct object also with *'e'ērak*.

5. *Truly*] *Ki* functions as an emphatic particle.

The evil man dare not seek refuge with thee] The verb *gūr* is used with its primary meaning, just as it is in the participle *gēr* meaning "a stranger to whom a citizen has extended shelter and protection." In ancient society a stranger was not entitled to protection by the law of the country, unless a citizen admitted him to his hearth and home and so took him under his special protection. The suffix of *yēgūrēka* is not an accusative suffix—*gūr* being an intransitive verb—but an indirect object: cf. Ps. 85:5.

6. *The impious*] *Hōlēlīm* does not mean "the foolish" or "the arrogant" but "the impious" or "the wicked," as Gr. in fact understood it; it is found again with this meaning in Ps. 73:3, where it is used as a synonym of *rasha'*, even as it is here of *ra'*.

9. *to confute*] Cf. the note on Ps. 8:3.

10. *in their mouth*] Read, with the Versions, בפימון.

Their mind] As to this meaning of *qirbām*, cf. the analogous German *Innere*.

an abyss of evil] *Hawwōth* is a plural of intensity and can mean either "physical" or "moral abysmal evil."

13. *Surely*] As in vs. 5, *ki* functions as an emphatic particle.

PSALM 7

*

- 2 O Lord my God, in thee do I take refuge.
Save me from all them that persecute me, deliver me
3 Lest, like a lion, the enemy ravage and tear me,
With none to come to my rescue.
5 If I have ever ill-treated him that lived at peace with me,
If I have despoiled him who for no cause is mine enemy—
4 O Lord my God, if I have done this,
If my hands have committed these iniquities,
6 Then let the enemy pursue and overtake me,
Let him trample my life underfoot,
And lay my glory† in the dust of the grave.
7 Arise in thy wrath, O Lord,
Arise to stay the fury of my foes,
Awake, order that justice be done unto me;

* 1. *Shiggayon* of David, which he sang to the Lord about Cush, a Benjaminite.

† Or: *the land of my glory*.

- 8 And though a throng of people compass thee about,
Return thou from battle victorious.
- 9 The Lord metes out justice to all nations:
Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness,
Deal with me according to mine innocence.
- 10 Oh, let the perfidy of the wicked come to an end,
And establish thou this righteous people—
Thou who triest the heart and the mind, thou who art a
righteous God.
- 11 My shield is with God, who helps the upright of heart.
- 12 He is a righteous Judge—a God ever ready to manifest
his anger.
- 13 Surely, he will once again whet his sword,
Brace his bow to take aim.
- 14 Death-bearing weapons has he ready for him [the ene-
my],
His arrows turned to fiery shafts he will hurl at him.
- 15 Even though he travails with iniquity, is pregnant with
evil,
His dark design shall prove abortive.
- 16 He has dug a pit, and dug it diligently:
He shall fall himself into the trap he has laid.
- 17 His evil doings shall recoil upon his own head,
His violence fall upon his own skull;
- 18 But I will offer thanks to the Lord—
The thanks due his righteousness;
And will sing praise unto God Most High.

It may be seen almost at a glance that the psalmist is the spokesman of his people, that in their behalf he urges God to arise. The very tone and language of the psalm leave room for no other conclusion:

Lest, like a lion, the enemy ravage and tear me,

or

Arise in thy wrath, O Lord,
Arise to stay the fury of my foes,
Awake, order that justice be done to me—

borders on the comic if (as a number of scholars hold) the psalm were the plea of an individual under the attack of a merciless enemy.

Even more conclusive are the lines,

And though a throng of people compass thee about,
Return thou from battle victorious;

and

Surely, he will once again whet his sword,
Brace his bow to take aim.
Death-bearing weapons has he ready for him
His arrows turned to fiery shafts he will hurl at him—

in which lines the psalmist expresses the hope that God may fight in person on the side of His people and vanquish the enemy.

As a final proof that the psalm is a plea which the nation puts forth, note the syllogism of verse 9:

The Lord metes out justice to all nations:
[Therefore] Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness,
Deal with me according to mine innocence—

a point which cannot be gainsaid even if the psalmist had not followed this argument with

Establish thou this righteous people.

The interpreters who, regardless of these facts, hold that the psalm is the plea of an individual, point to verses 3, 5-6, and 14-17 and argue that, inasmuch as in these verses "the enemy" is construed as singular, he must be an individual. However, their argument is, to say the least, amazing, as they have overlooked that Hebrew has in common with English (or, for that matter, any other language) the collective use of the terms for enemy, with the difference, however, that, while in English "the enemy" and "the foe" may be construed either as singular or as plural and always have the definite article, in Hebrew *'ōyeb* and *šar* are invariably construed as singular,⁹¹ and among the sixty-three examples which occur there are only five of *'ōyeb* and two of *šar* which have the article. A third of these examples

⁹¹ Ps. 9:7 is no exception to the rule, since the text read originally *'ōyēbai* instead of *ha'ōyeb*.

occur in other psalms, and two-thirds in the rest of Old Testament writings.⁹² From the examples listed⁹² it may be seen that, like Psalm 7, the psalms in which these examples occur have elsewhere in the psalm the plural of "enemy" or of a synonym.⁹³ Since, then, "the enemy" of verses 3, 5-6, and 14-17 is a hostile force, the view that the psalm is the plea of an individual has no basis in fact. What is still more serious, some of the defenders of this view, in order to make the facts fit to their theory, have not even refrained from changing the plural of *rōdēphai* of verse 2 and *šōrērai* of verse 7 to the singular or from striking out *kol* of the former,⁹⁴ or have argued that verses 7-11 are a later adjunct.⁹⁵ It is but one of the numerous instances that might be cited to show in what kind of rut present-day biblical text-criticism is.

The fear which the psalmist expresses in verse 3—that the enemy may, like a lion, ravage and tear them—as well as the portrayal which he gives of the enemy in verses 15 ff., in particular of his dark designs, shows that the very existence of the nation was endangered. Also his impassioned appeal,

Arise in thy wrath, O Lord,
Arise to stay the fury of my foes,
Awake, order that justice be done unto me,

and his despairing cry,

Oh, let the perfidy of the wicked come to an end,

portray vividly the gravity of the situation. It is obvious, therefore, that the enemy was a foreign nation or even more than one nation.

⁹² The examples are Exod. 15:6, 9; Lev. 26:25; Num. 10:9 (*haššar*); Deut. 21:10; 28:53, 55, 57; 32:27, 42; 33:27; II Sam. 19:10; 22:18; I Kings 8:33, 37, 44, 46 (*ha'ōyeb*); Jer. 6:25; 18:17; 31:15 (16); Ezek. 36:2 (*ha'ōyeb*); Hos. 8:3; Am. 3:11; Zech. 8:10 (*haššar*); Pss. 7:6; 13:3, 5; 18:18; 31:9; 42:10; 43:2; 44:11, 17; 55:4; 60:13; (=108:13); 64:2; 74:3, 10, 18; 78:42, 61; 89:23; 106:10; 107A:2; Lam. 1:5, 7, 10, 16; 2:3, 7, 17, 22; 4:12; Ezra 8:22, 31; II Chron. 6:24, 36; 25:8; 26:13 (*ha'ōyeb*). To these is to be added the one example of *šōnē*, Ps. 106:10, used as a synonym of *ōyeb*.

⁹³ Psalm 107A is the only exception to this rule, "the enemy" not being mentioned anywhere else than in vs. 2.

⁹⁴ Among others Duhm, Briggs, and Gunkel.

⁹⁵ Kittel.

DATE

The oath of verses 5, 4, and 6 is of positive help in determining the date of Psalm 7. To realize its significance one must bear in mind that in ancient and medieval times an oath involved an imprecation upon the speaker, also that there are only two other examples of a similar oath in the Old Testament: Ps. 137:5-6 and Job 31:5, 7-34, 38-40. In every other instance when there is a question of an oath, the curse is suppressed, and only the noncommittal phrase, "May God do so unto me and still more," is retained, though as a rule even this is omitted. The explanation of the avoidance of the real oath is to be found in the sinister power which was universally believed to adhere to a curse. The people refrained from uttering a curse even for literary purposes, so great was the fear that it might take effect, even though pronounced without design. As another illustration of this fear may be mentioned that when in the synagogue of the past the anathema was pronounced against an infidel (as it was, for example, against Spinoza in the synagogue of Amsterdam) the shrine containing the Scrolls was draped in black and the synagogue thrown in darkness and that, following the anathema, the blessing of God was invoked upon the rest of the congregation in order to avert any ill effect resulting upon the innocent congregants from the curse pronounced against the offender.

Because of this fear people felt about uttering a curse, it is not conceivable that any ancient writer would have resorted to such a solemn curse as that of Psalm 7 for mere rhetorical effect. Nor would the psalmist have dared to support with such an oath his declaration that his people have done nothing to provoke the hatred of the enemy had he not been convinced that what he affirmed was true. But such an assertion would not have been true of any of the attacks which Israel suffered in pre-Exilic times, for these were all more or less provoked, either by entangling alliances or other aggressive policy. Even the Philistine bondage in the days of Samuel and Saul is no exception, since at the time Israel was still engaged in the conquest of Canaan. The declaration can hold true only of post-

Exilic times prior to the rise of the Maccabees, when the Jews of Jerusalem and vicinity were politically powerless, unable to defend themselves against the attacks of their neighbors or of the world-powers that were constantly scheming, if not actually fighting, for the control or possession of Palestine. It is exactly this situation which is reflected in Psalm 7. It explains why the psalmist stresses that the overthrow of the enemies can be accomplished only by the direct intervention of God. It also enables us to see the full meaning of the words,

While there is none to come to my rescue,

and to realize the pathos of the psalmist's asseverating under oath that the bitter hatred of the enemy is without ground.

The psalm is a valuable document of post-Exilic history, affording us a true insight into the social and political conditions as they actually prevailed in pre-Maccabaeian times. It has certain points of resemblance to Psalms 9/10 and 35. Psalm 9/10 describes in detail the helpless, wretched condition of the people touched upon in Psalm 7, and Psalm 35 dwells at great length on the point that the enemy's hostility toward them is ungrounded. Both psalms have in common with Psalm 7 the fact that they lay great emphasis on the clandestine doings of the enemies and that the psalmist sees no other recourse left than to turn to God and trust in his help. The trust of the writer of Psalm 7 lacks, however, the noble element characteristic of the author of Psalms 3 and 4 and to some degree also of that of Psalm 5. Still, what has been said of Ps. 5:11 holds true also of Ps. 7:13-17: in the light of the situation that inspired the psalm, these verses lose much, if not all, of their vindictiveness. Likewise, what has been remarked of Ps. 5:13 applies to the present psalm: when the psalmist speaks of his people as righteous and innocent, he uses the terms relatively, measuring the nation by the perfidy of her enemies, who are waging an unprovoked war on her. As proof of this, note that he follows his plea,

Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness,
Deal with me according to mine innocence,

Oh, let the perfidy of the wicked come to an end,
And establish thou this righteous people,

with

Thou who triest the heart and the mind, thou who art a righteous God—

which has point only if the psalmist means to imply that God, who looks in the minds of men, knows that the enemies have been perfidious, that they are warring on his people without cause. Conscious of their innocence, he goes on to exclaim:

My shield is with God, who helps the upright of heart.

5, 4. Vs. 4 must originally have followed vs. 5, for it would be contrary to all rule and usage in Hebrew as well as in any other language that the demonstrative *zō'th* should refer anticipatorily to the content of vs. 5, though separated from it by another sentence. Some interpreters have recognized the impossibility of such a construction, but, instead of drawing from it the obvious inference that vs. 4 cannot be in its proper place, they have arbitrarily emended *zō'th* to *gē'ūth*.

him that lived at peace with me] *Shōlēmī*, used with verbal rection, is participle of the Qal, not of the Pō'el, which does not exist of *shalam*. There cannot be any doubt about this meaning, since in Job 22:21 the imperative *shēlam* occurs again with the meaning "be at peace with." (The preceding *'immō* of the verse in Job is to be construed with *shēlam*, as well as with *haskēn*, being a case of brachylogy.)

If I have despoiled] One fails to see why this meaning of *'āhallēša* should ever have been questioned, since another meaning of *hilleš* is "to pull out" or "tear out" (cf. Lev. 14:40, 43) and since, further, the Qal fem. passive participle *hālīša* means "spoil": cf. Judg. 14:19; II Sam. 2:21.

6. *my glory*] *Kēbōdī* is used as a synonym of *naphshī* and *hayyayī*—a use which is found again in Pss. 16:9 and 57B:9 (= 108:2), as well as in Gen. 49:6. To my mind, this peculiar connotation of *kabōd* developed out of the use of the word to denote "glorious body politic," as in Isa. 5:13; 17:3-4; 21:16; Hos. 9:11, or "land of my glory," as in Ps. 30:13. The present case may be considered as a sort of connecting link between the two connotations, since "I" is the nation personified. Since, then, these two meanings of *kēbōdī* are bound up with each other, it may be seen how arbitrary Halévy's and Gunkel's emendation *kēbedī*, "my liver," is here as well as in Pss. 16, 30, and 57B.

in the dust of the grave] *'Aphar* is a case of ellipsis, the modifying genitive *maweth* being omitted. The full phrase occurs in Ps. 22:16, and other examples of the ellipsis are Job 7:21; 17:16; 20:11; 21:26.

7. *to stay the fury of my foes*] There is no ground for objecting to the interpretation which takes *bē'abrōth* as the objective of "arise," Baethgen's statement that "'ebra in every instance that it occurs with *qūma* or *hinnāsē*' refers to God" being amazing. As a matter of fact, there is not a single instance of *'ebra*'s occurring with either *qūma* or *hinnāsē*, and only once, in the

present case, does *'appēka* occur with *qūm*. This being the case there is no warrant for emending *bē'abrōth*, as Budde and Gunkel have done.

order that justice be done unto me] The perfect *šiwwītha*, which Gunkel has arbitrarily emended to the imperative, is a precative perfect as the imperatives which precede and follow it show. The accents and the customary translation to the contrary, *'elai* is to be construed with *šiwwītha* and not with *ūra*. Aside from the fact that it would be absurd to say, "awake for me," there is no other example of such a construction of *'elai* with *ūr*,⁹⁶ while there are parallel examples of the construction *'elai mishpāl šiwwītha*: cf. Lev. 25:21; Lam. 1:17.

8. *And though a throng of people compass thee about, Return thou from battle victorious*] The prevailing translation of the verse has obscured its meaning, and in consequence unwarranted emendations have been resorted to by Budde, Gunkel, and others. Yet the text is perfect and its meaning plain. First of all, the verse is a concessive sentence, formed with the imperfect in the protasis and the imperative in the apodosis. Further, *lē'ummīm* denotes here not "peoples" but *people*: of the many other examples of the plural of *lē'om* and its synonyms used with this meaning, cf. Gen. 17:4 ff.; 35:11; Prov. 24:24; Job 17:6. Finally, as repeatedly elsewhere, *shūb* connotes *return from battle*; cf. Judg. 8:9; I Kings 22:28; II Chron. 18:26-27: as in these examples the meaning is made clear by *bēshalōm*, so it is here by *lam-marōm*, which is an adverbial complement to *shūb* (not its objective): cf. the note on Ps. 68B:19.

As to *'ādath* connoting *throng*, cf. Pss. 22:17, *'ādath mere'im*, "an evil mob" and 68A:31.

9. *Deal with me*] *'Alai* is either a case of ellipsis, *gēmōl* being omitted, or, what is more likely, *gēmōl* dropped out by mistake; cf. Pss. 18:21 and 142:8.

establish thou this righteous people] As in Ps. 5:13, *šadiq* is used as a collective. This is made certain by the fact that *kōnen*, meaning "to fashion," "to create," may be said in regard to an individual: cf. Ps. 119:73; but *kōnen*, meaning "to establish" can be said only in regard to a people or a body of persons (cf. Deut. 32:6; II Sam. 7:24) or in regard to things and institutions.

12. *ready to manifest his anger*] This renders *zō'em* accurately, which is a nice example of potential participle (see the note on Ps. 3:4).

13. *Surely, he will once again whet his sword, Brace his bow*] The verse is a case of elliptical sentence structure, the main clause—"I aver" or "I avouch"—being omitted: other examples of the kind are Job 1:11 and 2:5; Isa. 5:9. *Yashūb* is complementary to *yilqōsh* as well as to *darak*, which is a prophetic perfect.

to take aim] *Waykōnēneha* is not co-ordinate with but subordinate to *darak*, being a final clause.

14. *Death-bearing weapons*] *Kēlē* is a case of ellipsis, the modifying genitive *milḥama* being omitted: this ellipsis is very common, cf. Gen. 27:3; Judg. 9:54; II Kings 11:8; 20:13 *et al.*; examples of the full phrase are Deut.

⁹⁶ In Zech. 13:7 *'al rō'ī wē'al geber* is another predicate of *hereb*, as may be seen from Jer. 50:35-38.

1:41; Judg. 18:11, 16-17; *maweth* is a qualificative genitive (see the note on *sibhē sedeq* of Ps. 4:6).

His arrows turned to fiery shafts he will hurl at him] Note, first, that we have a case of zeugma: *hiṣṣaw* is to be construed as another object with *hekin*; and, second, that *lēdōlēkim yiph'al* is a relative clause the antecedent of which is *hiṣṣaw*. "His arrows turned to fiery shafts" cannot be taken as a reference to the ancient practice of attaching lighted tow or pitch to arrows and discharging them into a besieged city to set it on fire but finds its explanation in the fact that lightning was in ancient Israel conceived of as Yahweh's arrows, even as it was conceived of as Zeus' bolts in ancient Greece: cf. Ps. 18:15; Zech. 9:14. For our psalmist, however, the expression no longer has any mythological notion attached to it but is a mere figure of speech—a part of his poetic vocabulary.

15. An interesting syntactical feature of the verse is the deictic particle *hinne*, which introduces it and has the function of arresting the attention and making clear the sudden change of subject from God to the enemy. The verse forms a concessive sentence.

is pregnant] Omit, with Gr., the connective *waw* of *weharā*.

His dark design] This free translation has been necessitated by the figurative use of *yalad shaqer*; the nearest English equivalent of it is *shall prove abortive*.

16. *and dug it diligently*] This renders accurately the complementary verb *wayyahpērehū*, which intensifies *karū*.

He shall fall himself] Note that the imperfect with *waw consecutivum* functions here as an emphatic future.

PSALM 9/10

*

- 9:2 (*Aleph*) With my whole heart I shall give thanks
unto thee, O Lord,
I shall tell of all thy wonders,
3 Shall delight and exult in thee,
And sing praise unto thy name, O Most High,
4 (*Beth*) When my enemies are put to flight,
When they meet defeat and perish before thee.
5 Defend my right and my cause,
Seat thyself on the judgment throne, O righteous
Judge.
6 (*Gimel*) Rebuke the heathen, destroy the wicked,
Blot out their name forever:
7a, da May my enemies be wiped out,

* 1. For the Hymnal. . . . A Psalm of David.

- And their memory cease to live;
 7c, b, dβ Level their cities, turn them into ruins forever.†
 (Daleth)
- 8 (Hē) But the Lord, who abides through the
 ages,
 Has established his throne for justice' sake:
 9 He will judge the world righteously,
 Will pass just sentence on the nations.
- 10 (Waw) The Lord is a tower of strength to the op-
 pressed—
 A tower of strength in time of trouble.
- 11 They that know thee will put their trust in thee,
 For thou forsakest not them that seek thee, O Lord.
- 12 (Zayin) Sing praises unto the Lord, ye inhabitants of
 Zion,
 Declare his works unto the nations.
- 13 Surely, he that avenges bloodguilt will remember the
 wretched,
 He will not forget their cry.
- 14 (Heth) Have mercy on me, O Lord, heed my misery,
 Thou who canst bring me back from the gates of
 death,
 15 That I may declare thy glory,
 That within the gates of the daughter of Zion I may
 rejoice in thy salvation.
- 16 (Teth) May the nations be hurled into the pit which
 they have dug,
 May their feet be snared in the net which they have
 spread;
 10:2b May they be trapped by the plots which they have
 laid:
 9:17b May the wicked be caught by their own doings.
 9:17c(T) (Yod) The righteous will exult forever
 20ba When sentence is passed on the nations;

† Heb. *May they be ruins forever.*

- 17a The Lord will make himself known when he executes judgment.
- 18 Then must the wicked go to She'ol—
All nations unmindful of God.
- 19 (*Kaph*) Surely, the poor will not always be forgotten,
The hope of the lowly will not be lost forever.
- 10:8b His eye will watch over the helpless wretch.
- 10:1 (*Lamed*) Why, O Lord, dost thou stand afar off?
Why dost thou hide thyself in time of trouble?
- 2a The poor are incensed at the arrogance of the wicked;
4aβ Flown with insolence.
- (*Mem*)
- 3a, ba For in spite of his greedy soul the wicked man is
lauded,
And the covetous man is praised.
- 13aβ,
(3bβ, }
4aa) } (*Nun*) The wicked man scoffs at God,
- 13b, 4b He thinks in his heart, He will not retaliate,
4c Yea, he thinks that there is no God.
- 5 (*Samek*) Established are his ways at all times:
Thy judgments are far above him, out of his sight.
He snaps his fingers at those who oppose him,
6a And says in his heart, I cannot be shaken.
- 13aa, 6b ('*Ayin*) Why in age after age does he escape misfortune
- 7 Whose mouth is full of cursing, of perfidy and oppression,
Whose tongue breathes evil and iniquity,
- 8a (*Pē*) Who, like a wild beast, lies in ambush to murder
the innocent,
- 9a Who, like a lion in his den, lurks in wait to seize the
poor?†

† 9b He seizes the poor when he draws them into his net.

- 10a, ba (*Šade*) Weary and oppressed, crushed and felled by
his might,
10bβ, 11 The helpless wretch says in his heart,
God will not see, he hides his face,
He does not pay heed any more.
- 12a, 18ba } (*Qoph*) Arise, O Lord, let men not be overweening
(9:20a) } any longer. §
10:12b, } O God, raise thy hand in defense of the forlorn and
18a, bβ } the oppressed on earth;
12c Forget not the poor.
14 (*Resh*) Pay heed! Surely, thou must look on misery
and sorrow.
The helpless wretch intrusts himself to thee:
Thou art the support of the forlorn.
15 (*Shin*) Break the arm of the wicked and the evil-
doers
That no trace may be found of their wickedness,
Even though one seek for it.
9:21 Fill them with terror, O Lord,
That the heathen may know that they are but mor-
tals.
10:17 (*Taw*) Hearken, O Lord, to the prayer of the poor,
Strengthen their heart, pay heed unto them. ¶
16 May the Lord be King forever and ever;
May the heathen disappear from his land.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ALPHABETIC ACROSTIC

The psalm as we have it has suffered considerable text disorder, owing to the fact that repeatedly in the course of transmission a line or a part of it was omitted in copying and put in the margin, whence in the next copy it was taken into the text mechanically at the point where it happened to be found. In addition to the complete loss of the daleth stanza, every one of the stanzas from teth to taw has been affected more or

§ *In thy sight.*¶ *To give in thy hand.*¶ Another version (Gr., Syr.): *Pay heed to their uprightness of heart.*

less by this disorder, although fortunately most of the damage which they have suffered can be repaired. Thus the line, "The Lord will make himself known when he executes judgment" (9:17*a*), cannot originally have been followed by "May the wicked be caught by their own doings" (17*b*); nor can "The poor are incensed at the arrogance of the wicked" (10:2*a*) have been continued with "May they be trapped by the plots which they have laid" (2*b*), for neither of these verses conforms to the rules of the balance of clauses governing Hebrew poetry. As a way out of the difficulty which 10:2*b* presents, Buhl-Kittel and Gunkel have resorted to radical text emendation, though the solution is much simpler. Verses 10:2*b* and 9:17*b* are misplaced parts of the curse uttered against the nations in 9:16. Not only does the curse become more complete and rounded by this rearrangement but, like the other stanzas, the teth stanza is now a symmetrical unit, made up of two distichs parallel in content as well as in form. The last stich summarizes, as it were, the preceding stichs, which by a different figure express each identically the same thought and are also alike in their syntactical structure.

The line, "When sentence is passed on the nations" (9:20*ba*), which cannot be an original part of the rest of the verse (see below), may easily be recognized as a part of what was originally the parallel (first) stich to "The Lord will make himself known when he executes judgment" (vs. 17*a*): the part of it missing in the Hebrew has been preserved by the Targum at the end of verse 17 and reads: יִינְנֵי צְדִיקִים לְעוֹלָם. Since this text, which the Targum has in excess of the Hebrew, follows what originally was the second distich of the teth stanza and, moreover, begins with yod, there cannot possibly be any doubt that it is the line with which the yod stanza originally began—a conclusion which is confirmed by the fact that, as reconstructed, the yod stanza is no longer an exception to the rule but is, like all other stanzas, made up of a pair of distichs, which in symmetry and balanced sentence structure are like the teth stanza. As to the second distich beginning likewise with yod, note that similarly the stanzas of waw and shin have waw and

shin repeated at the beginning of the second distich, and that in the aleph stanza aleph is repeated at the beginning of every stich.

Since verse 18 completes the yod stanza, it is clear that with *ki* of verse 19 the kaph stanza begins. But even if this were not certain, the possibility that the stanza of kaph could be represented, as many scholars think, by qoph, with which verse 20 begins would be excluded. One might just as well argue that in an English acrostic *p* might be substituted for *b* or *z* for *c*. The fact of the matter is that neither verse 20 nor verse 21 stood here originally (see below). Of the distich which originally followed verse 19, the second stich was in the course of transmission misplaced into 10:8*b*, for the stich as it read originally, "His eye will watch over the helpless poor," is clearly a foreign element in the description given in 10:8*a* and 9*a* of the dark doings of the wicked man, but in 9:19 it supplements excellently the psalmist's line of thought. I may add that, even if the present reading of 10:8*b* were not assailable, it could not be defended as an original part of verses 8*a* and 9*a* for the reason that it would mar the poetic beauty of these stichs, which without verse 8*b* are signally finished. The stich by which 10:8*b* was at one time preceded has been lost.

As we now turn to the lamed stanza, we observe how congruent it becomes, following the kaph stanza as it has been reconstructed. The words, "Flown with insolence," *bēgobah 'appō* (as many manuscripts read for *kegobah*), which I have placed after 10:2*a*, are not an original part of 10:3*bβ* and 4. Positive proof of this may be seen in the fact that they are missing in the original version of verses 3*bβ*, 4*aa*, *b*, as found in 10:13*aβ*, *b*. And since "Flown with insolence" is a phrase synonymous with "at the arrogance" of 10:2*a*, it may safely be concluded that it is a fragment of what was originally the parallel stich of verse 2*a*. The rest of this stich has been lost, as has also the first line of the mem stanza.

As to the reconstruction of the nun stanza, it may be seen at a glance that 10:13 marks a break in thought, being congruent neither with the preceding verse 12 nor the following verse 14.

This is not surprising, since except for the opening particle 'al mā, the verse represents the original version of 10:3bβ, 4aa, b. As proof of this, note, first of all, that the Greek has *ni'eš yhw̄h*, with which verse 3 of the Hebrew ends, joined to verse 4, and that it reads *yidrosh* also in verse 13 (instead of the *tidrosh* of the Hebrew). Note, further, that *ni'eš yhw̄h rasha'* of verse 3bβ, 4aa, cannot be the original reading, since the subject's (*rasha'*) following the object (*yhw̄h*) is faulty word order, and that *ni'eš rasha' 'ēlōhīm* of verse 13 is the correction of it, made originally in the margin, to which *ni'eš* was prefixed as a cue to show that it was after this word that the correction was to be made in the text. Note, finally, that the words 'amar bēlibbō of verse 13 were originally omitted from the same verse 4 and that the phrase which follows, *lō' yidrosh*, was added to them as a cue to indicate the place in the text where they belonged. Mark that as soon as 'amar bēlibbō is restored to its rightful place, *bal* or rather *lō' yidrosh*, the interpretation of which has been a debated point, ceases to be ambiguous, and its meaning becomes certain beyond doubt.⁹⁷ The decisive point is, however, that by this rearrangement the nun stanza, which has heretofore been thought to be missing, is restored and that, furthermore, we get in verses 5 and 6a the samek stanza by reading *sēmūkīm* instead of *yaḥīlū*, which is clearly not the original predicate of *dērakaw* (see the note on the verse).

The interrogative particle 'al mā of verse 13, which, it is clear from what has been found out about the rest of the verse, cannot be an original part of it, was in the course of transmission omitted from verse 6b, being its original beginning. Positive proof of this may be seen in the fact that reinserting 'al mā before *lēdōr wēdōr* restores the 'ayin stanza. The relative 'āsher cannot be the original reading of verse 6b because it is an impossible construction, no matter whether 'al mā is joined to the stich or not. It stood originally at the beginning of verse 7, where, in fact, the Alexandrian Version and also one of the younger Greek Versions read it. This reading of verses 6b and

⁹⁷ *Bal* of vs. 4 is, in all probability, a later change of *lō'*, caused by the omission of 'amar bēlibbō.

7 shows that 6*b* is not another part of the description of the wicked man's confidence that his prosperity will endure but that it introduces very aptly the description of his evil doings given in verses 7-9.

What we have found with regard to the stanzas *mem* to 'ayin is true also of the stanzas *pe* and *sade*—they are only apparently, not really, missing. The first consists of lines 10:8*a* and 9*a*, which probably began originally with the accusative of comparison *pēriṣ hayyōth*, and the second of verses 10-11, the first word of which, I conjecture, originally read *ṣar* (see the notes on 10:8*a* and 10 below).

The present *qoph* stanza (10:12) is conspicuously defective: the imperatives *qūma 'ādōnai*, "Arise, O Lord," and 'ēl nēsā' yadēka, "O God, raise thy hand," are both incomplete, since, unlike every other example which occurs of these phrases, the end to which God is asked to arise and raise his hand is not mentioned. It is obvious, then, that after either phrase some words must have dropped out. The two omitted portions are not lost, however, but have been misplaced, the one into 9:20*a* and 10:18*b* (excluding the last phrase *min ha'areṣ*) and the other into 10:18*a*, to which the last phrase of the verse, reading originally *ba'areṣ*, belongs. To prove my assertion with regard to the first of these two instances, which presents a rather complicated case, I must point out, first, that neither *la'āroṣ* of 10:18*b* nor *ya'oz* of 9:20*a* is original reading but that the one, as *μεγαλαυχεῖν* of the Greek shows, is a textual error for *לַעֲלֹ* or *לַעֲלֹ*, and the other, for *יַעֲלֹ*, as may be seen from *θρασυνέσθω* of one of the later Greek Versions. This being the case, it is obvious that *bal yōsīph 'od la'āloz* (or *la'āloṣ*) 'enōsh (10:18*b*), which appears to be a variant of 'al ya'āloz 'enōsh (9:20*a*), in fact originally followed *qūma 'ādōnai* of 10:12 and was omitted in the course of transmission by some scribe who presumably put it, together with *qūma 'ādōnai* prefixed to it as a cue, in the margin higher up on the page, whence in the next copy it was taken, with the cue, mechanically into the text at 9:20. At a subsequent time in the transmission of the psalm, *yosīph 'od* was omitted from 9:20*a*, and, with *bal* (or 'al) pre-

fixed and *la'āloz 'enōsh* added to it as a cue, it was put, it seems, in the blank space at the end of the psalm, whence it was in the next copy inserted mechanically into the last line of the text. Owing to the omission of *yosīph 'od* from 9:20a, the infinitive *la'āloz* was subsequently changed to *ya'āloz*, which in turn was corrupted to *ya'oz*. Additional proof that *bal yōsīph 'od la'āloz* is the original reading of *'al ya'āloz* may be seen in the fact that the phrase is evidently copied from *lō' thōsīphī 'od la'āloz* of Isa. 23:12. Note that, also, in this verse of Isaiah, the Greek correctly renders *la'āloz* ὑβρίζειν—a connotation of *'alaz* which the Hebrew dictionaries fail to make sufficiently clear, even though the adjective *'alīz* denotes "riotous," "wanton," "overweening" (cf. Isa. 22:2; 23:7; 32:13; 13:3; Zeph. 3:11).

As proof that 10:18a, *bβ, lishpoṭ yathōm wadak ba'areš*, has been omitted from 10:12 after *nēsā' yadēka*, note that it is clearly not in its proper place where found now, since "in defense of the forlorn and oppressed" does not admit of logical construction with "Pay heed unto them," and still less with "Pay heed to their uprightness of heart," as the Greek and Syriac read—a difficulty which the translators have in vain sought to gloss over. But joined to "O God, raise thy hand," the infinitive clause supplies the complement required and produces a perfect parallelism. When omitted from verse 12, the clause was in all probability put in the blank space at the end of the psalm, whence in the next copy it was mechanically joined to the last line of the psalm. The separation of the prepositional phrase from the rest of the text and the change of *ba* to *min* mark subsequent errata. The original reading *ba'ares* has been preserved by the Greek ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, while from the fact that in 9:20, whence *bal yōsīph 'od la'āloz 'enōsh* has been omitted, *ba'areš* is not found, one may conclude that it does not belong to *la'āloz 'enōsh* but that it must originally have stood in verse 18a after *wadak*. This reading of the phrase is of importance also in another respect, disposing as it does of the makeshift translation "man of the earth" or "who is of the earth"—a translation of which Luther, it is noteworthy, steered

clear. '*Al panēka*, "in thy presence," of 9:20, I take to have been originally a marginal gloss pertaining to '*al ya'āloz 'enōsh*. The qoph stanza as reconstructed reads:

10:12a, 18ba (9:20a) *qūma 'ādōnai bal yōsiph 'od la'āloz 'enōsh*
 10:12b, 18a, bβ, 12c '*ēl nēsā' yadēka lishpoḷ yathōm wadak ba'areṣ*
'al tishkaḥ 'anīyim.

Thus reconstructed, it is a well-rounded stanza, satisfying all requirements of the rhythmical balance of clauses of Hebrew poetry.

The resh stanza (10:14) has comparatively suffered least. Of minor errata, note that the first '*atta* stood originally before *tabbīṭ* and that after the second the text read originally *lēbaddēka*, which has dropped out. But far more serious, being of a disturbing nature, is *latheth bēyadēka*, which, as Wellhausen has observed, was originally a gloss on '*alēka tha'āsob*. Its customary translation "to take into thy hand" or "to requite with thy hand" is a makeshift, ignoring all rule and usage.

The second distich of the shin stanza was originally not 10:16 but 9:21. The proof is as follows. We have found that neither part of 9:20 stood originally where found at present. Since this leaves the pronoun *lahem* of "Fill them with fear," of 9:21, without an antecedent, it is obvious that this distich, too, is out of place, while, from the fact that the first word of it begins, like 10:15, with shin, it may safely be concluded that it was originally the complementary distich of 10:15, for which it is excellently suited.

Verse 10:16, I conclude, is the second distich of the taw stanza originally following verse 17—a conclusion to which the content of the verse also points, for

May the Lord be King forever and ever:
 May the heathen disappear from his land

is indeed a fitting end to the psalm.

TENSES

More serious than the disorder which the psalm has suffered in the course of transmission is the confusion which the customary interpretation has caused. Failing to recognize the

verbs of 9:5-7, 13, 16, 17^b, and of 10:14^a, 16, 17, as precativ and prophetic perfects and also 9:17^a as a temporal sentence formed with the perfect, the interpreters have mistaken the psalm for an ode of thanksgiving, though in reality it is a cry for help. As a further consequence of this misinterpretation they have, contrary to all rule, taken the infinitive *bēshūb* of verse 4 and the imperfects by which it is followed for a statement of what did happen, instead of what it really is—a statement of what the psalmist hopes will happen⁹⁸—or they have given some other forced translation (cf. R.V.). This, however, does not end the case. A number of interpreters, instead of taking their cue from the imperatives and imperfects which here, as in every other case of the kind, follow or precede the precativ or prophetic perfects, have in some of the verses enumerated gone so far as to eliminate the very mark by which the precativ and prophetic perfect may at once be identified. Thus Baethgen, Buhl-Kittel, Duhm, Bertholet-Kautzsch, Staerk, and Gunkel, following the erroneous reading of Aquila and Jerome, have changed the imperatives of 9:14 to perfects, and Kirkpatrick has accepted this change as a simple way out of the difficulty. In addition to this, Gunkel has changed also the imperfects of 9:8 and 10-11 and also the participles *dōresh* and *mēnasē'i* of verses 13-14 to perfects or imperfects with *waw consecutivum*. As in Ps. 3:8 and other examples of the kind, the precativ perfects of 9:5 and the prophetic perfects of verse 13 are reinforced by emphatic *ki*. The perfects 'azabta and hayītha of 9:11 and 10:13 are both perfects used in a declaration of faith: by which the psalmist makes the point that he considers it as an established fact, as a truth proved by experience, that God does not forsake those that seek him, that he is the helper of the forlorn.

⁹⁸ Cf. the similar examples, Prov. 1:27; Isa. 30:26; 13:9; 14:25; 45:1; 49:5, in which as in the example under discussion future happenings are spoken of, in which the infinitive *bēbō'* and the equivalent form *bēyom hābosh*, and the five infinitives construed with *le*, are every one of them continued by the imperfect; and note that in the opposite case—that is, in the description of past occurrences—the infinitive construed with *bē* or *kē* and with 'al or ya'an is invariably followed either by the perfect or by the imperfect with *waw consecutivum*: cf. (a) Gen. 39:10; I Sam. 24:11; Jer. 9:12; Amos 1:9, 11; (b) I Kings 18:18; Isa. 20:1; 30:12; 38:9; Pss. 54:2; 60:2; Job 38:7, 9-10.

SYNOPSIS

Psalms 9 and 10 are a single psalm, as they are rightly counted in the Greek Version and by Jerome. Their original order and makeup leave no doubt about this, for as reconstructed the psalm is—except for the missing dalet stanza and the first distich of the mem stanza—an alphabetic acrostic without any break or irregularity. The stanzas consist each of two distichs, the only exception being the ‘ayin stanza, which is a tristich. The last stich of the ‘ayin stanza, it should be noted, is formed by *‘amal wa’awen*, similarly is the first stich of the resh stanza by *ra’itha*. The psalm shows a marked symmetry of structure, being divided into two equal main parts, the first of which comprises stanzas aleph to kaph, and the second, stanzas lamed to taw. These in their turn may be subdivided as follows: Ia, stanzas aleph to zayin; Ib, stanzas het to kaph; IIa, stanzas lamed to sade; IIb, stanzas qoph to taw: from which it will be seen that Ia and IIa consist each of seven stanzas, Ib and IIb each of four stanzas.

Ia. The psalmist promises to render thanks unto God when the enemies of the country meet with ruin and defeat before Him; whereupon he beseeches God that as righteous Judge he hold reckoning with the enemy nations and wipe them out. (Note that there is a gap here.) He then goes on to affirm his belief that God rules the world for the promotion of justice and that hence he will in time sit in judgment upon the world to right all wrong. Convinced of this, he tells his oppressed people to look to God as their tower of strength and to trust in him, who forsakes not those that seek him. He even bids them sing his praise and declare his works among the nations, so sure is he that God will be mindful of their wretchedness and will not forget their cry.

Ib. The conclusion of the first subpart leads up skilfully to the opening of the second, the psalmist’s renewed appeal to God to heed their misery and save them from imminent death. He continues with the prayer that the dark plots the nations have laid may prove their own undoing, that they “may be hurled into the pit which they have dug.” By such summary

execution of judgment, he reflects, God will make himself known and cause the righteous to rejoice. He takes comfort in the thought that his wretched, helpless people will surely not always be forgotten, nor their hope be lost forever, that the eye of God will watch over them.

IIa. These reflections, the tone of which betrays his heavy, weary heart, shaken with fear, prompts the query with which he begins the second main part:

Why, O Lord, dost thou stand afar off?
Why dost thou hide thyself in time of trouble?

This query in its turn leads him to go on with a dramatic description of the desperate condition of his people and the cruel rule of their oppressors. The concluding lines in particular of this portrayal, which tell how the people react to their misery, are most graphic:

Weary and oppressed, crushed and felled by his might,
The helpless wretch says in his heart,
God will not see, He hides His face,
He does not pay heed any more.

IIb. Moved by the despair of the people, the psalmist makes a last impassioned appeal that God arise "in defense of the forlorn and oppressed on earth," whose hope and support he is. He implores God to break the arm of the wicked heathen and fill them with terror that they may disappear from his land and he may be King forever.

The synopsis shows that Psalm 9/10, far from being an inferior poem without rigid sequence or unity, as it is commonly thought to be, is in reality the finished product of a poet of unusual skill, who unlike other composers of alphabetic psalms did not find the given form any handicap to his genius.

THE "WICKED" IN THE PSALMS

The wicked described in the second part of the psalm are not the godless within the ranks of the nation, as is generally thought, but are, as in the first part, the foreign enemies ruling the country. This is shown by the *shin* stanza,

Break the arm of the wicked and the evildoers
That no trace may be found of their wickedness,

Even though one seek for it.
 Fill them with terror, O Lord,
 That the heathen may know that they are but mortals—

lines which, like 9:18:

Then must the wicked go to She'ol—
 All nations unmindful of God,

and also 9:6 and 17 ff., plainly speak of the wicked and the heathen nations as identical. Further proof of this is the fact that the psalm ends,

May the heathen disappear from His land.

This use of "the wicked" as a designation of the country's enemies is in no wise limited to Psalm 9/10 but is found in a great many other psalms—twenty altogether—which describe a national crisis. Of these I shall quote:

Ps. 3:8 Yea, smite all my enemies upon the cheek,
 Break the teeth of the wicked;

Ps. 17:9 From the wicked that ravage me,
 From the deadly enemies that hem me in;

Ps. 55:4 Maddened by the cries of the enemy,
 By the screams of the impious foe [*rasha'*];

Ps. 129:4 May the Lord . . . cut asunder the fetters the wicked have
 forged,
 May all the enemies of Zion be routed and covered with shame.

Especially noteworthy is Psalm 94, where as in Psalm 9/10 the psalmist beseeches God to deliver the country from the foreign oppressors, and where throughout the psalm he refers to them by no other term than "the wicked" or "the evildoers." The Exilic Psalm 68A of Deutero-Isaiah, where in verse 3 Babylonia is styled "the wicked" (I have rendered it "the wicked foe"), is the earliest example of this very common use of the term. The remaining examples of this use of the two terms are: (a) Pss. 7:10; 11:2; 31:18; 36:12 (which belongs to Psalm 35); 75:5, 9, 11; 140:5, 9 (and 141:10 and 139:19, both of which originally belonged to Psalm 140); 28:3; (b) 6:9; 14:4 (= 53:5); 36:13 (which also belongs to Psalm 35); 59:3; 64:3; 101:8; 141:4; 125:5; and 28:3.

VIEW OF RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Psalm 9/10 throws also interesting sidelight on the problem of retributive justice, which the writer touches in describing the wicked rule going on in the country, and which he treats with remarkable independence of thought. He does not share the prevailing view of his age, as expressed in Psalms 37 and 92 and other psalms—that the prosperity of the wicked is only short-lived, that sooner or later they will meet with disaster—but, like the writer of Job, he maintains that “his [the wicked man’s] ways are established at all times,” that God’s “judgments are far above him, out of his sight,” and asks, “Why in age after age does he escape misfortune?” He shows further—and this is even more noteworthy—that the common people of his days ignored the orthodox doctrine of retribution still more, that they despaired of justice—even of God. As a striking parallel to their reasoning (in 10:10-11) Ps. 94:7, 20, may be quoted:

The people say, The Lord sees it not,
The God of Jacob pays no heed:
Has the throne of terror thee for an ally—
The throne that frames evil beyond limit?

But though the writer of Psalm 9/10 does not directly answer the question he raises, indirectly he does by the belief which he expresses that God cannot permit the rule of wickedness to go on forever, that some day He will arise to bring about justice and establish the reign of righteousness. There is an essential difference between this belief and the current belief of those ages in individual retribution as fathered by Ezekiel. Whereas he asserts that in each individual case justice will invariably be meted out in the end,⁹⁹ the writer of this psalm believes that in society as a whole the reign of justice will ultimately be established. At bottom of his conviction is the prophetic belief in a better world to come—a future regenerate society.

DATE

It should be pointed out first that, since “He will judge the world righteously, will pass just sentence on the nations” (9:9)

⁹⁹ See Ezek., chaps. 14, 18, 33:12-20, and also 9.

is practically a verbatim quotation of the concluding lines of Psalms 96 and 98, which were inspired by the Restoration of the year 538 B.C., it is obvious that the psalm is post-Exilic. We need not, however, stress this point, since we have far more conclusive evidence to establish the date. It follows clearly from the portrayal the author gives of the social and political situation. He describes the country as ruled over by foreign nations and the people as destitute of political power, helpless to seek redress for the existing state of affairs. "The helpless wretch," "the forlorn," and "the oppressed on earth" are the designations he finds particularly expressive of their misery—appellatives which, said of the entire nation, have no analogies in pre-Exilic literature, since they would not apply even to the worst situation of pre-Exilic times. They fit, however, the social and political conditions of pre-Maccabaeon post-Exilic times, both those of the two centuries prior to the world-rule of Alexander the Great and those of the century and a half after his death and the division of his kingdom among the Diadochi. It is the same situation we have found reflected in Psalm 7—a similarity which is emphasized by the fact that Psalm 7 has also other points of contact with Psalm 9/10. But while the relationship with Psalm 7 leaves it uncertain whether Psalm 9/10 is a product of the last century of the Persian period or of the first century of the Hellenistic period, other records, which bear on the conditions in Judaea during the last ninety years of the Persian rule, enable us to determine its date more definitely. These records are: (1) Isa. 14:28-32, written shortly after the conquest of Gaza by Alexander the Great,¹⁰⁰ which in much the same way as this psalm describes the nation as *bēkōrē dallīm*, "the first born of the poor," that is, the poorest, the most miserable; (2) the Book of Joel, dating in all probability from the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., which has in common with Psalm 9/10 the hope that the foreign invaders may be scourged from the Jerusalem of the future: "Strangers will live in it no more," *zārīm lō' ya'abērū bāh* (4:17); (3) Psalm 83, which describes a joint attack upon the country by the neigh-

¹⁰⁰ See below, pp. 668, 670-74.

boring nations of Israel, specifying Edom and the Ishmaelites, Moab and the Hagarenes, Gabal, Ammon, and Amalek, Philistia with Tyre, and Syria, and which describes the avowed purpose of their attack as follows:

They say, Come let us destroy them,
That they cease to be a people,
And that the name of Israel be remembered no more. . . .
Let us take possession of the land of God.

On this attack described in Psalm 83 and reflected also in Joel, as well as on the control foreign peoples had over the land, mentioned in both Psalm 9/10 and Joel, light is thrown by the record Josephus quotes from Hecataeus of Abdera in *Contra Apionem* i. 193. In this record Hecataeus tells about the oppression the Jews suffered from the Persian kings¹⁰¹ as well as from their Palestinian neighbors, and he adds that the neighbors who had come into the country built themselves temples and altars and that, for demolishing them, the Jews were fined by the satraps. The obvious inference from this statement is that these foreign invaders must have had control over the country, else they could not have erected temples and altars in the land, nor would the Persian satraps have punished the Jews for destroying them. This piece of information by Hecataeus of Abdera is the more valid, since there is a reference to this situation also in the Book of Job (15:19), the approximate date of which is 400 B.C.; it reads: "To them alone [the fathers] the land was given, no strangers lived among them" (*wěłō 'abar zār bēthōkām*). The noteworthy fact about this reference is that it is couched in practically the identical words in which Joel 4:17 is. Still more important is the record, Neh. 10:32; 13:16-21, which, as pointed out above,¹⁰² shows that as early as the days of Nehemiah and long before his time the Gentile population of Judah and the adjacent countries controlled the country politically as well as economically. To my mind, these correlative documents and pieces of information point to the con-

¹⁰¹ The Persian kings referred to must have been the successors of Artaxerxes I, for he and his predecessors were favorable to the Jews.

¹⁰² See p. 389.

clusion that Psalm 9/10 is another product of the last century of the Persian period—more specifically, of the time of the reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon rather than that of Artaxerxes III Ochus for the reason that it shows that the disaster which overtook Judaea in 344 B.C. cannot as yet have happened. It is of extreme value for our knowledge not only of the social and political conditions of the period but also of the spiritual life of those dark years. Viewed in the light of the real conditions of those times, the trust in God which the psalmist expresses becomes more articulate. Finding his people stripped of all political power, left without allies and friends, he sees only one haven of refuge for them—to throw themselves upon God.

RELATIONSHIP TO PSALM 7

The points of contact which Psalm 9/10 has with Psalm 7 are for the most part similarities of thought. The similarity of language is limited to the phrase *bēshaḥath* (in 9:16 and 7:16), to *qūma yhw̄h* (in 10:12 and 7:7), and, finally, to *'ōdē yhw̄h* and *'āzammēra shimka 'elyōn*, which the opening lines of Psalm 9/10 have in common with the conclusion of Psalm 7. But even this last point of contact, striking though it may seem, is not sufficient to permit the inference that the two psalms have common authorship. Still less are the two other instances, for considered as a whole each of the two psalms shows a distinct style and language of its own.

THE "I" OR SPEAKER OF THE PSALM

Psalm 9/10 has in common with many other psalms that in the "I" the nation is personified. As far as this psalm is concerned, this feature requires no further discussion, since the existing national crisis is its subject matter from the beginning to the end. For the elucidation of this peculiarity in other psalms of the type, however, I deem it advisable to draw attention to the fact that not only does the psalm pointedly open, "I shall give thanks unto thee, I shall tell of all thy wonders, shall delight and exult in thee," etc., and does the psalmist in speaking of the nation's foes say "my enemies," but even when

he implores God to save the nation from impending ruin, he says,

Have mercy on me, O Lord, heed my misery,
Thou who canst bring me back from the gates of death [9:14].

The last line of this prayer is a figure of speech describing the life of the nation as threatened with extinction. Similar figures, we shall see later, are unusually common in the psalms in which the "I" is the nation personified. If Gunkel seeks to defend his theory that even in this psalm "I" is not used collectively, by pointing to 9:15, and maintains, "In diesem Verse wird das 'Ich' deutlich von Zion unterschieden," he has overlooked the fact that there are not a few analogous cases which refute his argument. Of these it will suffice to mention Isa. 49:20-21, where Zion—described as restored—and the children by whom she beholds herself surrounded are in reality one entity—the restored nation. Yet the writer speaks of them imaginatively as if they were two distinct entities.

9:1. *unto thee*] Read, with Gr., לְךָ before *yhwh*.

7a, da, c, b, dß. The verse has suffered disorder, for "May they be turned into ruins" can be said of cities only, not of the enemy, as in the present text. Its original order, as, except for *hema*, Schlögl has recognized, must have been as follows:

אֵיכָבֶד תָּמֹר אֶבֶד זָכְרִם עָרֵימֹן נַחֲשֵׁת הָרְבוֹת לְנֹצֵחַ הַמָּוֶה

The reading *'ōyēbai*, which, the plural of *tammū* shows, is the original reading, has been preserved by Syr., and the reading *'ārēmō* by Targ.

Ḥārabōth laneṣaḥ hēma is a nominal clause, expressing a wish, as are Pss. 3:9b; 17:14a; 83:2a. The position of *hēma* at the end of the clause predominates: cf. e.g., Deut. 32:20, 28; II Sam. 17:8; Isa. 65:23. Schlögl and Duhm, who emend *hēma* to *hinne*, which they join to vs. 8 in order to get the opening phrase of the he stanza, have ignored the fact that *hēma* is indispensable as subject of the nominal clause, as have also Bickel and others, who for the same purpose have joined *hēma*, supplemented by *'abēdū*, to vs. 8. They have all lost sight of the fact that, since of the *daleth* stanza nothing has been left, it is impossible to make any conjecture as to how the he stanza began.

8. *for justice' sake*] Cf. Ps. 122:5, *kis'ōth lēmishpāl*, "thrones for administering justice."

12. *inhabitants of Zion*] The prevailing translation, "Who dwells in Zion," is untenable, for *yōsheb*, followed by the genitive of a place name—a very common construction—is invariably a collective meaning "inhabitants":

cf. Isa. 10:24; Josh. 24:18; Judg. 1:17, 21, 27; Zech. 12:7-8, while *yōsheb* meaning "dwell" or "sit" in a place is always followed by the preposition *bē* or '*al*, Jer. 36:22 being no exception to the rule, since fifteen MSS read correctly *bēbēth* (the omission of *bē* in the editions is due to homoeoteleuton).

13. *he . . . will remember the wretched*] '*Ōthām* is anticipatory pronoun of '*ānīyīm*. Neither here nor in any of the numerous other instances where the Massoretes changed '*anī* to '*anaw* or conversely '*anaw* to '*anī* has there been any warrant for their change. I have discussed this point at length in *The Book of Job*, p. 256-57, and have pointed out that throughout Old Testament times both words were used, and rightly so, with identically the same meanings: "poor," "lowly," then "humble" or "meek" both in the ordinary and in the religious sense of the term, finally "pious sufferer," and that the differentiation of meaning, that is, the use of '*anī* with the meaning "poor," "lowly," and the use of '*anaw* with the meaning "humble" or "meek" or with the meaning "pious sufferer"—the only use of the words of which the Massoretes knew—did not come about until after the completion of the Old Testament canon.

14. *Thou who canst bring me back*] *Missōnē'ai*, as De Lagarde has observed, is a corruption of original מְסִנֵּנִי, and *mērōmēmī* was originally an interlinear gloss. The participle is used with potential force.

15. *thy glory*] Read, with many MSS, the singular for the plural of the editions.

16, 10:2b, 9:17b. In 17b read, with the Versions, נִקַּשׁ, perfect Niph'al. The perfects in these verses are precative perfects used in a curse. Other such examples are Pss. 36:13; 57:7b; 83:11.

9:17c (T), 20ba, 17a. *Yērannēnū šadiqīm yishāphēlū gōyīm* and *nōda' 'āḏōnai mishpāl 'asā* are both temporal sentences, not introduced by a temporal particle, the first being formed with the imperfect and the second with the perfect in both the protasis and apodosis.

19. *of the lowly*] Retain the textual (Kēthīb) '*ānawīm*: cf. the remark on vs. 13.

will not] Read, with Gr., לֹא, which cannot possibly be dispensed with, since *lō' lanešah* does not admit of construction with *lō'bad*, Ges.-Kautzsch, § 126z to the contrary.

10:8b. *His eye will watch over*] The present reading *yisponū* has rightly been questioned by Halévy (*Revue sémitique*, II, 818), being excluded by the subject '*ēnaw*. The text read originally יִצְפֶּי, as Gr., Syr., and Hier. show. When in the course of transmission 10:8b was omitted from its original place after 9:19 and misplaced subsequently into 10:8-9, *yisṗayū* was changed to *yisponū* in order to make the stich fit in with the description in these verses of the dark doings of the wicked man.

the helpless wretch] Read, with the Versions, לַחֲלֹקָה; the vocalization of the first syllable is uncertain.

2a. *The poor are incensed at the arrogance of the wicked*] The customary translation, "The wicked in his pride does persecute the poor," is grammatically untenable, for the construct *bēga'ḏwath* shows that *rasha'* is a genitive and that hence it cannot be subject. Nor is "In the pride of the wicked the

poor is hotly pursued" grammatically tenable, since *yidlaq* is active. Ols-hausen and Gunkel, to get around the difficulty, have unnecessarily emended *ga'dwath*, which is the more surprising since in Ges.-Buhl, *Lexicon*, *yidlaq* of this verse is taken as meaning *sich erhitzen* and *vor Ungeduld brennen*.

3a, 6a. *in spite of*] It is self-evident that it can only be with this meaning that the preposition 'al is used here: other examples of 'al denoting "in spite of" or "although" are Amos 5:9; Job 10:7; 16:17; 34:6.

is lauded . . . is praised] Read, with Gr. and Syr., חָלַל and בָּרַךְ (Baethgen).

4c. *He will not retaliate*] Cf. 9:13 and II Chron. 24:22, where, too, *darash*, used as here absolutely, has this meaning.

5, 6a. *Established are*] *Yahilū* is doubtful text; Gr. *βεβηλοῦνται* reads *yehallu*, and Syr. *shārīn* reads *mashhithīm*. From these readings it seems that the word is not an original part of vs. 5, which deals with the stability of the wicked man's prosperity and not with his evil conduct, but that it is possibly a fragment of the missing line of the mem stanza. Since vss. 5 and 6a are the samek stanza, the first word of which began with this letter, I conjecture that for the predicate of *dērakaw* the text read סָבְיוּכִים. In the course of transmission *sēmūkīm* was evidently omitted and put in the margin but was overlooked and not inserted into the text in the next copy of the Psalter. As to the meaning of *sēmūkīm*, cf. Pss. 111:8; 112:8; Isa. 26:3.

There is no real equivalent in English of the doubtless colloquial expression *yaphīah bahēm*, but "He snaps his fingers at them" is a true translation according to sense, though not according to figure; German has exactly the same colloquialism: *Er pfeift auf sie*.

8a. *Who, like a wild beast, lies in ambush to murder*] The imperfect *yahdros* must not be emended, being a final circumstantial clause, which Gr., Sym., and Hier. render correctly with the infinitive: cf. Isa. 5:11. *Hāḡserīm* does not seem to be an original reading: the customary translation, "in the lurking places of the villages," is a makeshift, and Gunkel's emendation *mēraṣṣēhim* is anything but convincing, the less so since Gr. reads 'im 'āshīrīm for *hāḡserīm*. The line as we have it is evidently incomplete, for being the pe stanza it must have begun with a phrase of which the initial letter was pe. On the strength of the comparison *kā'aryē* of the parallel distich I conclude that this phrase may have been פָּרִיץ חַיִּית, forming an accusative of comparison, and used in Isa. 35:9 either as a synonym of or an epithet to "lion." *Bam-mistārīm* is either dittography or, what is more likely, was originally a marginal variant of *bammistār* of vs. 9, which from the margin was in the next copy wrongly inserted into vs. 8.

9. Omit the second *ye'ērob* as dittography.

He seizes the poor when he draws them into his net is obviously a prosaic comment, which had originally been put down in the margin.

10, 11. *Weary and oppressed*] Read וַיִּדָּבֶה, with Aq., Sym. *θαλαβείς*, Hier. *et confractus*. The connecting *waw* shows that a word must have dropped out. This is also borne out by the fact that being the ṣade stanza, the lines must have begun with a word of which the initial letter was ṣade, which may be conjectured to have been צָר: cf. Isa. 5:30, *ḥoshek ṣar*, "depressing," or

"dismal darkness"; Job 7:11, *šar rūhī*, "anguish of my spirit"; Prov. 24:10, *šar koḥēka*, "Thy strength will wane."

by his might] Read, with Gr. ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν κατακυριεύσαι, בְּצַמּוֹ.

The helpless wretch says in his heart] The text read originally הַלֵּכָה, as the singular of the verbs and of the verbal adjective, which precede, and even more so of the verb 'amar, which follows, show: 'amar is the predicate of *hlkē*, the verse division of the printed editions being misleading. *Šar wēdakka yashodh and wēnaphal bē'ošmō* are nice examples of circumstantial clauses, modifying *hlkē*.

14. 'Atta does not seem to be in the right place, for, since the emphasis is on "thou must look" and not on "on misery and sorrow," correct usage demands that the position of 'atta be before the verb *tabbiḥ* and not before 'amal waka'as. It should be added that the rhythm of the distich is noticeably improved by reading 'atta before *tabbiḥ*. After the second 'atta the text read originally *lēbaddēka*, which has been preserved by σὺ μόνος ὀρφανῶν προστάτης of Gr. Cod. 273.

15b. *That no trace may be found of their wickedness, even though one seek for it*] No emendation is necessary, the second person singular of *tidrosh* and *timšā* being used impersonally. Nor can the plain meaning of 15b be questioned for any other reason: note, first of all, that it is a composite final circumstantial clause, of which the protasis, *tidrosh*, is a concessive clause (cf. vs. 8a and 9:21); further, that also in 9:11 *darash* means "seek"; finally, that *rish'ō* is a case of brachylogy, being the object of both *tidrosh* and *bal timšā*.

9:21. *terror*] *Mōrā* is another spelling for *mōrā*, as nine MSS, in fact, read.

10:17. *Strengthen*] *Takin* is doubtful text: Gr. and Syr. read instead *τήν ἐτοιμασίαν* and *tūyābā*, respectively, and construe it as object with *taqshīb 'oznēka*: the Hebrew of this reading is *nēkōnath (libbām)*, *Pay heed to their uprightness of heart*.

PSALM II

- 1* In the Lord I take refuge:
Why then do ye bid me,
Flee ye to the hill country as swiftly as birds fly away?
- 2 Forsooth, the wicked brace the bow,
They take aim, with the arrow on the string,
To shoot under cover of darkness at the upright of heart.
- 3 If the foundations are torn down,
What do the efforts of the righteous man avail?
- 4b-d Yet God, whose throne is in heaven,
Beholds the dwellers on earth,

* For the Hymnal. Of David.

- With searching eyes he looks upon the sons of men.
 4a, 5a In his holy temple the Lord tries the righteous man,
 approves of his worth,
 7 For as a righteous God he must love righteous deeds.
 The upright alone behold his presence.
 5b The wicked and those who love violence his soul abhors:
 6 Coals of fire he will pour down upon the wicked,
 Brimstone and scorching blasts will be their allotted
 portion.

In discussing the preceding psalm, I drew attention to the lines,

Have mercy on me, O Lord, heed my misery,
 Thou who canst bring me back from the gates of death,

as an especially interesting illustration of the peculiar use of "I" as a personification of the nation. In the opening lines of Psalm 11 we have another, still better, illustration of this peculiarity. As the continuation of "Why then do ye bid me" follows "Flee ye to the hill country," by which it is made clear beyond doubt that it is the nation, the body politic, which is personified in "me." The Massorettes, who had no understanding for such fine points, changed the plural of the imperative *nūdū* to the singular. They made the change, because failing to recognize *šippōr* as what it is—an accusative of comparison—they mistook it for the subject of *nūd*, though they might have been put on their guard by paying attention to the plural suffix *kēm* of *har*,¹⁰³ which is conclusive proof that *nūdū* is the original reading.

The advice to seek safety in speedy flight to the hill country is not the warning given by the enemy, as it is commonly interpreted—enemies are not in the habit of showing solicitude for the safety of their opponents. Rather is it the counsel which the psalmist hears urged on all sides by his fellow-men. Note the anxiety expressed in the words:

Flee ye to the hill country as swiftly as birds fly away.

What a picture these words call up of the country's peril!

¹⁰³ This is a case where Hebrew requires a possessive pronoun, though English does not use it.

Against the despair that fills the hearts of his countrymen, the faith of the psalmist stands out like a beacon in the night:

I take refuge in God,

he begins pointedly, sounding the keynote of the psalm. Though he must admit that wickedness prevails unabated, that all principles of law and order are subverted, making the righteous the helpless victims of lawless oppressors, yet his faith in God remains unshaken. Accordingly, he affirms that God in heaven, who loves righteous works and abhors evildoers, pays heed to the dwellers on earth, and that, if he suffers righteous men to be persecuted, it can be for no other purpose than to test their worth. Justice, he is convinced, will soon be triumphant. More vital than these reflections is his declaration, "The upright alone behold his presence," by which he implies that the upright, in all circumstances, live in the presence of God and derive therefrom the strength of soul which upholds them amid trials. It is the profound prophetic thought that righteousness is the bond which can bring man close to God that the psalmist touches on in this declaration.

DATE AND SITUATION

As in Psalm 9/10, "the wicked" are not godless fellow-citizens opposing the pious (as is generally thought) but foreign oppressors. Proof of this is that the picture which the psalm gives of the upright being waylaid by the wicked is in certain respects a close parallel to the more elaborated description in Ps. 10:7-10 of the dark doings of the wicked, whom we have found to be the foreign masters of the people. It is the same hopeless situation which is depicted here as there, and which justifies us in concluding that it is not accidental that the two psalms follow each other. In all probability they were inspired by one and the same extreme peril.

Though on first thought one might feel inclined to argue that the Philistine rule prior to Saul's victories and again after the fatal battle on Mount Gilboa presents a situation not wholly unlike that described in Psalm 11, yet what has been remarked with regard to Psalms 3 and 4 holds good also of this psalm.

The unbounded trust in God that characterizes the writer does not accord with the true David, nor does his staunch assurance that by virtue of his righteous life he is living in the presence of God. Such an experience was foreign to David, who had not yet outgrown the primitive notion that Yahweh could be worshiped only in the land of Israel—the domain of his interest. Reproaching Saul for having banished him from the country, he said: "If men incited thee to this course, cursed be they before Yahweh, for they have this day driven me away from sharing in fellowship with Yahweh, telling me, Go, worship other gods."¹⁰⁴

1. *Flee ye*] To what has been remarked above about the Kěre *nūdi*, it remains to be added that if *šippōr* were the subject *har* would have to have the suffix of the second fem. sing. If *naphshī* were the subject, as is argued by Baethgen and others, who take the Kěre as the original reading, the same suffix would be required.

as swiftly as birds fly away] *Nūdū . . . šippōr* is a case of brachylogy, the complete expression being *šippōr ta'ūph*.

4b-d, 4a, 5a. The customary interpretation takes *bēhēkal qodshō* and *bashshamayim kis'ō* as predicates of *yhw̄h*, losing sight of the fact that "The Lord is in his holy temple, the Lord's throne is in heaven" would have no point, which some interpreters, in fact, have felt. The difficulty the present text presents is due to the fact that *bēhēkal qodshō* was originally omitted from vs. 5a after *yhw̄h* and, with the preceding word *yhw̄h* added to it as a cue, was put in the margin, whence in the next copy cue and all were as usual inserted into the text at random.

whose throne is in heaven] Taken as a relative clause, *bashshamayim kis'ō* is very much to the point.

Beholds the dwellers on earth] Read, with εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην of Gr. U and S^b, אֵל תִּבֵּל after 'ēnaw.

With searching eyes he looks upon the sons of men] Vs. 4d, joined to 4c without any connective particle, is not co-ordinate with but subordinate to it, being a final clause. In my translation, which for a legitimate reason is somewhat free, I have endeavored to render it in a manner true to sense and in part also to construction.

tries the righteous man, approves of his worth] *Baḥan* expresses two ideas, as does *hirḥīb* of Ps. 4:3 (q.v.).

7, 5b, 6. Vs. 7 in its present place is not cogent, but, if it is placed after vs. 5a, the sequence is perfect.

Coals of fire] Read, with Sym., פְּחָמִי.

their allotted portion is the English equivalent of the Hebrew idiom *mēnath kōsām*.

¹⁰⁴ I Sam. 26:19.

PSALM 35

*

- 1 O Lord, fight them that fight me,
Wage war on them that are at war with me.
- 2 Seize the shield and buckler,
Arise to my defense.
- 3 Wield the spear and battle-ax against my persecu-
tors,
Say to me, I am thy Savior.
- 4 Let them that seek my life
Be confounded and dismayed,
Let them that plot my ruin
Be put to rout, thrown into confusion.
- 5a May they be like chaff driven before the wind,
6a May their way be dark and slippery
6b When the angel of the Lord is in pursuit of them:†
- 7 For without cause they have spread their net for me,
Without ground they have dug pitfalls for me.
- 36:13 May they fall therein themselves, those workers of
iniquity,
May they be hurled therein and not be able to rise.‡
- 35:11a, 15b, 11c Malicious accusers have sprung up, they are banded
together,
Low-minded people are banded together against me;
They charge me with deeds I know naught of.
- 20 They speak no friendly word;
They lay dark plots against the peaceful people of
the land:
- 12 They return unto me evil for good—
Forlorn am I.
- 13 When they suffered misfortune, I put on sackcloth,
I mortified myself by fasting;

* Of David.

† 5b. *When the angel of the Lord gives them chase.*

‡ 35:8. *May destruction overtake him unawares,
May the net he has spread ensnare him,
... may he fall therein himself.*

- With my head bowed to my bosom,
I prayed for them.
- 14 I went around as if they were my friends or brothers,
I was weighed down with grief,
Like one mourning for his mother.
- 15*a, c* And now that ruin stares me in the face, they re-
joice,
They jeer at me without cease. §
- 16 They deride me
And gnash their teeth at me.
- 17 How long, O Lord, wilt thou look on?
Oh, save my life from their murderous designs,
Save my lonely soul from the fierce lions.
- 18 Then will I give thee thanks before a large congre-
gation,
Will praise thee before numerous people.
- 22 Take heed, O Lord, be not silent:
O Lord, be not far from me.
- 36:12 Let me not be crushed under the proud oppressor's
heel,
Let me not be made fugitive by the hand of the
wicked.
- 35:23 Arise, O Lord my God, to defend my right,
Awake to champion my cause.
- 24*a* See justice done to me according to thy righteous-
ness,
- (24*b*) 19 Lest they that unjustly are mine enemies gloat over
me,
Lest they leer—they that hate me without cause;
- 25, 21*b* Lest they call out with glee, Aha, aha!
We see our heart's desire fulfilled:
We have compassed his ruin.
- 26 Let them be shamed and confounded
Who rejoice at my sorrowful plight,

- Let them be covered with shame and dishonor
 Who kick me *in my misfortune*.
 27 But may they shout for joy and be glad
 Who wish to see me righted;
 May they ever have cause to say,
 Magnified be the Lord, who delights in the welfare
 of his servant.
 9 Then will my soul rejoice in the Lord,
 Exult over his salvation.
 10 With my whole heart will I exclaim,
 O Lord, who is like unto thee,
 Who has the power to save the wretched from the
 hand of the mighty enemy,
 Yea, the wretched and the poor from their oppres-
 sor?
 28 Then will my tongue sing of thy righteousness,
 Sing ever of thy glory.

TEXT DISORDER

Like Psalm 9/10, Psalm 35 suffered text disorder in the course of transmission, owing to the fact that omitted verses, or parts of them, which had been put in the margin, were in the next copy taken into the text at random. (1) Psalm 36, 12-13, are two of these verses. Neither verse can be an original part of 36B, the subject of which is the boundless love of God, nor of Psalm 36A, which has for its theme the wicked man's addiction to evil. The first of the two verses apparently stood originally after verse 22 of Psalm 35, and the second after verse 7, where it fits excellently in place of verse 8, which betrays itself as the work of an interpolator by the singular of its verbs and pronominal suffixes and also by the fact that it differs from the rest of the psalm in style and cadence. As further proof that 36:13 stood originally in Psalm 35 after verse 7, it should be noted that, together with verse 6a, it is modeled after Jer. 23:12,

May their way be like slippery ground,
 May they be hurled into darkness, be plunged therein.
yihēyē darkām lahēm kahālaqlaqqoth
ba'āphela yiddahū wēnaphēlū bāh.

(2) In the troublesome verse 15*b*, *wēne'ēsaphū ne'esēphu 'alai nēkīm* was originally omitted from verse 11 before *'āsher lō' yada'tī*, and *lō' yada'tī*¹⁰⁵ (without *'āsher*) was added to the omitted words as a cue. As reconstructed verses 11*a*, 15*b*, and 11*b* read:

yēkūmūn 'ēdē ḥamas wēne'ēsaphū ne'esēphū 'alai nēkīm
'āsher lō' yada'tī yish'alūnī.

(3) Verse 20, I conclude, stood originally after verse 11, where it will be seen to fit excellently. (4) Of verse 19, *'ōyēbē sheqer sōnē' ai ḥinnām yiqrēšū 'āyīn* was omitted from verse 24 before *'al yismēḥū lī*,¹⁰⁶ which words were prefixed to the omitted ones as a cue. Another piece of external evidence that verse 19 stood originally in verse 24 is οἱ ἔχθροί μου, which several codices of the Greek read at the end of verse 24,¹⁰⁷ and which shows that in the Hebrew copy of the Jewish Alexandrian translators *'ōyēbai*, too, had been left behind in verse 24 and, with *'al yismēḥū*, was repeated as a cue before the omitted words. (5) Of verse 25, the second *'al yōmērū*, which is missing in the Syriac, is due to dittography. The rest consists of three omissions from verse 21*b* and one correction: (a) *yōmērū* is a correction of *'amērū*, and *'al* and *bēlibbām* were omitted before and after it, respectively; (b) *naphshēnū* was omitted after the second *he'āḥ*, which was prefixed to it as a cue; (c) *billa'ānūhū* was omitted after *'ēnēnū*. It should be added that, where found now, *naphshēnū* is defective text, also that in verse 21*b* the required object of *ra'ātha* is missing, which we get when *naphshēnū* is restored to the verse. As reconstructed verses 21*b* and 25 read:

אל יאמרו בלבם האח האח
 נפשנו ראחה עיננו בלענוהו

(6) Verse 21*a* was originally a marginal variant of verse 15*c* (see the note on it). (7) Verses 9–10, which in their present place are premature, stood originally, to my mind, after verse 27, forming a part of the conclusion.

¹⁰⁵ The connective *wē*, which Sah. does not read, was added later.

¹⁰⁶ In vs. 24 the connective particle is not read by Boh., Sah., Vet. Lat., Sh, and Washington MS.

¹⁰⁷ They are the Sinaitic, Verona, Vet. Lat., Sh, 55, Tht, and He.

A COMPANION PIECE TO PSALMS 7 AND 9/10

As a result of the disorder it has suffered, Psalm 35 has been generally underrated. However, it is a finished, spirited poem, intensely dramatic in character. In the "I" of the psalm the nation is personified. Proof of this is, first of all, the line,

They lay dark plots against the peaceful people of the land.

Still more conclusive are the opening lines:

O Lord, fight them that fight me,
Wage war on them that are at war with me.
Seize the shield and buckler,
Rise to my defense.
Wield the spear and battle-ax against my persecutors,
Say to me, I am thy Savior.

The language of these lines leaves room for no other conclusion than that it is in defense of the nation that the psalmist urges God to arise and take arms against the enemy. It would border on the comic if an individual, harassed by enemies, would make an appeal such as this.

The situation described in the psalm is much the same as that portrayed in Psalms 7 and 9/10. The psalmist emphasizes, more even than does the writer of Psalm 7, that his people have done nothing to provoke the hostility of their enemies—that on the contrary they did everything to promote friendly relations with them, that they even grieved and wept with them in their misfortune. Further, like the writers of Psalms 7 and 9/10, he describes his people as being on the brink of ruin, about to be crushed under the oppressor's heel and to be driven from hearth and home. As a new feature of the desperate situation (not mentioned in those two psalms) he brings out the isolation of his people by the exclamation,

Forlorn am I!

which lends color to his cry to God,

Save my lonely soul from the fierce lions.

Finally, in common with the writers of Psalms 7 and 9/10, he dwells on the treachery and intrigues of their enemies and wishes that their evil may recoil upon their own heads.

The picture the psalm presents of the existing situation makes it plain that the enemies are the foreign neighbors of the people and not, as is generally argued, the godless oppressors within the ranks of the nation. And from what we have found out about this situation in discussing Psalms 9/10 and 102 it follows that these foreign enemies not only had complete control over the country but were also living in it. This state of affairs explains why the psalmist speaks of his own people as "the peaceful people of the land." On the other hand, in Neh. 10:32 the foreign population, which monopolized trade and commerce, is called "the Gentiles of the land."

Although, unlike historical records in the narrower sense of the term, the psalm lacks concrete facts, precise details as to what had actually happened, yet it describes faithfully the conditions of the time and is thus another valuable source for those centuries of post-Exilic history about which we have but scanty direct historical information. Seen in the light of the real conditions under which it was composed, the significance of the opening lines of the psalm becomes clear. Realizing the utter helplessness of his countrymen, the psalmist by the impassioned appeal of the lines means to impress upon their minds that their hope rests with God, who alone can bring deliverance. Equally expressive is the anguish and pathos of the words,

Say to me, I am thy Savior,

with which the appeal concludes.

LITERARY VALUE

The foregoing analysis leaves no room for the generally entertained view that Psalm 35 is an inferior product. But to dispose of this erroneous estimate completely some further remarks are in order. The interpreters who take this view maintain that the psalm contains but little that is original—that it abounds in phrases and sentences taken from other writers. Their conclusions are, however, far from sound, resting as they do on an altogether mechanical comparison of the vocabulary of the psalm with that of the writers from whom the psalmist is thought to have borrowed.

To substantiate my statement let us consider 35:6 and 36:13, which verses present a clear case of dependence upon Jer. 23:12. But this is only one aspect of the similarity. Another more important side is that the two verses strike us just as much by what differentiates them from, as by what they have in common with, the passage in Jeremiah. This shows that the writer did not merely copy the passage in question but that he absorbed it and reshaped the expressions and figures he appropriated from it, to make them serve his own purpose. The same holds good of verse 17, which has in common with Ps. 22:21 the phrases (1) *naphshî* and (2) *yēhīdathî*, used with the meaning "my lonely soul," but which employs alongside of these two expressions figures not found in Psalm 22—figures which are determined, moreover, by the general content of Psalm 35 even as those of 22:21 are by that of Psalm 22. Since, however, Psalm 22 was written later than Psalm 35, the facts of the case are that it was the writer of Psalm 22 who borrowed the phrases from Psalm 35 and not the reverse. The same holds true (1) of *lēshōnî tehēgē šidqēka* of verse 28, recurring in Ps. 71:24; (2) of *lēbūshî saq* and *baššōm naphshî* of verse 13 recurring in Ps. 69:11-12, for since verse 13 of Psalm 35 is in style and rhythm markedly superior to verses 11-12 of Psalm 69, there can be no doubt to whom priority of their usage must be attributed; (3) and for the same reason of (a and b) *yebōshū wēyahpērū yahad mēbaqshē naphshî*; (c) *he'āh he'āh*; (d and e) *wēyismēhū . . . yō'mērū thamīd yigdal 'ādōnai*, which verses 15-17 of Psalm 40B (=70) have in common with verses 4, 21b, 25, and 27. As to *qōder* of verse 14 and *šal'i* of verse 15, which recur in verses 7 and 18 of Psalm 38, note that, like Psalms 22 and 71, Psalm 38 is later than Psalm 35, but that more decisive than this is the fact that the use of *hillakî* with *qōder* and that of *nakōn* with *lēšela'* in Psalm 38 shows that its writer copied not from Psalm 35 but from Job 30:28 and 18:12. Note also that *qōder šahōthî* of Psalm 35 is more poetic than *qōder hillaktî* of Job and Psalm 38, and so attests to the writer's skill and independence. The phrases *yērībai* and *qahal rab*, which verse 1 and 18, respectively, have in common with Jer. 18:19 and Isa. 49:25 and with Pss. 22:26 and 40A:10-11, are expressions of the common vocabulary which might be used by any number of authors. There remains, then, *yeshallēmūnī ra'a taḥath lōba* of verse 12 as the only other possible case of dependence, this time upon *hayēšullam taḥath lōba ra'a* of Jer. 18:20, though it is far from being certain, since *shallem* or *šāb ra'a taḥath lōba* recurs repeatedly also elsewhere: cf. Gen. 44:4; I Sam. 25:21; Pss. 38:21 and 109:5; and Prov. 17:13, in all of which, *nota bene*, the word order is regular, as in Ps. 35:12, and not inverted, as in Jer. 18:20.

3. *I am thy Savior*] *yēshū'athek* is a case of the use of the abstract for the concrete, of which we have had other examples before.

5a. *driven before the wind*] *Lipnē rūah* is a case of ellipsis, the participle 'ōber being omitted: the full phrase occurs in Jer. 13:24, and the ellipsis is found again in Ps. 83:14.

6b, 5b. *gives them chase*] Instead of *dōhē*, read, with Gr., דָּוָה: *dōhām* I take to have been originally a marginal variant of *rōdēphām*, to which *mal'ak 'ādōnai* was added as a cue to indicate the text word to which the

variant pertained; as usual, the variant and cue were in the next copy taken into the text at random.

5a, 6a, 6b, as reconstructed, form a tristich, as do vss. 13, 17, and 27, and vss. 11 with 15b and 24 with 19, as reconstructed.

7. *For without cause they have spread their net, Without ground they have dug pitfalls for me*] The nonsensical *shaḥath rishtām* is the result of mistaken word transposition: *shaḥath* stood originally after *ḥinnām* of the second stich, as Olshausen and others have rightly emended.

15b. *Low-minded*] The text is intact and needs no emendation: cf. *nēkē rūaḥ*, "low-spirited," Isa. 66:2.

are banded together] It is the preposition 'al which gives 'asaph this connotation: other examples of the use of 'asaph with 'al in a hostile sense are Gen. 34:30; Mic. 4:11; Zech. 12:3.

They charge me] Cf. Mic. 7:3, *hassar shō'el*, "The officer lays charges."

20. *no friendly word*] *Shalōm* is an adverbial accusative, not an object.

12. *Forlorn am I*] *Shēkōl*, for which various emendations have arbitrarily been proposed, is perfect text: the word means primarily "be destitute" or "deserted," "be barren" or "desolate," as may be seen from the fact that in the Piel it denotes "ravage" as a country, whether by the sword or wild animals or famine: Cf. Deut. 32:25; Ezek. 5:17, 14:15; Lam. 1:20; cf. also 'ereš *mēshakkalet*, "barren ground," II Kings 2:19, and *reḥem mashkil*, "a barren womb," Hos. 9:14. *Shēkōl lēnaphshī* does not depend on *yēshallēmū*, as usually taken, but is a nominal clause, the subject of which is *shēkōl*, and the predicate *lēnaphshī*, which functions as a periphrastic pronoun: of other nominal clauses of the kind cf. *shalōm lēna'ar lē'abshalōm*, "Is the young man Absalom all right?" II Sam. 18:29, 32; *enennū ḥaser lēnaphshō mikkol*, "He does not lack anything," Eccles. 6:2.

13. *When they suffered misfortune*] *Baḥdālōthām*, it follows from the content of the psalm, is a figure for affliction or distress: cf. the similar figurative use of *ḥolī* in Isa. 1:5; 53:3-4; Jer. 6:7; 10:19; Hos. 5:13; Eccles. 6:2.

With my head bowed to my bosom, I prayed for them] *Tēphillathī 'al ḥēqī tashūb* neither must nor can be translated literally, "My prayer returned into my own bosom," for such a translation obscures rather than conveys the meaning of the idiom. The expression finds its explanation in the common custom of bowing the head to the bosom when praying and covering the face with one's arm, or (according to Jewish practice) with the prayer shawl.

15a, c, 21a. *Now that ruin stares me in the face*] It would be unnecessary to mention that *ṣal'i* is not etymologically related to *šala*, meaning "to halt" (not "to stumble") were it not for the fact that a number of interpreters have mistaken it for that. The word denotes either "the ruin that faces one" or "the ruin that threatens one."

They jeer at me without cease] On the meaning of *garē'ū* as well as on the original reading of vs. 15c light is thrown by the variant, vs. 21a, *way-yarḥibū 'alai pīhēm*, from which may be deduced that the original text read after *garē'ū* גָּרְעוּ. From the variant it follows further that *garē'ū* is a case of ellipsis, the full expression being *garē'ū pīhēm*, and that like *yarḥibū pīhēm*, which is found again in Isa. 57:4 as a synonymous expression for *ya'arikū*

lashōn, it means "jeer at" or "rail at"; note that *qar'a 'ēnayīm bappūk*, Jer. 4:30, means "enlarge the eyes with rouge," and that Arabic *qara'a* may mean "gnash the teeth" and in the second conjugation denotes in vernacular Arabic "scold, chide." *Wēlo' dammū* is a circumstantial clause, modifying *qarē'ū*.

16. *Bēhanēphē* is corrupt text which does not admit of emendation.

They deride me] Read, with one MS and Gr., *לִעֲרֹךְ* or *לַעֲרֹךְ*.

And gnash] *Harōq* is an emphatic infinitive and needs no emendation.

17. *their murderous or evil designs*] This must be the meaning with which *shō'ā* is used here.

22. *Take heed*] *Ra'itha* is a precative perfect, as the imperfects which follow show.

36:12. *under the proud oppressor's heel*] *Regel ga'dwa* is a nice example of the use of the abstract for the concrete, the poetic effect of which is inimitable. For another example of similar effect note *lappid* "to him who suffers misfortune," Job 12:5.

Let me not be crushed under the heel is the exact English equivalent of the Hebrew idiom *'al tēbō'enī regel*: Halévy, Buhl-Kittel, and Gunkel, who have emended *tēbō'enī* to *tēbūsenī*, have failed to see how much more poetic *tēbō'enī* is.

35:23, 24. Vs. 23 has doubtless suffered text disorder. It shows a decided lack of rhythm, and *'ēlōhai wa'ādōnai* is the only example of the inversion of *'ādōnai 'ēlōhai*, as this phrase is found everywhere else. Since in vs. 24 the repetition of *'ādōnai 'ēlōhai* is not good, I conclude that it is a correction made originally in the margin for *'ēlōhai wa'ādōnai* of vs. 23, which was then erroneously inserted in vs. 24; and on the strength of the Targ., which has *'ēlōhai wa'ādōnai* joined to the first stich and reads in the second *nešhāna*, I emend vs. 23:

הֵעִי לִמִּי אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵי הַקִּיצָה לִרִי

25, 21b. *Lest they call out with glee*] The exclamation, *Aha, aha!* which, follows, shows that *'al yōmērū bēlibbām* does not mean "Lest they say," that is, "Lest they reflect in their heart," but that it means "Lest they call out to their heart's content," or "with glee." Of other examples of the kind note Isa. 49:21, *we'amarta bilbabek*, "Thou wilt call out with joy, Who has borne these to me?" or *ibid.*, 47:8 and Zeph. 2:15, *ha'ōmēra bilbabāh*, "Who speaks boastfully."

We see our heart's desire fulfilled] Cf. Ps. 78:18, "By demanding food to still their appetite" (*lēnaphshām*); Deut. 23:25, "Thou mayest eat grapes thy fill" (*kēnaphshēka*).

26. *Who kick me*] *Magdīlīm* is a case of ellipsis: the full expression, which is found in Ps. 41:10, is *higdīl 'alai 'aqeb*; the ellipsis occurs again in Pss. 38:17 and 55:13.

27. *May they ever have cause to say*] The Hebrew imperfect may express any sort of modal statement.

his servant] Israel is meant by it, as throughout Isaiah, chaps. 40-55.

10. *With my whole heart*] *'Ašmōthai* is used as a synonym of *naphshī*—a use of which there are many other examples.

Who has the power to save] *Maššil* functions as potential participle.

28. *Sing ever]* *Tehēgē* is a case of zeugma; it is to be construed with both *šidqēka* and *tēhillathēka*.

PSALM 18

*

- 2 I love thee, O Lord, who art my strength.
 3 The Lord is my rock, my fortress, my Savior:
 He is my God, my fort in which I take refuge;
 He is my shield and horn of victory, my stronghold.
 He will deliver me from tyranny.†
 4 I cry, "Glory to God!"
 That I may be rescued from mine enemies—
 5 While the waves of death engulf me,
 And the infernal torrents fill me with terror;
 6 While the snares of She'ol entrap me,
 And the meshes of death hold me fast.
 7 In my need I call on the Lord,
 To my God do I cry,
 That in his palace he may hear my voice,
 That my prayer may come to his ear.‡
 8 And the earth quakes, rocks,
 The mountains shiver and shake to their founda-
 tions,
 Because he is wroth:
 9 Fumes rise from his nostrils,
 Devouring fire issues from his mouth;
 Blazing coals flash forth from him
 10 As he lowers the sky and comes down,
 With dark clouds at his feet,
 11 As, riding on a cherub, he flies along,
 Swoops down on the wings of the wind.
 12 He shrouds himself in darkness,
 Weaves a pavilion round him

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of the servant of the Lord who addressed the words of the song to the Lord when the Lord had delivered him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul. He said:

† See II Sam. 22:3.

‡ Variant: *before him*.

- Out of the pouring rain and the dark clouds.
 13 From the brightness before him blazing coals flash
 forth,
 Piercing the clouds:
 14 From heaven the Lord thunders,
 The Most High sends forth his voice;
 15 He shoots arrows to scatter them,
 Hurls thunderbolts to put them to rout.
 16 The bed of the sea is made visible,
 The foundations of the earth are laid bare
 At the Lord's thundering rebuke,
 At the withering blast of his wrath.
- 17 May he reach down from heaven and snatch me up,
 May he draw me out of the raging waters,
 18 May he deliver me from the mighty enemy,
 From the implacable foes, who were stronger than I
 19 When they fell upon me on the day of my calamity.
 May the Lord be my staff,
 20 May he free me and save me:
 Surely he delights in me;
 22 For I have kept the ways of the Lord,
 I have not strayed wantonly from my God.
 23 His laws are ever present in my mind,
 I depart not from his precepts.
 24 I have lived uprightly in his presence,§
 Kept clear of guilt.
 21 May the Lord repay me for my righteousness,
 May he reward me for the cleanness of my hands.||
- 26 To a loving man thou showest thyself full of love,
 To a faultless man, perfect;
 27 For a pure man thou art pure,
 But devious thou appearest in the eyes of a crafty
 man.

§ 25b. *In his sight.*

|| 25a-b. *May the Lord reward me for my righteousness, for the cleanness of my hands.*

- 28 Surely, thou wilt deliver an afflicted people
And humble the pride of the haughty;
- 29 For thou, O Lord, art my light,
My God, who illumines¶ the darkness about me.
- 30 With thee I leap o'er barriers, scale walls.
- 31a God's ways are perfect;
(31b) 12:7 The promises of the Lord are genuine,
Sterling as silver seven times refined.
- 18:31c He is a shield to them that trust in him,
32 For who is God save the Lord?
Who is a rock save our God—
- 33 Save the God who girds me with strength?***
He will smooth the way for me,
- 34 He will make my foot agile as a hind's,
And will make me secure as if I stood on a mountain
peak;
- 35 He will steel my hands for the fight
And make mine arm as a bow of brass.
- 36 Furnish me a shield wherewith to save me,
Let thy right hand uphold me,
And let it be thy task to make me a great people.
- 37 Give me room to move and lend firmness to my
steps.
- 38 Oh, that I may give chase to mine enemies,
That I may rout them
And not turn until I have destroyed them.††
- 39 Oh, that I may cut them to pieces that they may
rise nevermore:
May they fall vanquished before me.‡‡

¶ *Thou illumineest.*

*** 40a. *Thou wilt gird me with strength for the war.*

†† 41. *Make my enemies to turn their backs to me,
Annihilate those that hate me.*

42. *If they cry, there will be none to help them,
If they cry to the Lord, he will not answer them.*

‡‡ 40b. *Cause my adversaries to fall vanquished before me.*

- 43 Oh, that I may pound them like unto dust which
the wind whirls away,
That I may crush them like unto the dirt in the
street.
- 44 Deliver me from the attacks of heathen peoples,
Set me up as head over the pagan nations.
Let peoples whom I do not know be my vassals:
- 45^b Let the foreigners cringe before me,
45^a May they bow low at the very sound of my name.
46 May the strangers fade away,
Steal quaking out of their forts.
- 47 The Lord lives! Praised be my rock,
Exalted be the God of my salvation—
- 48 The God who will avenge me,
Who will bring the pagan nations under my power;
- 49 Who will deliver me from my grim foes,
Make me victorious over mine enemies,
And free me from the tyrant.
- 50 Therefore will I extol thee, O Lord, among the
heathen,
I will sing praise unto thy name.
- 51 May he grant victories§§ to his king,
And show love unto his anointed,
Unto David and his descendants forever.

A CRY OUT OF THE DEPTHS

The customary interpretation of Psalm 18 as an ode of thanksgiving has no basis in fact but is altogether attributable to the bias with which the psalm has been approached because of the spurious heading. Yet, though it is well known what mischief bias may do, this misinterpretation could not have persisted down to the present were it not for the contributory factor that a standard Hebrew syntax—such as we have, for example, for Arabic—remains still to be written, as the particular force of the tenses of the psalm is so clear that there

cannot possibly be any doubt about the nature of its content. Thus the four successive imperfects in verse 7, and again in verses 17-18, admit of no other interpretation than that the writer is entreating God now. Still more does this hold good of the fifteen successive imperfects of verses 38-39 and 43-46. If it should be objected that in the psalm as we have it verses 43-46 do not follow verses 38-39 directly, there still remains the fact that verses 43-46 have as many as nine successive imperfects, and verses 38-39 as many as six, to which are to be added the three successive imperfects in verses 36-37, followed by a precativ perfect. Attention must also be drawn to the fact that in verse 44 the interpreters, inconsistent with their translation of the rest of the psalm, have rendered 'am lō' yada'ti ya'abdūnī either, "A people whom I have not known shall serve me," or, "A people I knew not did serve me," which is nonsensical. And as the imperfects of all these verses, so, according to rule and usage, can the two imperfects of verse 21 express only a wish, and, of the two imperfects of verse 4, 'eqrā' must denote either a present action or a resolution, and 'iwwāshe'a must be a final clause, as Luther and the Revised Version, following the Greek, practically take it, though they have failed to draw from it the proper conclusions as to the force of the imperfects of the rest of the psalm and have not even recognized that verse 5 is construed with verse 4 as a protasis without an introductory conjunction, of which we have had many examples before. Finally, of the imperfects with *waw consecutivum* of the vision of God's manifestation, verses 8-16, those of verses 8 and 12-16 function as present tense—a usage of which there are numerous other examples,¹⁰⁸ while those of verses 10-11 form the protasis of the composite temporal sentence of verses 9-11, of which usage, too, there are many other examples.¹⁰⁹

It is clear, then, that instead of being a hymn of thanksgiving

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Pss. 29:5-6, 9; 34:8; 42:6. Note the simple imperfect in the repetition of the refrain in vss. 12 and 43:5; 50:17; 55:6-7; 69:21; 102:8; 109A:3, 5; 139:1, 5; Num. 22:11; II Sam. 19:2; Hab. 3:19; Job 14:2.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Pss. 5:4; 69:11, 12; 92:8; 143:4-5; Job 10:22: read *wattōpha' kēmō 'ophel šalmauweth*; 11:3; 14:10b.

for the bounteous goodness God has shown to the people, for the victories he has granted them over their enemies and the dominion he has given his people over them, the psalm is in reality a cry to God for deliverance from dire distress. This fact, far from detracting from the poetic and spiritual worth of the psalm, immeasurably enhances it, making the psalm stand out as what it truly is—a signal monument of faith. As the spokesman and torchbearer of his people in their night of oppression, the poet begins the psalm by affirming his trust in God as their savior and rock, who alone can deliver them “from tyranny.” Combined with this declaration of faith, he gives a graphic picture of their extreme plight: whereupon he turns in fervid prayer to God. But suddenly he breaks off, as it were, and, carried away by his faith, describes how he beholds God manifesting himself in answer to his prayer and acting in their behalf (vss. 8–16). The description in these lines must not be taken literally, but like God’s apparition amid the storm in Job, chapters 38 ff., or his revelation for the execution of judgment on Babylon in Psalm 97, it is a piece of imagery suggested by the primitive notion that the thunderstorm is the supreme manifestation of the Deity. Because of its appeal to the imagination, this notion was at all times favored by biblical writers for describing a divine revelation. Other examples are the description in Exod. 19:16–18 of the revelation on Mount Sinai; the opening line of Amos, recurring more elaborate in Joel 4:15–16; Isa. 30:27–28; and Ezek. 1:4. But verses 8–16 of the present psalm are the most elaborate description of the kind which we have and are of singular poetic beauty. Following this vision, the poet returns to the dark reality and prays with more fervor than before that God save and free his people from their implacable foes who, falling upon them with superior force, have dealt them a calamitous blow.

Then he goes on to tell that what gives him strength and fills him with hope is his righteous living in the presence of God and the knowledge that he and his people have “kept clear of guilt.” The fact that the psalmist thus emphasizes his people’s guiltlessness, together with what follows from verses 18–19 that the

enemy's attack was unexpected, recalls the similar asseverations in Psalms 7 and 35 that their enemies were fighting them without ground. This connection with these two psalms is reinforced by the further fact that the lines,

May the Lord repay me for my righteousness,
May he reward me for the cleanness of my hands,

bear resemblance to verse 9 of Psalm 7,

Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness,
Deal with me according to mine innocence.

But more important for the proper evaluation of Psalm 18 is the profound truth which follows the psalmist's affirmation of innocence:

To a loving man thou showest thyself full of love,
To a faultless man, perfect;
For a pure man thou art pure,
But devious thou appearest in the eyes of a crafty man.

He says in effect that to believe that eternal goodness rules the world, not blind, inexorable fate, or a capricious, indifferent power, requires a pure heart and right living. By this observation he reiterated an essential thought of the preaching of the prophets, who all emphasized that to believe in the reality of the good requires the constant exercise of our faculties in the direction of the good, that it demands perseverance in living up to the divine ideal within us. As Jeremiah expressed it:

If one practices justice and righteousness,
If one champions the cause of the poor,
Then it is well with one—
This indeed is to know God.¹¹⁰

And not only Jeremiah but all the prophets stressed the importance of conduct. They all realized that, while right living springs from positive belief and ideals, it in turn feeds the source from which it springs. They knew from experience that nothing strengthens belief like right living and that nothing weakens and obscures it like wrong living. Always, you will notice, when a man has profaned his ideals, when by reckless living he has smothered the divine promptings within him, he seeks refuge in cynicism. Because they understood this, the

¹¹⁰ 22:15-16.

prophets pointed out again and again that it was the gross materialism and the corrupt lives of their contemporaries that made their preaching to them, to quote Isaiah, "like the words of a sealed book"—beyond their grasp and experience.

The fact that the psalmist, in giving expression to this profound insight of the prophets, has couched it in a new form and given it a fresh interpretation, shows that he is not merely repeating what they experienced but that he is speaking from his own inner experience, from his realization of the power of the divine within himself. His reflection in these lines reveals both his originality and his spiritual-mindedness better even than almost any other line of the psalm. There applies, then, to Psalm 18 what I have previously pointed out about other psalms of this type. The psalmist's use of "I" finds partial explanation in the fact that he draws from the wealth of his own spiritual experience in order to make his downtrodden people profit by it. He seeks to make them realize that their safety lies in faith and a righteous life in the presence of God, who "is a shield to them that trust in him." He passionately endeavors to save his wretched countrymen from despair and to lift them up to the luminous heights on which he himself stands so that with him they may exclaim,

Thou, O Lord, art my light,
My God, who illumines the darkness about me.
With thee I leap o'er barriers, scale walls.

That this is his object and that it is the common misery, not personal affliction, that has inspired the outpourings of his soul, is shown by the lines that precede those just quoted:

Surely, thou wilt deliver an afflicted people
And humble the pride of the haughty—

that is, the haughty pagan people, as we shall see in a moment. It is clear also from the concluding part of the psalm, where the psalmist prays to God:

Let it be thy task to make me a great people.
Give me room to move."¹¹¹
Deliver me from the attacks of heathen peoples,
Set me up as head over the pagan nations.

¹¹¹ Or *Give me free soil.*

With these lines we have touched a chord which is out of harmony with the spiritual excellence of the rest of the psalm. The writer not only prays that God put an end to the rule of foreigners over his people's country and make them a free nation but, misled by the current hope for world-power, he also asks that they be made the masters of their pagan oppressors and given dominion over other lands. Unlike Deutero-Isaiah and his followers among the psalmists, he forgets that one wrong cannot be righted by another and that lust for power has been humanity's curse throughout history, inflicting upon it untold suffering—a lesson which he might have learned from the lot of his own people.

DATE

To our implicit denial above of Davidic authorship of the psalm, it might be objected, since in the days of David the nation was overtaken by a disaster not unlike the situation reflected in Psalm 18, and since moreover David, as we have seen, was inspired by it to utterance, why then could this psalm not be another work of his? The answer is that the spiritualization of religion met with in Psalm 18 precludes that it could have been written by David, for he, who was a born soldier, taken up with either defensive or offensive wars all his life, was temperamentally incapable of such profound spiritual experience and transcendent faith as are revealed in the psalm. These presuppose the rise of spiritual prophecy, being the direct fruit of it. Note what far-reaching difference there is in spirit and general atmosphere between the Davidic Psalms 60A and 57B/60B and Psalm 18. For David there is only one explanation for the calamity that has befallen the nation—God has mysteriously ceased to march forth in person with their army: but he is sure that God will soon abandon his adverse attitude, especially since he has unlimited confidence in his own valor and the tested valor of his brave warriors. The thought on which so much emphasis is laid in Psalm 18—that God's help must be merited by a pure heart and righteous living—does not enter David's reasoning either in Psalm 60A or in Psalm

57B/60B. Nor is there even remotely any approach in them to the serene faith in God which is the keynote of Psalm 18. Bound up with this is another conspicuous difference between these two psalms and Psalm 18. Though in Psalm 60A David gives a graphic description of the ruin into which the country has fallen, yet he will not admit that the disaster is irretrievable, but in his self-reliance he is confident that, with God on their side, he and his people will do brave deeds and trample their foes underfoot. This self-assurance he displays even more in Psalm 57B/60B, showing as he does that even the most arduous task could not daunt him. In contrast to this, the writer of Psalm 18 is so conscious of the helpless condition of the country that he emphasizes again and again that from God alone can their deliverance come. It is the same situation that we have seen described in the previous psalms, which grew out of the fact that the country was politically as well as economically under the complete control of its foreign population—"the Gentiles of the land," as they are called in Neh. 10:32. It is clear, then, that Psalm 18 is post-Exilic, being another valuable document affording us an insight into the real situation of those days. And since, in addition to the asseverations which it has in common with Psalms 7 and 35, it gives much the same description of imminent peril as these and their companion Psalm 9/10, it may safely be concluded that it is another cry for help dating from the time of Artaxerxes II Mnemon. Since, then, it is the conditions of the post-Exilic Jewish community with which the psalm deals and not those of the time of David, as the fictitious heading alleges, it is evident that the last verse, too, is not genuine but a later addition—a conclusion which follows also from the fact that it reads like prose and contrasts conspicuously in style with the rest of the psalm.

The recurrence of the psalm in II Samuel, chapter 22, is irrelevant for our purpose. It has no more significance than the similar recurrence of Pss. 105:1-15+96:1*b*-13*a*+106:1, 47-48 in I Chron. 16:8-36. As this piece betrays itself as an interpolation by its curious composition, being made up of heterogeneous parts, among which figures the doxology at the end of Book

III of the Psalter, so do chapters 22 and 23:1-7 (another psalm) of II Samuel betray themselves as later additions by the fact that not only are they unrelated to 21:15-22, which precedes them, and 23:8-39, which follows them, but they also tear apart these two pieces, which form a unified whole. The compiler went about his task just as uncritically as did the editors of the Psalter responsible for the heading of Psalm 18, who committed the blunder of speaking about David's persecution by Saul as succeeding the enmity he suffered from others.

2. *I love thee*] Though there is no other example of the Qal, *'erhamēka* cannot be questioned, since *rahima*, "love tenderly," is found also in Arabic.

3. *My Savior*] Read, with many MSS and the text of II Sam., *ūmēphalti li*.

He will deliver me from tyranny] Read, with the text of II Sam., *meḥamas tōshī'enī*.

4. *I cry, "Glory to God!"*] *Mēhullal 'ādōnai* is his battle cry.

5. *the waves*] Read, with the text of II Sam. 22:5, *mishbērē*, which, as the following parallel phrase *naḥālē* shows, is the original reading: the reading *heblē* in the psalm is due to dittography.

the infernal torrents] The meaning *infernal* of *bēliya'al* follows from the parallel phrases *death* and *She'ol* and from the fact that the synonym *'abaddōn* in Job 26:6; 31:12; and Ps. 88:12 similarly denotes "infernum" or the "abyss," and from the further fact that (as another development of meaning) in Asc. Isa. 2:4 and 5:4; XII P. 1:2, 4, 6; 3:19; 6:9; 7:1, 4-5; and II Cor. 6:15, *Belial* or *Beliar*, which is a contracted form of *bēliya'al*, is the name of Satan. And it is interesting to note for our purpose that Rev. 9:11 mentions expressly that *Abaddon* was another name of Satan.

7. *may come to his ear*] *Lēphanaw*, which is missing in the text of II Samuel, is a variant of *tabō' bē'aznaw*.

hold me fast] Cf. Job 30:27, where *qidmūnī* is found again with this meaning, being used as a synonym of *yō'hazūnī* of the variant in vs. 16.

12. *Weaves a pavilion*] Read, with the text in II Samuel, *sukkōth*, omitting the pronominal suffix, and note that *yashēth* is a case of zeugma, *sukkōth* being another object.

Out of the pouring rain and the dark clouds] Read, with the text in II Samuel, *hashrath*, which denotes also in Neo-Hebraic "downpour"; *hashrath mayim* and *'abē shēḥaqīm* are adverbial accusatives of means: cf. Gen. 2:7, *wayyīšer 'eth ha'adām 'aphar min ha'ādāma*, "He formed man out of the dust of the ground." As to the notion met with here, cf. the remarks on Pss. 65B:10b and 29:10. The noteworthy feature about the verse is that the writer has expressed the common notion of his days in strikingly original language.

13. *blazing coals flash forth, Piercing the clouds*] Instead of *'ābaw*, read, with Gr. and Hier., עֲבִים, and instead of *barad wēgaḥālē* read, with the text of II Samuel, *ba'ārū gaḥālē*; *'ābīm* is not the subject, as it is generally taken

to be, but the object of 'abērū, with which it forms a circumstantial clause, qualifying *ba'ārū gaḥḏlē 'ēsh*: cf. Lam. 3:44, *sakkotha bē'anān lak me'dbor iṣphilla*, "Thou hast covered thyself with clouds, which no prayer can penetrate."

14. *From heaven*] Read, with some MSS, Gr., and the text in II Samuel, *mishshamayim* instead of *bash.*, and note that the text of II Samuel reads *yar'em*, that is, simple imperfect. The words *barad wəgaḥḏlē 'ēsh* are a mistaken repetition from the preceding verse: Gr. does not read them, nor does the text in II Samuel.

15. *He shoots arrows*] With the text in II Samuel, read *hiṣṣim*.

to scatter them] *Wayyēphīsem* is a final clause, formed with the imperfect with *waw consecutivum*, as is also *wayhumēm*, "to put them to rout," of the second stich.

Hurls thunderbolts] Read, with Ps. 144:6 and with the text in II Samuel, as read in the Lucianic texts of Gr., *וִיִּבְרֹק בִּרְק*.

16. *The bed of the sea*] Read, with the text in II Samuel, *yam*; 'āphikē is intensive plural: cf. *nahārōth*, Pss. 89B:26 and 137:1.

At the Lord's thundering rebuke . . . of his wrath] Read, with the text in II Samuel, *migga'drath* and 'appō.

17. *May he reach down*] *Yishlah* is a case of ellipsis, the object *yadō* being omitted.

raging waters] As elsewhere, *rabbim*, as an adjective phrase modifying *mayim*, connotes "raging" or "tempestuous": cf. Isa. 17:13 and Ps. 93:4.

19. *When they fell upon me*] Cf. II Kings 19:32 and Isa. 37:33, *lō' yeqaddēmenna magen*, "He shall not encounter her with a shield."

20. *May he free me*] Cf. the discussion of Ps. 31:9 below, p. 566.

Surely] *Ki* functions as an emphatic particle.

24. *of guilt*] A case where Hebrew requires the possessive pronoun, though English does not.

21, 25. *of vs. 25, lēneged 'ēnaw* was originally a marginal variant of 'immō of vs. 24a. The rest of the verse betrays itself at a glance as defective duplicate text of vs. 21, which is not difficult to explain. In the course of transmission the two last words, *yashib lī*, were omitted from vs. 25 and *wayyasheb . . . lī* replaced the original phrase *yigmēleni*. The correction of the latter error and the omitted words were put in the margin, with the rest of the verse repeated as a cue. As usual, the correction and the omitted words with their cue were in the next copy inserted at random.

26-27. *To a . . . For a . . . in the eyes of*] The preposition 'im in every one of these cases means really "to the mind of": cf. Job 10:13 and I Kings 11:11, *zō'th 'immak*, "This thou hast had in mind."

28. *Surely*] Cf. vs. 20.

29. *art my light*] Read, with the text in II Samuel, 'atta nēri, omitting *ta'ir*, which originally was a marginal variant of *yagiha*.

30. *With thee*] *Ki* is another emphatic particle.

over barriers] Read, on the strength of Lucianic πεφραγμένος of the text in II Samuel, *גָּדָר*, which is borne out as the original text also by *shūr* of the second stich.

(31b) 12:7. The original text of 31b has been preserved in Ps. 12:7. This

text, of which *ba'alil la'areš* is not a genuine part, represents in reality two omissions from 18:31b, with their cue words: the first is *'amarōth tēhōrōth keseph*, to which *'imrōth 'ādōnai* was prefixed as a cue, and the second is *mezuqqaq shib'athayim*, to which *šarūph* was prefixed as a cue. The omitted parts with their cues were presumably put in the margin at the top of the page, whence in the next copy they were mechanically taken into the text before vs. 8 of Psalm 12, with which verse the page in all probability began. The change of *'imrōth* to the sing. and that of *šarūph* to the fem. form in vs. 31b are adaptations made at some unknown time after the rest of the text had been omitted. Τὰ λόγια of Gr. shows that the Hebrew copy of the translators read *'imrōth*. *Ba'alil la'areš* of 12:7 is commonly admitted to be corrupt text and rightly considered by many interpreters to have been originally a marginal gloss.

18:31c. *to them that trust in him*] With Prov. 30:5, which quotes the line, read *lahōsim*, omitting *lēkol*.

33a, 40a. Vs. 40a, which is conspicuously out of place where found now, was originally a marginal gloss on vs. 33a.

33b. The idiom *wayyitten tamīm darkī* can best be rendered, *He will smooth the way for me*.

34. *He will make me secure as if I stood on a mountain peak*] Read, with Gr. of both the psalm and II Samuel, and also with Syr. and Hier. of the latter text, *bāmōth*, omitting the pronominal suffix. The prepositional phrase *'al bāmōth* functions as a comparison. Like the accusative of comparison (cf. vs. 35), a prepositional phrase without *ka* can form a comparison in Hebrew as well as in Arabic, the explanation being that prepositions are primarily *erstarrte* adverbial accusatives.

35. *And make*] Read, with Gr. καὶ ἔθου, וַנַּתְּתֵהוּ, for which I have purposely substituted the third person in my translation.

as a bow of brass] *Qesheth* is an accusative of comparison, as it has been understood, in fact, by Vet. Lat., which renders *ut arcum aereum*.

36. *a shield wherewith to save me*] Read, with Gr. of both the psalm and II Samuel, שָׁעִי, which functions as a verbal noun, governing the pronominal suffix as a direct object: cf. the similar case *sidqi* of Ps. 4:2.

And let it be thy task] Like *'anwa* of Ps. 45:5, the abstract *'anwathēka* and the infinitive form *'anōthēka*, which the text in II Samuel reads, and which deserves preference, have always been a *crux interpretum*, although they present no real difficulty, as I have pointed out in the note on *'anwa* of 45:5, q.v.

37. *lend firmness to my steps*] This deviation from the sentence structure of the Hebrew is for obvious stylistic reasons. As stated above, *ma'ādū* is a precativ perfect.

39. *fall vanquished before me*] Cf. the note on Ps. 45:6.

40b, 41, 42, 43. Vs. 43, the verbs of which are in the first person sing., like those of vss. 38-39, was originally their immediate continuation, and vss. 40-42 were, like vs. 40a, originally marginalia, for note that vs. 41, where instead of *'ašmīšēm* the text read originally *tašmīšem* (as Gr. and Hier. show), and vs. 40a restate, in the form of a petition to God what has been far more effectively expressed in vss. 38 and 39b. Similarly does vs. 42 contrast with

vss. 38-39 and 43 ff. by its inferior style, and it is also a break in the sequence—all of which betrays the glossator.

43. *That I may crush them*] Read, with the Versions and the text in II Samuel, 'ādiqqēm.

44. *of heathen peoples*] Read, with Gr. A, Boh., and Targ., עַמִּים.

45b, 45a. This is the order of the text in II Samuel, which, being superior to that in the psalm, must be the original.

at the very sound of my name] *Li*, being a case of brachylogy, is to be construed also with *lēshema* 'ozen.

PSALM 12

*

- 2 Help, O Lord, for the good men have ceased to be;
Fidelity has vanished among men.
- 3 Lies they talk to one another,
With flattering lips do they speak, with double mind.
- 4 May the Lord destroy all flattering lips,
All tongues that speak with haughtiness,
- 5 All men that boast, We do not lack for lips,
With our tongues will we prevail:
Who will lord it over us?
- 6 Because the poor are downtrodden,
The needy sigh in despair,
I will now arise, says the Lord:
I will set at liberty him that pants.†
- 9 On all sides the wicked strut
When villainy is exalted among men.
- 8 Guard us, O Lord,
Preserve us from a world such as this.

Psalm 12 is another cry of despair of simple beauty. It might seem doubtful whether the perfidious, overbearing people, who have undisputed control over the country, are compatriots or foreigners, were it not for the hope and prayer which the psalmist utters in the second part—that God arise to preserve and liberate his downtrodden people, who labor under the tyrant's

* 1. For the Hymnal. In the eighth mode (?). A Psalm of David.

† As to vs. 7, see Ps. 18:31.

whip. This prayer leaves room for no other conclusion than that at the time the Jews were under foreign rule, even as "us" of the concluding lines,

Guard us, O Lord,
Preserve us from a world such as this,

precludes any other interpretation than that the downtrodden poor are the nation. Weight is added to this conclusion by the fact that "we" and "us" occur in as many as fifty-four other passages of the Psalms, which vary in size from one to eight verses, and that in all but two, in which mortals in general are referred to, they stand invariably for the entire nation and never for any specific group within it.¹¹² The terms "the poor" and "the needy" as designation of the nation the psalm has in common with Psalms 9/10, 35, and 18,¹¹³ and twelve other post-Exilic psalms.¹¹⁴ These terms, it cannot be emphasized enough, are most applicable to the post-Exilic Jewish community, describing her political and economic condition accurately. It is also noteworthy that in the assurance represented as given by God,

Because the poor are downtrodden,
The needy sigh in despair,
I will now arise, says the Lord:
I will set at liberty him that pants,

"him" is used collectively of the nation as a body, and that this use is analogous to the frequent use of "I" as a personification of the nation in other psalms. This shows how natural such personification, which seems so strange to the occidental mind, was for the biblical writer.

¹¹² Cf. Pss. 4:7; 17:11; 20:6, 8-10; 33:20 ff.; 44:6, 8-12, 14-15, 18-27; 46:2-3, 8, 12; 47:4-5; 48:9, 15; 60A:3, 5, 12, 14; 62:9; 65A:4; 66:9-12; 67:2, 7-8; 68A:20-21; 71:20; 75:2; 79:4, 8-9, 13; 80:4, 7-8, 19-20; 81:2, 4; 85:5-8; 89A:18-19; 90:1, 14-15; 95:1-2, 6-7; 100:3; 103:10; 106:6, 47; 115:1, 3, 12, 18; 123:2-3; 124; 126:1-4. The two exceptions are Pss. 90:7-12, and 103:14, alongside of which, in verses 1, 14-15 of the one, and in verse 10 of the other, "we" and "us" are, however, used exactly as in all the other examples.

¹¹³ Cf. Pss. 9:13, 19; 10:2, 9, 12, 17; 18:28; 35:10.

¹¹⁴ Pss. 14:6; 22:25; 25:16; 40B:18 (=70:6); 69:30, 34; 74:19, 21; 88:16; 102:1; 107A:41; 109A:22, 31; 113:7; 140:13.

The opening verse,

Help, O Lord, for the good men have ceased to be;
Fidelity has vanished among men,

bears resemblance to Isa. 57:1,

The righteous man perishes,
And no one takes it to heart;
The good men are carried away,
But none cares,
Though it is because of the rule of wickedness
That the righteous man is carried away,

and to Mic. 7:2a,

The good man is gone from the land,
And an upright one is not found among men,

both of which (with the verses that follow) likewise describe post-Exilic conditions. And the value of Mic. 7:1-6 would be enhanced if, as they possibly are, verses 7-13 were another part of the passage. It must be emphasized, however, that the verse of the psalm is copied neither from Isa. 57:1 nor from Mic. 7:2a but is marked by the same originality of style as each of these, even as is the description of the corruption of the ruling classes, which the psalm has in common with verses 2a-6 of the piece in Micah. As this relationship with Mic. 7:1-6 and Isa. 57:1-2 confirms our findings as to the date of the psalm and the real conditions reflected in it, so does the fact that the line,

I will now arise, says the Lord,

recurs verbatim in verse 10 of Isaiah, chapter 33, which, modern critics are almost all agreed, is another post-Exilic product. It is not possible to arrive at a positive conclusion as to what significance is to be attached to the verbatim recurrence of the line in this prophetic piece, even though for one thing, poetically, this piece cannot be ranked with Psalm 12. But this question is in a way immaterial. More important is the fact that the piece surpasses Psalm 12 in explicitness about the existing situation and is, therefore, extremely valuable for our purposes. It describes Zion as ruled by pagan peoples who have ravaged the country and robbed the people by levying heavy

taxes,¹¹⁵ and it makes plain, moreover, that the situation is not of today or yesterday but has been of long duration and has been growing steadily worse. Day by day, we are told, the people look hopefully to God, ardently imploring his help.¹¹⁶ The piece also speaks of the treachery of the enemy and emphasizes from the outset that none has wronged him or dealt with him treacherously, as he has with them.¹¹⁷ This recalls the similar assertions in Psalms 7, 35, and 18 and makes it highly plausible that it was occasioned by the same particular act as they. Still more important is that, like these psalms and also Psalm 12, the prophecy conveys a clear idea of the utter helplessness of the people. In their despair they can see hope for themselves only if God will arise to crush their enemies and usher in the messianic era. Those critics who have pointed out as a defect that the author does not say who the attacking pagan peoples are but only alludes to them have overlooked the fact that he was not writing for future historians but for his own contemporaries, who, we may be sure, had no difficulty in identifying the treacherous enemy. As to the date of the piece, I hold with Buhl¹¹⁸ that it is a product of the later Persian period, not, however, as he thinks, of the time of Artaxerxes III Ochus but of the days of Artaxerxes II Mnemon. During the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus the conditions in Judaea grew infinitely worse, as we shall see later.

2. *Fidelity*] *'Ēmūnīm* is not a verbal adjective but an abstract, formed with the plural ending, like *pēdūyīm et al.*, as understood, in fact, by Gr., Syr., and Sym.

3. *to one another*] Many MSS read *'el*.

5. *We do not lack for lips*] This is the meaning of the idiom *sēphasēnū 'ittanū*.

With our tongues] Read, with Gr. and Syr., *lēshōnēnū* (without the preposition), which is an accusative of means or manner.

6. *at liberty*] As to this meaning of *bēyēsha'*, the *bē* of which is *bē essentiae*, note that *hōshī'a*, in addition to "save, help," means "free" or "deliver": cf. Pss. 34:7; 44:8; *et al.*

him that pants] *Yaphīah lō*, which has arbitrarily been emended in various ways, is perfect text: *lō* is an inseparable part of *yaphīah*, which is a reflexive

¹¹⁵ Vss. 1, 3, 7-9, 12, 18.

¹¹⁷ Vss. 1 and 8.

¹¹⁶ Vs. 2.

¹¹⁸ *Jesaja* (2d ed., 1912), p. 340.

verb and is to be grouped with the verbs expressing emotion and mental or physical stress: cf. the note on Ps. 42:5a ff.

7. This verse, which mars the poetic unity, is not a part of the psalm but was originally omitted, as we have seen, from vs. 31 of Psalm 18.

9, 8. That this must have been the original order of the two verses, may be seen from the fact that only by placing vs. 8 after 9 does "from a world such as this" have the required antecedent.

strut] Cf. Ezek. 19:6, *wayyithhallel*, "He strutted among lions, became a lion himself."

when] Read, with some MSS, בָּרוּם.

Guard us Preserve us] Read, with a number of MSS, Gr., Hier., and Syr., נָרָא and נָרָא (Dyserinck and others).

from a world such as this] *Zū* is used in a derogatory sense, as vice versa in Pss. 48:15 and 24A:6 it is used in a laudatory sense. *Lē'ōlām* cannot be an original reading; it was originally very likely a marginal variant of *neṣaḥ* of 13:2, which from the margin was mechanically joined to the last line of Psalm 12.

PSALM 83

*

- 2 O God, look not on in silence;
Stand not aloof, nor be thou quiet:
- 3 For behold, thy enemies rage,
They that hate thee have raised their heads.
- 4 They have taken crafty counsel against thy people,
They have plotted against thy cherished heritage:
- 5 They say, Come let us destroy them
That they cease to be a people,
And that the name of Israel be remembered no more.
- 6 Of one mind they have conspired;
They have joined forces against thee—
- 7 The tents of Edom and the Ishmaelites,
Moab and the Hagarenes,
- 8 Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek,
Philistia, with the inhabitants of Tyre;
- 9 Also Syria is joined with them:
She is the strength behind the sons of Lot.
- 10 Deal with them as thou didst with Midian,
As with Sisera and Jabin at the brook of Kishon.

* 1. A Song. A Psalm of Asaph.

- 11 Let them perish as at Endor,
Let them become dung for the ground.
- 12 Make their noblemen like Oreb and Zeeb,
Like Zebah and Zalmunna their chiefs,
- 13 Who say, Let us take possession of the land of God.
- 14 O God, make them like whirling dust,
Like straw driven before the wind.
- 15-16 Pursue them with thy tempest,
Terrify them by thy whirlwind
As by fire that rages through the forest,
As by a flame that sets mountains ablaze.
- 17 Fill their faces with shame
Until they seek thy name, O Lord.
- 18 Let them be shamed and dismayed forever;
Yea, let them be confounded and perish,
- 19 That they may know that thou alone art the Lord,
Most High over all the world.

Psalm 83 is commonly considered as without doubt Maccabean. The interpreters who hold this view point out as proof I Macc. 5:1 ff., which tells that, when subsequent to the victories of Judas Maccabaeus over Gorgias and Lysias, "the pagan peoples roundabout heard that the altar had been rebuilt and the sanctuary had been repaired, they grew very angry and resolved to destroy those of the race of Jacob that lived in their midst and began to kill them." One is, however, at a loss to understand how the critics can have made out that this record and Psalm 83 tell of the identical occurrence, for the record goes on to relate how, acting on the appeal of their brethren in distress, Judas and Simon carry on a successful war against the territories bordering on Judaea, specifying Gilead and Galilaea (the second of which had Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon for its allies), certain tribes of the northern district of East Jordanland (in whose service Arabian mercenary troops fought), the Ammonites, Edomites, Bajanites, and, last, the Philistines, whose country Judas and Simon invaded by way of Marisa (as is to be read in vs. 66 instead of Samaria, on the authority of

Josephus). From this specification it will be seen that, whereas in the psalm Moab and Amalek figure among the peoples that have joined forces for the attack on Israel, in the record of I Maccabees there is no mention of either, since in the Maccabean time they had both long since ceased to exist—a point of difference which is still more emphasized by the fact that in the psalm (vs. 9*b*) Moab is, with Ammon, mentioned prominently, as if having the lead in the conspiracy. Further, if the psalm were Maccabean, Syria, which is meant by Assur (see below), instead of being referred to as having joined and aided the attacking nations, would have been spoken of as leading them or as being aided by them. Hitzig and Duhm, who seek to meet the objection with the argument that, inasmuch as the Syrians had at the time only a comparatively small army on the borders of Judaea, they participated only indirectly in the wars by inciting the small neighboring nations against the Jews, have evaded the issue. But these differences are relatively of a minor nature compared with the all-important fact that Judas and Simon do not fight the enemy nations on Judaeian soil but attack them one by one in their own territory. Further, the war in which they are engaged, though undertaken for the protection of their fellow-Jews in these enemy lands, is in reality an offensive war, aimed at the consolidation and expansion of Jewish power, whereas in Psalm 83 the enemy nations make a joint attack upon Israel in its own land for the avowed purpose of taking possession of it. And as in the situation so does the psalm differ radically in tone from the Maccabean record about the campaign of Judas and Simon against the neighbors of Judaea in the years 165–163 B.C. Judas and Simon, because of their previous victories over the armies of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, are filled with such confidence in their own prowess that they defy all opposition, no matter how formidable, and deal defeat to one enemy after another, while in the psalm the people are described as the helpless prey of their enemies and as seeing no other recourse open to them than to implore God “not to look on in silence.”

This picture of the existing situation links Psalm 83 with the preceding psalms. The attack on the country of which it tells

recalls the express mention in Ps. 18:17-18 of the calamitous blow the country suffered at the enemy's hand and the psalmist's cry to God to come to its rescue. It recalls also the more fervid and more poetic description which Psalm 35 gives, in verses 1-4, 17, 22, and 36:12, of how the attacking enemy is threatening the very existence of the nation and the poet's passionate appeal in these verses that God arise to save the country.

It must, however, be emphasized that, aside from this similarity in the situation described in them, Psalm 83 has nothing in common with Psalms 18 and 35. In sharp contrast to them it is spiritually valueless, being a hymn of hate. Its author is moved neither by nobility of soul nor by any other lofty religious outlook. He is a zealot of Ezekiel's type, wishing like him¹¹⁹ that for their wanton attack on his land, God wipe out the enemies root and branch so as to make them realize his might. The lack of all sense of humor which this wish betrays is characteristic of fanatics.

Another point pertaining to the date calls for further discussion. The psalm has in common with many other post-Exilic products, such as Isa. 10:20, 24-27 + 14:24-27; 11:11-16; 19:16-25; 27:13 of the Apocalypse, chapters 24-27; Mic. 5:1-5; 7:7-13; and Zech. 10:11-12 (of Deutero-Zechariah), that by 'Ashshur is not meant ancient Assyria but Syria or Aram, to which country the name Assyria had been transferred, Syria being the shortened form of Assyria. The earliest evidence of this transference of the name is found in Herodotus (ca. 450 B.C.) who speaks (viii. 63) of "Syrians" as identical with Assyrians and takes the latter for a "barbarian" form. Proof that Greek Συρία is really a shortened form of Ἀσσυρία may be seen in the fact that as late as the Talmud the "Syriac" or "Aramaic characters" are called *kēthāb 'Ashshūri*. It is seen, then, that by the middle of the fifth century B.C. the earlier name Aram (the only one known to Homer)¹²⁰ had fallen into disuse and had

¹¹⁹ Cf. Ezek. 25:15-17; 26:5; 38:21-23.

¹²⁰ See *Odyssey* iv. 84, and Tkač's article "Eremboi" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertums*, XI, 416-17, and also Benzinger's article "Aramaioi," *ibid.*, II, 375.

been replaced by Syria. This exposes the fallacy of the generally entertained view that in the post-Exilic pieces just mentioned as well as in Psalm 83, the Syrian Kingdom of the Seleucidae is referred to by 'Ashshur and that consequently none of them can date from the time prior to its foundation by Seleucus I in 301 B.C. (after the battle at Ipsus). This prevalent view is disproved also by another piece of evidence of supreme importance which throws light on the genesis of the transference of the name Assyria-Syria and clears up also other difficult points. This evidence is the fact that in Ezra 6:22, Darius I is called "the king of Assyria." This seems startling at first glance, but the obvious explanation is that Darius is styled "the king of Assyria" because his predecessor Cyrus had, by his conquest of Babylonia, fallen heir to the former realm of Assyria, and this realm constituted the main body of the new empire founded by him. Equally obvious is it that by Assyria the entire empire of the Achaemenidae is designated, which explains how the name Syria as applied by Herodotus sixty years later came to include countries outside of the territory of Aram proper, for example, North Cappadocia. Note that in Mic. 7:7-13 "Assyria" is evidently used in the same way, and that this lyric dates from the earlier Persian period, for the hope expressed in it—that on the longed-for day of change of fortune for Zion her walls will be rebuilt—shows that the poem antedates the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah in 445 B.C.

4. *thy cherished heritage*] Read, with Aq., Sym., and Hier., sing., omitting the yod, and cf. Ezek. 7:22, where *šəphūni* is an epithet of the Temple at Zion.

6. *Of one mind*] Read, with I Chron. 12:38, אֶדָּה ' (instead of *yaḥdaw*), and join *waw* of *yaḥdaw* to the following 'alēka (Olshausen and others).

7-8. The Hagarenes were a nomadic people living to the east of Gilead and Moab. Gebal, known to the Greeks as Gebalene, is to the present day the name of the northern part of the mountains of Edom, south of the Dead Sea.

11. *Let them perish as . . . at Endor, Let them become*] The verse does not speak of what happened to Sisera and Jabin, as it is generally taken, but *nishmēdū* and *hayū* are precative perfects, used in a curse: cf. Pss. 9:16; 36:13; 57:7, which are other such examples. The verse must originally have contained the name of the person that met with disaster at En Dor. It is arbitrary to emend En Dor, as many have done, because there is no mention

of what happened at En Dor in our scanty source material of Israelitish history.

12. *Make]* Read, with Gr., *shīth*, omitting the pronominal suffix.

13. *the land]* *Nē'ōth* is a case of metonymy.

14. *like whirling dust]* By *galgal* the globular heads of the wild artichoke are meant, which in the autumn "come by thousands scudding over the plain, rolling, leaping, bounding, to the dismay of the horse and the rider."¹²¹

19. *that thou alone art Lord]* Omit *shimēka*, which does not admit of proper sentence construction and must be a later addition.

PSALM 14 = PSALM 53

*

1a-b The fool says in his heart, There is no God:

Depraved, corrupt are the lives of men;

3a All have strayed from the path,

Their souls are rotted;

3b (1c) Not a man does right—not one.

2 When God looks down from heaven upon the sons
of men

To see if there be any wise enough to care for God,

4 Verily these evildoers shall all be made to suffer,

Who devour, eat up my people,

And ignore God.

5a, 53:6a Then shall they be struck with a terror

Never known before,†

14:5b For God is with the righteous race.

6 They shall be thwarted in their scheme against the
wretched people‡

Who have God for their refuge.

7a Oh, that deliverance might come for Israel out of
Zion!

7b When God brings about a change of fortune for his people,
Then shall Jacob exult, then shall Israel be glad.

¹²¹ W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (New York, 1880), p. 212.

* A Psalm of David. † Gloss: 53:6b. *May he scatter the bones of the impious.*

‡ 53:6c. *For God has rejected them.*

TWOFOLD TRANSMISSION

There are two versions of the psalm, the one being Psalm 14 and the other Psalm 53. To speak of these, in the customary manner, as the Yahwistic and Elohist recension does not explain in the least how the psalm came to be transmitted twice, for it may be noted that in Psalm 14 the name Yahweh is not by any means used exclusively but that alongside it 'Elohim is found three times. The main thing for our purpose is that Psalm 14 is the superior text, except for *lō' haya paḥad* of 53:6a, which however, as the Greek shows, was read originally also in 14:5 but has dropped out in the course of transmission. As to the rest of the text of verse 6 in Psalm 53, it requires only a minute's reflection to see that *ki 'ēlōhīm* cannot be the subject of *pizzar* but that, as in Psalm 14, *bēdōr šadīq* must originally have followed it and must have been omitted at a comparatively early stage in the transmission, as was *'āṣath 'anī* before *hōbīshū*, as the text read originally. And, since *ḥonak* is faulty Hebrew, it is obvious that *ḥaneph*, as the Greek and Syriac read, is the original text, which disposes of the view of not a few interpreters that in this stich we have an allusion to the annihilation of Sennacherib's army at the gates of Jerusalem. As a matter of fact, the stich is a curse, added originally in the margin by a glossator. Even more serious is the incoherence of the current translations, owing primarily to the fact that the interpreters have failed to recognize the force of the perfects, even as they have ignored the reading *yēdē'ū*, instead of *yadē'ū*, of some manuscripts and the Versions in 14:4, and that as a result they have missed the meaning of the psalm.

MEANING OF THE PSALM

The opening line states the theme of the psalm:

The fool says in his heart, There is no God.

This reflection is prompted, the writer goes on to say in the remainder of the first strophe, by the corrupt condition of society and the rule of wickedness unchallenged. In the following strophes, in which he answers those who harbor such

doubts, he is still more definite and shows that it is their hopeless condition which drives his people to despair and shakes their faith in God. The psalm becomes thus linked with Psalm 9/10, where, too, the common people are described as despairing of God in their misery:

Weary and oppressed, crushed and felled by his might,
The helpless wretch says in his heart,
God will not see, he hides his face,
He does not pay heed any more.

It is clear, then, that by *nabal*, which is used as a collective, are not meant "the irreligious," as the word is generally interpreted, but the ignorant masses—a conclusion borne out also by Psalm 92, where "the fool" (*kēsīl*) is defined as "the ignorant man," and by the fact that in Job 30:8 *bēnē nabal* means "pariahs," while in Prov. 17:21 *kēsīl* and *nabal* are used as identical terms. And the relationship between Psalm 9/10 and Psalm 14 is not by any means limited to the aforesaid point but goes further. As the writer of the former, so the author of Psalm 14 is saved from despair by his firm belief that some day God will arise to mete out justice. Though by the weary prayer with which he concludes,

Oh, that deliverance might come for Israel out of Zion!

he shows that his heart is beset with grave fear, yet does he cling to his faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness. It is, finally, noteworthy that the psalm bears also in language a certain similarity to Psalm 9/10, having in common with it (a) the words, "he says in his heart," which occur in the description just quoted as to how the common people react to the desperate situation, and again in 10:13*b*, 4*b*; (b) the words, "There is no God," found in 10:4*c*; (c) *dōresh*, occurring in 9:11 and again (without the word God for its object and with different connotation) in 9:13 and 10:13*b*, 4*b*; (d) the epithet *anī* as designation of the entire nation, occurring in 10:2 and 9 and three times more in the plural: 9:19; 10:12 and 17. All this makes it highly plausible that Psalm 14 is another composition by the author of Psalm 9/10.

The present conclusion, verse 7b, does not seem to be an original part of the psalm but a later addition. It is an anticlimax and is in cadence and diction markedly different from the rest of the psalm.

1a-b, 3a, 3b (1c). Positive proof that this is the original text order may be seen in the fact that Gr. reads *οὐκ ἔστιν ἔως ἐνός* also in vs. 1c. The obvious inference from this is that the entire vs. 3 stood originally in vs. 1 after 'alīla and that in the course of transmission its first part was omitted and, with the second part added to it as a cue, was put in the margin, whence, as usual, the omitted part and the cue were in the next copy taken into the text at random.

1b. *are the lives of men*] 'Ālīla is not the object of *hishhīthū* and *hith'ibū* but an accusative of specification, which cannot well be translated literally. The reading 'awel in 53:2 is plainly an error: seven MSS read 'ālīla.

2-4. *When God looks down*] These two verses are a composite temporal sentence, not introduced by a conjunction; the protasis of it is formed with the perfect.

shall all be made to suffer] Read, with four MSS, Gr., Sym., Hier., and Targ., ידעו.

Who devour, eat up my people] The nonsensical 'akēlū lehem has been excellently emended by Bevan (in Wellhausen): אכלו וְלָחֶם.

And ignore] Cf. Jer. 3:4 and Isa. 43:22, where *qarā* denotes "acknowledge."

5. *Then*] *Shām* functions as a temporal adverb referring to the future, as again in Job 23:7, "Then (*shām*) would an upright man plead with Him," and Hos. 2:17, "Then will she respond (*wē'anētha shāmma*) as in the days of her youth."

shall they be struck with a terror] *Paḥādū* functions as prophetic perfect.

never known before] With Gr., which reads *οὐ οὐκ ἦν φόβος* here as well as in 53:6, read אֲשֶׁר *lō' hayā paḥad*; the 'āsher of the phrase the translators misunderstood, however, as referring to *shām* and hence rendered *οὐ*; but note that Gr. often renders 'āsher so even in texts without *shām*: cf., e.g., Gen. 28:15 and 35:13; Exod. 20:24. That 'āsher *lō' hayā paḥad* does mean "never known before," as Ibn Ezra already recognized, cannot be doubted, since in I Chron. 29:25, 'āsher *lō' hayā 'al kol melek lēphanaw*, we have another such relative clause without *kamōhū* or *ken* meaning "the like of which had never before been bestowed on any king," and since, moreover, in Exod. 11:6, 'āsher *kamōhū lō' nihēyātha*, "the like of which had never been before," we have, unlike Exod. 10:14, another example of *lephanaw*'s being omitted.

6. *They shall be thwarted in their scheme against the wretched people*] The text read originally הִבִּישׁוּ, as Gr. κατασχύσθησαν of 53:6 shows: *hōbīshū* is a prophetic perfect, 'āṣath is an accusative of specification, and 'anī is an objective genitive.

PSALM 17

*

- 1a, 6c Hear my plea, O Lord, thou who wilt right me.
 1b-c Heed my cry, hearken to my prayer
 From lips without guile.
- 15bβ (*haqes*), 2 Awake, that from thy presence right may come
 for me;
 Let mine eyes see justice done.
- 3a, 4aa Shouldst thou try my heart,
 Shouldst thou search me in the night,
 Probe my conduct as a man,
- 3b Thou wilt not find me scheming evil:
 No wicked thought crosses my lips.
- 4aβ, b Guarded by thy precepts,
 I have kept from the ways of the tyrant:
- 5 My steps have held fast to thy paths,
 My foot has not faltered.
- 6a-b I call upon thee to answer me:
 O God, incline thine ear unto me.
- 7 Manifest thy wondrous love,
 Be thou the Savior of them
 That seek refuge from their foes under thy right
 hand.
- 8 Guard me as the apple of thine eye,
 Hide me in the shadow of thy wings
- 9 From the wicked that plunder me,
 From the deadly enemies that hem me in.
- 10 Their hearts are closed to *human sympathy*,
 Their mouths speak with arrogance,
- 11
 They have set their minds to cast me down upon
 the ground.
- 12 They are like a lion hungry for his prey,
 Like a fierce lion lurking in wait.

- 13 Arise, O Lord, face them, bring them to their
knees,
Deliver my soul from the wicked.
- 14
May their bellies be crammed with what thou
hast stored up for them;
May their sons, too, be served their fill,
And may there be some left for the sons' children.
- 15 But I in triumph shall behold thy presence:
I shall delight when thy glory is revealed.

Psalm 17 is of the same type as Psalm 18. Bowed down, not by personal misfortune but by the dire distress of the nation, the psalmist pours out his heavy-laden heart to God, and in so doing he reveals his own fortitude of spirit and integrity of soul. The hostile world in which he lives—in which, in the words of Psalm 12, “villainy is exalted”—cannot becloud his vision, or blight his moral rectitude, but, guarded by the precepts of God, he holds fast to His path without faltering, so that he is able to declare that he can at all times submit his impulses and conduct to the scrutiny of God. The knowledge of his own righteous life—and doubtless also that of many others impelled by the same thirst for righteousness—is his tower of strength in troubled times. It gives him heart for his passionate plea with God,

Be thou the Savior of them
That seek refuge from their foes under thy right hand.

These lines show that also in those that follow it is the nation which is described as hemmed in by deadly enemies seeking to overthrow her—a point which hardly requires any proof, being self-evident from the very language of the lines.

His personal integrity not only gives the psalmist the strength to pray that God manifest his wondrous love; it also gives him the assurance that sooner or later the longing of his soul will be satisfied—that some day he will behold the glory of God revealed. His idealism is enhanced by the fact that he advisedly modeled the closing words of the psalm, “When thy glory is

revealed," after the line, "When he reveals himself in his glory," of Ps. 102:17, even as the writer of this line in his turn modeled it after the words, "That the glory of God may be revealed," of the vision with which Deutero-Isaiah opened his prophecy of cheer, Isaiah, chapters 40-55. In so doing, the writer of Psalm 17 showed that, despite the bitter disillusion which marked the century and a half that had elapsed since Deutero-Isaiah dreamed of the glory that was about to be revealed, he drew hope from his vision.

Our natural reaction to verse 14 is that we should like to see it eliminated, feeling as we do that the beauty and spiritual excellence of the rest of the psalm is somewhat marred by its vindictive tone. But what has been pointed out before must be repeated: when one considers the conditions under which the psalm was written—that the country was hemmed in by deadly enemies from whom the psalmist saw no escape—does it not strike one as no more than human that he should have wished for their undoing?

DATE AND AUTHOR

The fact that "When thy glory is revealed" is modeled after Ps. 102:17 shows that Psalm 17 must be later than that psalm, which we have found to date from the days of Zechariah, while the further fact that the psalm gives much the same picture of the situation existing in the land as Psalms 5, 7, 9/10, 11, 35, 18, 83, and 14 makes one inclined to conclude that it dates from the same time as these—that is, the century after Nehemiah, more specifically from the second half of it, the time of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-359 B.C.). As further proof of this date it should be noted that verses 3-5 show signs of the influence of Job. Their tone reminds one of Job's persisting throughout the Job drama in declaring that the knowledge of his virtuous life is his mainstay in his affliction and his sure claim upon God. Moreover, they bear close resemblance in thought and language to Job 23:10-12 and 31:7a:

For he knows my way and my conduct (read *darki wə'omdi*).

When he tests me (*bēhonani*) . . .

My foot has held fast to his path (*ba'āshūrō*);

His way I have kept (*shamartī*) and swerved not therefrom.
 I have not departed from the command of his lips (*miṣwath šēphathaw*),
 I have cherished the behests of his mouth (*'imrē pīw*) in my bosom
 (read *beḥēqī*).
 If my steps (*'āshūrai*) have swerved from the path. . . .

It will be seen that the phrases or synonymous expressions which verses 3-5 of the psalm have in common with these verses from Job are not a few. Especially noteworthy are the singular *bidēbar* of *bidēbar šēphatheka 'ānī nishmartī* of the psalm and *miṣwath* of *miṣwath šēphathaw wēlō' 'amīsh* of Job, the one expressing positively what is negatively expressed in the other. More important, however, is that, marked as is the similarity between the verses of the psalm and those of Job, there is no trace of labored imitation anywhere in them, but they show the same excellence of style as does their model: to which should be added that the entire psalm ranks high poetically. Another expression which the psalm has in common with Job is *timmālē biṭnām*, "May their bellies be crammed," which, used in the active voice, occurs twice in Job (20:23 and 15:2)—a point of contact between the two which is especially convincing, since there is no other example of the phrase outside of Job and Psalm 17. Equally convincing is *ḥeleb* of verse 10, meaning the diaphragm as the seat of the intellectual and emotional life, which is so used again in Psalm 73 of the author of Job, and of which use there is likewise no example anywhere else in biblical literature. Finally, note that the apposition *'adām* of *šēraphtanī liph'ullōth 'adām*, "Probe my conduct as a man" is reminiscent of "If I hid transgressions *as men are wont to do*" (*kē'adām*) of Job 31:33.

From the points of similarity between Psalm 17 and the Job drama one would on first thought be inclined to conclude that the psalm was dependent on the drama and that it must hence have been written later than 400 B.C., which is the approximate date of the drama. However, looked into more carefully, these points of similarity may readily be seen to be of such a type that it seems as if the psalm were the work of the author of Job rather than that of another writer who was influenced by him. And, if this is the case, then it has to be considered as

antedating the Job drama and the tragic fate out of which the drama grew, since in the psalm there is not even remotely any allusion to this experience. This conclusion (we shall see later) is further confirmed by Psalms 73, 139, and 39, which are all three by the author of the Job drama, and which like the drama show, every one of them, that the writer knew human suffering by personal experience and that, after he had drained the cup of misery to the dregs, this tragic experience left its imprint, as but naturally, on whatever he wrote.

1a, 6c. Vs. 1a, as it reads at present, is defective text and admits of no intelligent translation, as the various forced renderings of it show. The solution of the difficulty is found (1) in the fact that the original object of *shim'a* or *shēma'*, which is 'imrathī of vs. 6c, was omitted and, with *shēma'* repeated before it as a cue, was put in the margin, whence in the next copy it was joined at random to vs. 6; and (2) in the further fact that instead of *šedeq* the text read originally צדק, as Gr. shows. By reading *shim'a* 'imrathī 'āddōnai šidqī, we not only get a perfect text but the rhythmical balance of the clauses of vs. 1 is improved, as is that of vs. 6 by eliminating *shēma'* 'imrathī. Note that in the *pasek* after 'āddōnai we have still an indication that 'imrathī was in the course of transmission omitted before it.

15bβ (*haqēš*), 2. Awake] *Haqēš* of vs. 15b, with which ancient and modern translators alike have struggled in vain, is clearly not an original part of it but got in it by mistake, as Gr. and Theod. show (see below). I conclude that וקרי stood originally at the beginning of vs. 2.

that . . . right may come for me] *Milphanēka mishpālī yēšē* is a final clause, and the pronominal suffix of *mishpālī* has the force of an objective genitive.

mine eyes] Read, with Gr., עיני (Gunkel).

3a, 4aa, 3b. The verse is a compound conditional sentence, not introduced by any conditional particle and formed with perfects in the protasis.

Shouldst thou search me] *Libbī* is to be construed as object also with *pakadta*, being a case of brachylogy.

Probe my conduct as a man] The fact that *lip'h'ullōth 'adām* at the beginning of vs. 4 neither admits of proper construction nor makes sense shows that it cannot have stood here originally. The words fit excellently in vs. 3 after *šēraphtanī*: 'adām is in apposition to the pronominal suffix *nī*, and *lip'h'ullōth* is a case of the possessive pronoun's being omitted in Hebrew, though English requires it, of which we have had other examples before; the literal translation is: *Probe me in regard to my conduct as a man*. When omitted, *lip'h'ullōth 'adām* was put in the lateral margin opposite the text line, whence in the next copy it was erroneously joined to the next line.

Thou wilt not find me scheming evil: No wicked thought crosses my lips] Vocalize, with Gr., Syr., Hier., and Job 17:11, זמתי, which is an abstract and is to be construed as object with *timšā'* and as subject with *ya'ābor*, being a case of brachylogy: cf. Jer. 17:27 *lēbiltī sē'ēth massā' ūbō' bēšha' ārē*, "not to

transport merchandise, nor have it enter the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath day" (cf. Neh. 13:19).

4. *Guarded . . . I have kept*] Read נשמרת, which is a case of zeugma, governing *bidēbar* as well as 'orhōth, which is an accusative of specification.

5. *have held fast*] Tamōk is an emphatic infinitive.

6a-b. *to answer me*] Ki tha'āneni is a final clause.

O God, incline] Contrary to the accents, 'ēl is to be taken with haḡ.

7. *Be thou the Savior*] Mōshi'a is not in apposition to, but is another predicate of, the subject of *haphlē*.

9. *the deadly enemies* (R.V.) renders accurately the idiom 'ōyēbai bēnephesh, which is similar to bēzō nephesh, "thoroughly despised," of Isa. 49:7, bē being bē'essentiae; it is altogether different from bēnephesh qarai, "to the rage of my enemies," of Ps. 27:12, Baethgen and others to the contrary.

10. *Their hearts are closed or they have closed their hearts* to human sympathy] As in Arab. and Syr., so in Hebrew *ḥaleb* denotes primarily the diaphragm (cf. Lev. 3:3) which, with the liver, gall, and kidneys, was throughout antiquity universally considered as the seat of the intellectual and emotional life. Thus an Arabic poet says of the woman of his love, "She has turned my heart [we would say "my head"] and torn my diaphragm."¹²²

11. The first part of the verse does not admit of translation: 'āshūrēnū 'atta is either hopelessly corrupt or some words have dropped out; as early as the Versions its meaning was guessed at.

to cast me down] Read, with dēnarmūnni of Syr., לנט ארתי: cf. Ezek. 29:5, unē'ashitk, and 31:12, wayyitlēshūhū, both of which Syr. renders again with rēmā; cf. also Ezek. 32:4, unē'ashtika ba'areš, "I will cast thee down upon the ground," and Amos 5:2, niṭṭēsha 'al 'admathah, "She is prostrated upon the ground."

12. *They are like*] Dimyōnō, which has been arbitrarily emended, is highly poetic, but it cannot be reproduced in the translation.

Like a fierce lion] Kēphīr denotes a lion grown to full strength.

14. The first distich of vs. 14, to which ḥarbeka of vs. 13 is evidently to be joined, is hopelessly corrupt, defying emendation. I shall only repeat what has been pointed out by others before—that the customary translation, "men of the world, whose portion is in *this* life," is untenable, since baḥayyim can mean only "in life" and not possibly "in this life" as opposed to the life to come. And, this being the case, there is no room in the verse for "men of the world" in the New Testament sense of the term either, even if *mimēthim* were not corrupt text.

be crammed] Vocalize, with Gr. and Syr., תמלא, though the active tēmallē, "fill," makes good sense, too.

And may there be some left for the sons' children] For obvious reasons I have deviated from the active construction of the Hebrew: *And may these leave some for their own children*. The translation given of the second distich by Luther, A.V., and R.V., and accepted by many modern interpreters, is just as untenable as their rendering of the first distich: they have taken *yisbē'ū banīm*, contrary to all usage, as meaning "They are satisfied with"

¹²² Cf. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (rev. ed.; London, 1901), pp. 379-80; see also my *The Book of Job*, pp. 217-18.

or "They are full of children" and *yithrām* as meaning "the rest of their substance."

15. *in triumph*] Cf. the notes on Pss. 45:5 and 48:11.

when thy glory is revealed] *Bēhaqīš tēmūnatheka* has always been a *crux interpretum*—naturally so, as neither the one nor the other is the original reading: the text read originally בְּהִרְאוֹת אֶת כְּבוֹדְךָ, as Gr. ἐν τῷ ἀφθγγῶναι τῇ δόξαν σου shows, the first part of which is also the reading of Theod. Note that Theod. reads *yēmīnēka* instead of *tēmūnatheka*, which not only makes one realize that the present reading of vs. 15b is the result of a gradual process of text corruption but also makes one wonder whether *yēmīnēka* did not get into 15b from vs. 14a, just as *haqēš* did from vs. 2, and that it was in this way that *bēherā'ōth 'eth kēbōdeka* dropped out. Note, further, that also in Ps. 102:17 ἀφθγγεται is Gr.'s rendering of *nir'ā* of *nir'ā bikēbōdō*, after which *bēherā'ōth 'eth kēbōdeka* has been modeled.

In the light of the real conditions of pre-Maccabaeen post-Exilic times, as we have seen them portrayed in the fourteen preceding psalms, Psalms 129, 124, and 121 assume a new meaning.

PSALM 129

- *
1 Relentlessly have they assailed me from my youth,
Israel may well say:
2 Relentlessly have they assailed me from my youth,
But they have not conquered me.
3 Like plowmen they plowed my back,
And long they drew their furrows.
4 May the Lord, who is just,
Cut asunder the fetters the wicked have forged;
5 May all the enemies of Zion fall back,
Covered with shame.
6 May they be like grass on the roofs
That the east wind has blasted,
7 Which the harvester will not gather in his arms,
Nor the binder of sheaves in his lap.
8a-b Neither let those who pass by say,
The blessing of the Lord be upon you.†

A preliminary grammatical point first! Downright contradiction has been carried into the psalm by the persistent refusal

* Song of Ascent. † Marginal variant: 8c. *We bless you in the name of the Lord.*

of the interpreters to reckon with the precative perfect. As a consequence of this, they have mistaken the perfect *kiššeš* for a statement of past occurrence, even though the imperfects which follow and express the wish for the undoing of the enemies of Zion show that it is a precative perfect. They have also overlooked that the tone of the opening strophe precludes the customary interpretation of *kiššeš*, for were the psalm, as is thought, a hymn of thanksgiving for the deliverance the people had just experienced, the psalmist, it is self-evident, would not have begun his song with the melancholy thought, "Relentlessly have they assailed me from my youth," and still less would he have intensified it by repetition and the addition of another still more somber picture, but he would have begun with a joyous thought, suitable to the occasion.

The psalm is of supreme importance for our purposes in more than one respect. First of all, in the lines,

Like plowmen they plowed my back,
And long they drew their furrows,

and in "me" and "my" of the preceding lines, we have much the same personification as in Psalm 102 and many others—an example, moreover, which is especially conclusive, since by the words, "Israel may well say," the writer makes it plain that Israel is speaking as a body. The psalm is valuable also for the question, "Who are 'the wicked' spoken of in many psalms?" For inasmuch as it defines them as "the enemies of Zion," it bears out the conclusion already reached that the wicked are foreign oppressors or "the Gentiles of the land" in control of affairs, not the godless within the ranks of the nation.

But more vital than all this is the poet's exultant exclamation,

But they have not conquered me,

which sounds the keynote of the psalm, and in four words (in the Hebrew) tells the miracle of the history of Israel. The secret of this unparalleled heroism, the following part of the psalm brings out, is to be seen in Israel's faith in God; as the writer of Psalm 18 puts it:

For thou, O Lord, art my light,
My God, who illumines the darkness about me.

In Psalms 124 and 121 this is set forth at length, being the all-absorbing thought of the one as well as of the other.

3. *Like plowmen*] From the figure in the rest of the verse, it follows that *hōrēshīm* cannot be the subject, as it is generally taken, but that it is an accusative of comparison. The figurative language of this verse is so expressive that any comment is superfluous. Isa. 51:23, which has erroneously been referred to as a similar figure by some interpreters, speaks of something altogether different: see above, p. 355.

4. *the Lord, who is just*] The word position shows that *ṣadiq* cannot be the predicate of '*ādōnai*' (if it were, it would have to read *ṣadiq 'ādōnai*) but that it is in apposition to it.

5. *May all . . . fall back, Covered with shame*] *Yebōshū* is a circumstantial clause, dependent upon *wēyissēgū*.

6. *That the east wind has blasted*] Read, with different word division, שקרים חסדך (Buhl-Kittel and others).

8. *The blessing of the Lord be upon you*] Neither here nor in Ruth 2:4 does the writer speak of a special greeting which passers-by gave to harvesters, but simply tells how in ancient Israel people greeted one another all year round. It should be superfluous to mention this, were it not for the erroneous deduction that has generally been drawn from the fact that, in Ruth, Boaz' greeting was accidentally extended to his harvesters. All that may be inferred from the passage in Ruth is this—that the one who was greeted returned the greeting in different wording. But since in the situation presented in the psalm there is no occasion for returning the greeting, no greeting having been extended, it is obvious that *We bless you in the name of the Lord* was originally a marginal variant. The customary greeting in ancient Israel as told of in Ruth 2:4 and in this psalm was virtually the same as that in vogue at the present day: we still say at parting, *à Dieu*, or Goodbye, which is, "God be with ye," and in many parts of southern Germany people greet one another, *Grüss Gott*.

PSALM 124

*

- 1 Had the Lord not been with us,
Israel may well say,
- 2 Had the Lord not been with us
When men rose up against us,
- 3 They would indeed have swallowed us alive
In their furious anger:
- 4^b The swift current would have drawn us under,
- 5 The raging waters would have surged over us.†

* Song of Ascent. Of David.

† 4a. *Then the waters would have swept us away.*

- 6 Blessed be the Lord who has not given us as a prey to
their teeth.
7 We escaped like a bird from the fowler's snare:
The snare is broken and we have escaped.
8 Our hope is in God, who made heaven and earth.

The psalm cannot have been occasioned by the deliverance from Babylonia, for neither does it show the jubilant tone which marks every one of the psalms inspired by that momentous event nor does it describe the escape experienced as a real change of fortune—such as was the rebirth of the nation in 538 B.C. If, nevertheless, the contrary view, espoused first by Theodore of Mopsuetsia, is still widely entertained, it is primarily attributable to the serious failure in current sketches of pre-Maccabaeen post-Exilic history to give an adequate description of the life and conditions of those dark centuries. The psalm was written on the escape from some such threatening destruction as that portrayed in Psalms 7, 9/10, 11, 35, 18, 83, and 17, when the imminent danger that Israel might be drawn under by the raging waters had been providentially averted. But, though the people can breathe again, the general situation has remained unchanged. This is shown by the fact that the psalmist realizes more than anything else the utter helplessness of his people: he begins,

Had the Lord not been with us—

a thought which he repeats emphatically—

They would indeed have swallowed us alive
In their furious anger.

And, after describing their hair-breadth escape by another, more picturesque image, he reiterates once again that it was God who thwarted their enemies' black design,

Who has not given us as a prey to their teeth.

The persistence for generation after generation of the untoward social and political conditions which had been the lot of Israel in post-Exilic times explains why the tone of Psalm 124 is substantially the same as that of Psalm 129—somer in the extreme. This somber tone serves a definite end. It makes the

line with which the psalm ends stand out in bold relief, overshadowing everything else:

Our hope is in God.

This is the keynote of the psalm.

AUTHORSHIP

Duhm and Kirkpatrick have expressed the opinion that Psalms 129 and 124 may well have been written by one and the same poet, and Kirkpatrick substantiates their view as follows: "Psalm 129 corresponds in . . . style and the general tenor of its content to Psalm 124. Israel is introduced as the speaker in both ('Let Israel say'): the figure of rhetorical repetition is employed in the first two verses of both: in both Israel is face to face with malicious enemies, but confident of Jehovah's protection." I agree with Duhm and Kirkpatrick not only, however, because of these points of resemblance between the two psalms but also because of another common trait which seems to me still more conclusive, though it is difficult to describe, being a matter of feeling rather than of precise demonstration: the two psalms are strikingly similar in tone. The danger of which both psalms speak is present in the one (Psalm 129), while in the other (Psalm 124), though averted for the time being, is still very real in the writer's mind. It follows from this that Psalm 129 antedates Psalm 124.

5. *The raging*] This and not "proud" is the meaning of *zēdōnīm*: note that also in Syr. *za'ād* can denote "to rage."

4a. *Then the waters would have swept us away* was originally a marginal gloss, being prose.

PSALM 121

*

- 1 I lift up mine eyes unto the hills,
Querying, Where shall help come from?
- 2 My help will come from God,
Who made heaven and earth.
- 3 He will not suffer thy foot to slip:

* Song of Ascent.

- He that guards thee never slumbers.
 4 Verily, he that guards Israel
 Neither sleeps nor slumbers.
- 5 The Lord guards thee,
 The Lord is thy shade on thy right hand;
 6 The sun will not smite thee by day,
 Nor will the moon by night;
 7 The Lord will guard thee from all evil;
 He will guard thy life.
 8 The Lord will guard thee as thou comest and goest,
 Now and forevermore.

The psalmist begins significantly that, when he lifts up his eyes to the hills, that is, the eternal hills, which throughout the ages have been relied upon as sure bulwarks and havens of refuge (as also the author of Psalm 75 images them),¹²³ he finds that even they remain mute to his anxious query, "Where shall help come from?" for his people surrounded by a hostile world. And he can see only one avenue of hope—God, the guardian of Israel, who neither sleeps nor slumbers. He then seeks to make his people realize that if they but put their trust in God, he will ever be at their side, guarding them from all evil and leading them safely.

What has been remarked of the three previous psalms holds true also of Psalms 62, 27, 16, 46, 63, and 36B. Seen in the light of the conditions under which they were written, they become more replete with meaning than ever. They show that the darker the world around became, the more desperate the situation grew, the firmer did Israel cling to God as its rock and its hope.

PSALM 62

*

- 2 Seek rest in God, O my soul:
 He is my hope.

¹²³ "Not from the sunrise nor from the sunset,
 Nor yet from a wilderness of mountains *will help come.*"

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of Jeduthun. A Psalm of David.

- 3 Yea, he is my rock and my salvation, my tower of
 strength:
 In time of tribulation I cannot be shaken.
- 4^a How long will ye assail a righteous race,
 Will ye all grind her down?
- 5^a, 4^b They but plot my ruin,
 Plot to cast me down, as a wall is wrecked
 Or a fence torn down.
- 5^b They delight in lies,
 They bless with their mouths,
 But curse in their hearts.
- 6 Seek rest in God, O my soul:
 He is my hope.
- 7 Yea, he is my rock and my salvation, my tower of
 strength.†
 In time of tribulation I cannot be shaken.
- 9 O my people, trust in him at all times,
 Pour out your hearts to him:
 God is our refuge.
- 10 Empty and worthless is the life of men,
 Be they of low or high degree:
 Alike they are lighter than nothing in the scales.
- 11 Do not rely on extortion,
 Be not dazzled by the fruit of robbery:
 If wealth increases, pay no heed to it.
- 12 One thing God has said,
 Two things indeed have I heard:
 Power belongs to God,
 And with thee, O Lord, is love.
 Verily, thou renderest to every man according to his
 deeds.

The psalm is the fruit of personal experience, revealing the inner being of the poet. From the turmoil and darkness of life

† Variant: 8. *My salvation and my glory depend on God;
He is a rock of strength to me;
God is my refuge.*

he flees into the arms of God to find peace and safety, strength and hope:

Seek rest in God, O my soul:
He is my hope.
Yea, he is my rock and my salvation, my tower of strength:
In time of tribulation I cannot be shaken.

In these lines, with which he pointedly begins and also closes the first strophe, the poet describes the triumph of his own soul over the hostile, treacherous world that is oppressing his people without cease and seeking to destroy them. How intensely he feels their sorrow as his own is vividly portrayed by the sudden change from

How long will ye assail a righteous race,
Will ye all grind her down

to

They but plot my ruin,
Plot to cast me down, as a wall is wrecked.

But, though he is cut to the heart by the country's misery, yet he has risen above fate and circumstance, having overcome the world by faith in God and reposing in him.

In the second strophe he endeavors to deliver his people from their spiritual bondage and make them see life in the light that has come to him. He tells them not to be dazzled by wealth or confounded by the success and material well-being of the mighty and rich but to find escape from this sordid world by trusting in God and bringing God down into their hearts and their lives, for without this, he tells them, "the life of men is empty and worthless, lighter than nothing in the scales." All that is needed is to know that power is with God and that he is love, infinite love, and that he makes every man reap the fruit of his deeds—the good man, strength and peace of soul, and the wicked man, an unsatisfied, wretched self. This import of "Verily, thou renderest to every man according to his deeds," follows by implication from the line of reasoning that precedes.

1. *Of Jeduthun*] Read, with a few MSS, לִי.

2. *Seek rest*] Read, with vs. 6, דַּמֵּי.

He is my hope] Read, with vs. 6, תְּקוּחִי instead of *yēshū'athī*, which is dittography of *yēshū'athī* of the following verse (Wellhausen).

3. *In time of tribulation I cannot be shaken*] *Rabba*, taken as an adverb complementary to 'emmōl, does not make satisfactory sense, altogether aside from the fact that everywhere else the adverbial form is *rabbath*: the difficulty is solved by the fact that the text read originally בְּיוֹם צָרָה רַבָּה, as Targ. (bēyōm 'aqū rabā') shows.

4a. *will ye assail*] Note that, in present-day Damascene Arabic, *hawwata 'ala fulān* denotes both "threaten a person" and "assail him with blows."

a *righteous race*] Read, with Targ., אֶתְּחִיל 'א. As in Ps. 43:1, Josh. 9:6 *et al.*, 'ish is used as a collective.

Will ye . . . grind her down] Cf. Ps. 42:11, where *bēreṣaḥ naphshī* means "crushing me": 'ish is to be construed as object also with *tēraṣṣhū*, being a case of brachylogy.

5a, 4b. Vs. 4b, where found at present, is misplaced, as the nonsensical translations of it clearly show: it stood originally in vs. 5, after *lēhaddīhī*, where the comparison is most fitting.

my ruin] Read מִשְׁמַחֲתִי, which is, however, not plural but an abstract noun, as again in Ps. 73:18: the suffix of the first sing. is attested by Gr., while *marshshū'ōth* is supported by the parallel phrase *lehaddīhī*.

Plot to cast me down] *Ya'dṣū* is a case of zeugma; it is to be construed also with לְהַרְדִּיחַ, which is to be read in accordance with the suffix of *lemash-shū'ōthī*.

is wrecked] This meaning of *naṭūy* follows not only from the parallel expression *dḥūya* but is supported also by the fact that in Ps. 18:10 *wayyēl* is transitive and means "He lowers."

5b. *with their mouths*] Read, with the Versions, בְּפִיָּם.

7. *In time of tribulation*] *Bēyōm ṣara rabba* was in all probability read originally also here.

9. *O my people*] Read, with *plebis meae* of Vet. Lat., עַמִּי.

10. *Empty and worthless is the life of men, Be they of low or high degree*] *Hebel* and *kasab* are predicates of *bēnē 'adām* and *bēnē 'ish*: the writer departed from the regular word order for the sake of the rhythmical balance of clauses. As in Ps. 49:2 *bēnē 'adām* are the "common people" and *bēnē 'ish* the "men of social rank."

13. *One thing God has said, Two things indeed have I heard*] We have here the same peculiarity of style, common to all Semitic languages, as in Amos 1:3-2:6; Prov. 6:16 ff.; 30:15, 18, 21; and Job 5:19 ff.—that is, the expression of a certain number by two numbers, the second of which is the number meant, while the first is in numerical value next to it; *zū* is not an object but is a nice case of interjectional or emphatic *zū*; *indeed* renders it accurately.

PSALM 27

*

I The Lord is my light and my salvation:
Whom shall I fear?

* Of David.

- The Lord is the strength of my life:
Whom shall I dread?
- 2 When evildoers† assail me, feasting on my flesh,
They shall end in ruin and downfall.
- 3 Though a host is arrayed against me,
My heart will not fear;
Though war is waged on me,
Still shall I trust.
- 4 Only one thing I ask of the Lord,
Ever do I seek it,
To bide in the house of the Lord all my life,
Beholding the beauty of God,
And having a vision of him in his temple.
- 5 He will shelter me in days of trouble,
He will provide a haven of refuge for me in his tent,
He will set me upon a rock:
- 6 Wherefore I shall triumph over mine enemies round
about me,
And offer in his tent sacrifices of joy.
I will sing and give praise unto the Lord.
- 7 Hear my voice, O Lord, when I call,
Be gracious unto me, and answer me.
- 8 My heart avows to thee,
“My self doth seek thy self”:
I will ever seek thy self, O Lord.
- 9 Hide not thy self from me;
Turn not thy servant away in anger,
Be thou my help;
Cast me not off, forsake me not, O God of my salvation.
- 10 Even should my father and my mother forsake me,
The Lord will take me up.
- 11 Teach me thy way, O Lord,
And lead me in the straight path to refute my foes.
- 12 Deliver me not over to the rage of mine enemies:

† *My enemies and my foes.*

False witnesses have risen up against me,
Fuming with violence.

13 Did I not believe that I would see the goodness of the
Lord

In the land of the living,
Then should I be desolate of all hope.

14 Rest your hope in the Lord!
Be strong and let your heart take courage.
Rest your hope in the Lord!

The lines,

Though a host is arrayed against me,
. . . . Though war is waged on me,

show that it is not personal peril but danger threatening the country—the attack made upon it by enemies—which is moving the psalmist to utterance. Another proof to the same effect is the exhortation he addresses to his people in conclusion:

Rest your hope in the Lord!
Be strong and let your heart take courage.
Rest your hope in the Lord!

Yet the psalm, like the preceding one, is pre-eminently a portrayal of the innermost soul of the poet, showing how he reacts personally to the imminent danger. This prominence of the personal element, coupled with the fact that the psalm is inspired by the dire distress of the nation, explains what might otherwise be mystifying—the interfusion of “I” used personally and “I” used collectively; for, though this feature is in reality nothing new but is characteristic of ever so many psalms, yet there is a subtleness about it in this psalm which is hardly equaled in any other.

The two parts into which the psalm falls—the first of which consists of verses 1–6, and the second, of verses 7–14—are knit together in poetic unity. As proof of this, note, first, that although there is a legitimate difference in tone between them, a difference springing naturally from the plan and purpose of the poem, yet the first part is just as definite and clear as the second about the gravity of the situation and the awareness of the poet that only God can save his people. Second, still more

conclusive is the fact that the leading idea of the first part, the poet's passionate yearning for a life in the presence of God, a life of close communion with him, not only occupies just as much prominence in the second part but, what is still more important, is there reaffirmed even more clearly and directly—in concrete language, stripped of all imagery:

My heart avows to thee,
 "My self doth seek thy self":
 I will ever seek thy self, O Lord.

And not only in thought but also in style and language are these lines the counterpart of verse 4 of the first part:

Only one thing I ask of the Lord,
 Ever do I seek it,
 To bide in the house of the Lord all my life,
 Beholding the beauty of God,
 And having a vision of him in his temple.

Both have in common the imperfect of reiterated action, *'ābaq-qesh*, meaning "Ever do I seek" in the one, and "I will ever seek" in the other; and, in addition to this, in verse 8 this verb recurs once more in the perfect tense: *biqqēshū*, "doth seek." If, nevertheless, the view prevails that Psalm 27 consists of two distinct psalms which have been accidentally combined, the view is primarily attributable to the fact that because of text corruption, verse 8 has in the Hebrew become completely obscure, yea, meaningless. Fortunately, however, the Greek has preserved its original reading intact, and, being a word-for-word translation of the original, it can be retranslated into Hebrew without any difficulty or hesitation. The fact that verse 8, as it reads in the Greek, not only complements verse 4 excellently but also elucidates the idea expressed in it makes it to my mind certain beyond a shadow of a doubt that it is the original reading.

Through the persistence, for generation after generation, of the untoward conditions prevailing in the country, the psalmist has come to realize that the quest of God, ingrained in the mind of man, is the aim and purpose of human existence and that the only thing that can give it worth and dignity is to satisfy the longing of the soul for a life in unison with the Divine. This

realization explains the exultant declaration with which he begins the psalm:

The Lord is my light and my salvation:
Whom shall I fear?
The Lord is the strength of my life:
Whom shall I dread?

It also explains the abiding trust that fills his heart that, although his people are helpless against their grim enemies who are waging war upon them, God is sure to protect them and make them to triumph over their foes in the end.

This reliance upon God has not by any means deserted the poet in the second part of the psalm. Evidence of this is the trustful exclamation,

Even should my father and my mother forsake me,
The Lord will take me up,

and the final exhortation:

Rest your hope in the Lord!
Be strong and let your heart take refuge,
Rest your hope in the Lord!

And also the lines which introduce this entreaty,

Did I not believe that I would see the goodness of the Lord
In the land of the living,
Then should I be desolate of all hope,

are proof of it: for by these the psalmist means to impress upon the people that, in trying to conquer their despair, they might be guided by his own example. It is, however, only natural that the poet should have been unable to shut out from his mind all fear about the dark reality and that, conscious of it, he should have cried out to God not to turn them away in anger, not to cast them off, but to be their help and thwart the dark designs of the enemy. This somber cry, instead of being discordant with any other part of it makes the psalm more realistic and psychologically true. In the same way, his prayer,

Teach me thy way, O Lord,
And lead me in the straight path to refute my foes,

is consistent with the leading idea that a life of nearness to God, of at-oneness with him, is the aim of human existence:

for the psalmist knows that it is the ideal toward which man can only aspire but never realize, and he knows also that to progress in his aspiration demands that he never stop or relax but that he resume it day by day with ever renewed effort and more determined will. Such a life he considers the most effective weapon with which to conquer one's enemies.

The description given in the second stich of verse 12 of the "false witnesses" as "fuming with violence," which elaborates "the rage of mine enemies" of the first stich, shows that they and the enemies are identical. By calling them "false witnesses" (*'ēdē sheqer*) the psalmist means to imply that the enemy seek to defend their attack on the country by accusing his own people of deeds they are innocent of—a common ruse resorted to by any attacking enemy even down to the present day. This conclusion is borne out further by the parallel thought in Ps. 35:11, 15*b*, which is very explicit on this:

Malicious accusers (*'ēdē ḥamas*) have sprung up,
They are banded together,
Low-minded people are banded together;
They charge me of deeds I know naught of.

DATE

My reasons for considering the psalm another product of the later Persian period, prior however to Artaxerxes III Ochus, are in the main as follows. There is, first of all, the parallel just mentioned to Ps. 35:11, 15*b*. Further, the opening words, "The Lord is my light" (*'ādōnai 'ōrī*), are closely similar to "Thou, O Lord, art my light" (*'atta 'ādōnai nērī*) of Ps. 18:29—a very valid parallel because there is no other example of "my light" predicated of the Lord. But we need not stress either of these parallels, for the decisive fact is that the psalm reflects the same social and political situation which we have seen pictured in psalm after psalm, the chief feature of which is the utter helplessness of the people against intrigues and attacks by the enemies round about them. To this must be added as another point of importance that, when one compares these psalms as well as Psalm 27 with the fifteen psalms inspired by the fatal blow Artaxerxes III Ochus dealt Judaea in 344 B.C., one feels

certain that this catastrophe could not yet have happened when any one of them was written.

2. *My enemies and my foes*] It follows from the rules of sentence structure that *hēma kashlū wēnaphalū* are the predicates of *mēre'im* and that *šarai wē'ōyēbai* were originally a gloss on *mēre'im*.

They shall end in ruin and downfall] *Kashlū wēnaphalū* are perfects used in the apodosis of a conditional or temporal sentence: the customary rendering, which has mistaken them and the protasis *biqrob* for a statement of a past occurrence, has lost sight of this rule.

3. *Though a host is arrayed. . . . Though war is waged*] As often, *'im* means "though," being analogous to Lat. *et si* and used with the imperfect to make a statement of fact: other such examples are Job 9:20, *'im 'ešdaq*, "Though I am righteous"; Isa. 1:18, *'im yihēyū ḥlā'ēkēm kashshānim . . . 'im yihēyū kattōla'*, "Though your sins are as scarlet, shall they become white as snow? Though they are as red as crimson, shall they become white as wool?" Hos. 9:12, *ki 'im yēgaddelu 'eth bēnēhem*, "Yea, though they bring up their children." The last of these examples is especially conclusive because in the parallel distich (vs. 16), which preceded it originally, *gam ki* is used: *gam ki yēlēdūn*, "Even though they bear children."

Still] As often, the preposition *bē* of *bēzō'th* denotes "in spite of": cf. Isa. 9:11, 16, 20; 10:4, also Job 1:22, *bēkol zō'th*, all of which may, like *bēzō'th* here, simply be rendered *still*; cf. also Pss. 31:22; 46:3; 92:8, in which *bē* is used with the force of a concessive conjunction "though."

4. *Only one thing I ask. . . . Ever do I seek it*] *Shā'altī* is a perfect denoting an abiding state, or rather frame, of mind, and *'ābaqqesh* is an imperfect of reiterated action: the customary rendering of the first with the present perfect and of the second with the future not only has failed to recognize their force but has also missed the nice distinction which the writer makes by the change from the perfect to the imperfect and, as a consequence, has obscured the meaning of the verse.

Beholding the beauty of God] This phrase is not likely to have been coined by the writer of the psalm but seems to belong to the stock of well-known phrases which in those ages were common literary property, like our proverbs today. The phrase is quite common in ancient Egyptian. Thus when on the great festivals of the year the shrine of the deity was taken from the temple and in sacred procession was carried around by the priests, who at the height of the celebration drew back the curtain of the shrine to show the worshipers the image of the god, these burst into ecstasy on "beholding the beauty of their God." And when the dead person on the safe completion of his journey to heaven reaches at last "the hall of the two truths, and freed of all evil which he committed during his life, sees the countenance of God, he prays: ". . . I have come, O Lord, to behold thy beauty."¹²⁴ But, while in these Egyptian texts "behold the beauty of God" is said of the physical eye, in our psalm it means "behold with the mind's eye." This is shown by the parallel phrase:

And having a vision of him] The meaning of *lēbaqqer* is in no wise doubtful, but on the contrary it is very clear that it is synonymous with *laḥḏzōth* and

¹²⁴ Cf. A. Erman, *Die Aegyptische Religion* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1909), pp. 63-64, 117.

that the preceding genitive 'ādōnai is to be construed with it as object, being a case of brachylogy: the word denotes "to look at" (II Kings 16:15), "to look for" or "look out for" (Lev. 13:36), and "to look into, reflect upon" (Prov. 20:25); and Arabic *bakara* means "to look for a thing and see it, to investigate, to probe to the bottom," also "to open" or "to reveal" a thing to a person;¹²⁵ and also Syr. *bēkar* means "to search, investigate," and "see, view."¹²⁶

The house of the Lord and his temple cannot be taken literally, as it is self-evident that the psalmist cannot desire a lifelong residence in the Temple, but what has been remarked of Pss. 15:1, 24:3, 93:5, and 96:8 applies also to these words: vs. 8 is conclusive proof of this.

5. *He will shelter me*] Read, with Kēthīb and Sym., בִּסְכָה. Proof that this is the original reading may be seen in Ps. 31:21, *tišpēnēm besukka*, which is doubtless copied from *yišpēnenī besukka* of this verse. Neither here nor in Psalm 31 is *besukka* a concrete noun but the fem. form of the infinitive *sok* and, like *bēsether*, has the function of intensifying the verb—similar in a way to the use of the cognate accusative. Other such examples are Ezek. 5:6, *waittemer 'eth mishpātai lerish'a min haggōyīm*, "She rebelled against my ordinances worse than the heathen," and Hos. 9:1, *'al yismēhū Y. 'el gīl*, "Rejoice not so loudly, O Israel." These examples have in common with the one under discussion that the intensifying prepositional phrase is not a derivative from the verb which is intensified but from a synonym of it.

in his tent] 'Ohlō is an accusative of place, not a genitive governed by *sether*.

6. *Wherefore*] 'Atta denotes sequence as again Ps. 2:10, *we'atta*, etc., "Wherefore ye kings be wise," and I Sam. 8:5, "Thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: 'atta sīma lanū melek," "Wherefore give us a king."

sacrifices of joy] That this—as A.V. and R.V. render—is the meaning of *zibhē tēru'a* admits of no doubt, being established by the parallelism: *I will sing and give praise unto the Lord*.

8. *avows*] Cf. Pss. 39:2, 'amartī, "I vow," and 40:8, 'amartī, "I promise."

My self doth seek thy self: I will ever seek thy self] As stated above, Gr. has preserved the original reading of vs. 8b-c, the second part of which is identically the same in all the text witnesses, while the first part is worded in two different ways, which are, however, identical in meaning. The first wording is found in a group comprising A, B, Boh., R, 2030, Vet. Lat. (of both La^R and La^G), and the second in a group consisting of the great mass of MSS representing the Lucian Recension, of which the two oldest are T and Z, also of Sh, Vulg., Tht., Su., and Bar-Hebr. The first group renders vs. 8b: ἐξεζητήσα (or ἐξ.) τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, *quaesivi vultum* (or *faciem*) *tuam*; and the second ἐξεζητήσεν σε τ. π. μου, *exquisivit* (or *quaesivit*) *te facies mea*. Both groups alike render 8c: τ. π. σου, κύριε ζητήσω. The Hebrew as represented by both groups is:

בִּקְשׁוּ פָנַי אֶת פְּנֵיךְ אֶת פְּנֵיךְ י' אֲבָקְשׁ:

¹²⁵ Cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863-93); Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes* (Leyden, 1881), s.v.

¹²⁶ Cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxonii, 1879-1901), s.o.

from which it will be seen that both groups alike read perfect instead of imperative and take *panai* as the subject of it, and also read '*eth panēka* twice as object of *biqqēshū* and also of '*dbaqqesh*; but while the first paraphrases, or rather renders, the subject *panai* by the first person of the verb *ēḡḡ*. and translates the object '*eth panēka* literally, the second has reversed things: it renders *panai* literally and paraphrases '*eth paneka* by the pronoun *se*. Both groups render the second '*eth panēka* literally. I cannot see how Rahlfs can have made out that the reading of *Σ ἐξήτησεν τ. π. μου*, which he has adopted in his edition of *Septuaginta*, X, is the original Greek and that in this instance the omission of *se* is exceptionally not to be attributed to Hexaplaric influence (see *Prolegomena*, pp. 26-27).

9. *Be thou*] *Hayitha* is a precativ perfect, as the imperfects which precede and follow it show.

12. *the rage*] Like Lat. *animus*, Hebrew *nephesh* may denote emotions of various sorts.

13. *Then should I be desolate of all hope*] Vs. 13 is elliptical sentence construction, the apodosis being suppressed for rhetorical effect or possibly for the sake of euphemism, the writer shrinking from expressing his thought: cf. the parallel reflection, Ps. 94:17, where the apodosis has not been suppressed: "If God were not my help, I would soon lie in the silent grave." Other examples of sentence ellipses are Exod. 32:32; I Kings 1:27 *et al.*

PSALM 16

*

- 1 Preserve me, O God, for in thee do I put my trust.
- 2 I say unto the Lord, Thou art my supreme good:
There is no greater good.
- 3 The Lord will exalt the saints in the land:
In them is all his delight.
- 4 Many will be the sorrows of those that woo another god:
I will not pour unto them libations of blood,
Nor will I take their names upon my lips.
- 5 The Lord is my portion, my share,
The cup allotted to me:
Thou art the master of my fate.
- 6 Blissful is the lot that has fallen to me:
I am well content with my portion.
- 7 I bless the Lord, my counselor,
Even for the nights in which my soul has chastened me.

- 8 I keep God ever before me,
With him at my right hand, I cannot falter.
- 9 Therefore my heart is glad,
My spirit exults, yea, even my body;
I abide in the hope
- 10 That thou wilt not give me up to She'ol,
That thou wilt not suffer thy faithful servants to see the
engulfing pit.
- 11 Show me the path of life:
To live in thy presence is fulness of joy,
To be guided by thy right hand is everlasting bliss.

A COMPANION PIECE TO PSALM 27

This song in the night is a companion piece to Psalm 27, the leading idea of which it develops more fully. The singer realizes ever more that to live in the presence of God and repose in his divine will and guidance is "fulness of joy, everlasting bliss," come what may. He finds that it is the only thing that counts—the supreme good:

I say unto the Lord, Thou art my supreme good:
There is no greater good.

This realization has given him such strength and peace of soul that he exclaims joyfully,

I bless the Lord, my counselor,
Even for the nights in which my soul has chastened me.

He recognizes that suffering ennoble man, that, owing to the divine disposition of his nature, it is only through self-denial, through agonies and trials, that he can attain toward perfection, that his soul can rise to light and freedom. In other words, he perceives that the God who punishes is the God who loves, as the post-Exilic writer of Proverbs puts it,

God punishes him whom he loves,
And he afflicts him in whom he delights.¹²⁷

This leads us to the heart of the question. Was it personal suffering or the common sorrow of the sorely tried nation which matured the spiritual insight of the psalmist? The answer is not

¹²⁷ Prov. 3:12; instead of *ūkk'ab*, read with Gr. *włki'eb*.

difficult to give, for though by the nature of the case the psalm is pre-eminently individual, more markedly so even than Psalm 27, yet it is plain that the poet has been inspired to utterance by the extreme peril of the country. He begins the psalm with the cry, "Preserve me, O God," by which he means to say preserve me by saving the nation. Express proof of this is verse 10, where

Thou wilt not give me up to She'ol

is explained by

Thou wilt not suffer thy faithful servants to see the engulfing pit.

These lines are the more conclusive, since, with the line, "I abide in the hope," introducing them, they are complementary to the fervid prayer,

Preserve me, O God, for in thee do I put my trust,

with which the singer began. His true vision of life has not only filled his heart with joy and enabled him to triumph over circumstance but has also made him more assured and hopeful so that, instead of repeating his prayer for the nation's rescue, he now declares exultantly that he abides in the hope that God will not let the yawning grave close over her.

The traditional interpretation of this verse (by church and synagogue alike), which has read into it a belief in resurrection and a future life, has rightly been rejected by most modern interpreters as grammatically untenable, for *lō' tha'āzob lishē'ōl* cannot mean "Thou wilt not leave in She'ol" or "hell," but it can mean only "Thou wilt not abandon [me] to" or "give [me] up to She'ol." Nor can *shahath* mean "corruption" but invariably denotes "pit" or "grave" and is hence used also as a synonym of She'ol. Modern interpreters have, however, all failed to see that the Massoretic reading (*Qērē*) "thy faithful servant" for the plural of the text (*Kēhīb*) is another, consistent part of the traditional misinterpretation of the verse, which was already current when the Psalter was translated into Greek, and that this explains why the ancient Versions, which all follow the traditional interpretation, read "thy faithful servant." The genuineness of the consonantal text is borne out also by the

parallel expression, "The saints of the land," of verse 3, to which should be added that "thy faithful servants" or "his faithful servants" as a designation of the community of Israel occurs repeatedly in post-Exilic psalms (cf. among others [a] 79:2; 132:9; [b] 30:5; 31:24).

WORSHIP OF TYCHE-FORTUNA REPROBATED

Verse 4 is puzzling at first. If it were ordinary idolatry, such as Israel of pre-Exilic times lapsed into again and again, that the verse speaks of, it would be a strange reproach indeed to meet with in a post-Exilic psalm, when one considers that, unlike the repeated warnings given throughout Deuteronomy to the people that above all they beware of idolatry,¹²⁸ the exhortations which Ezra and Nehemiah addressed to their contemporaries do not even remotely accuse them of such an offense.¹²⁹ But still more disconcerting is the fact that in such an eminently spiritual and introspective psalm as is Psalm 16 the author should have had any occasion at all to declare that he was not guilty himself of such a heinous sin. Aside from this main problem, the verse presents three other difficulties: first, the use of the verb *mahar*, connoting "woo"; second, the seeming discrepancy between "that woo another god" and "I will not pour unto them . . . nor take their names, etc.," from the first of which it would seem as if one certain god were referred to, and from the second as if there were more than one; third, "libations of blood" is an unknown type of libation in the Hebrew sacrificial ritual and occurs only once more, more definitely expressed, in Isa. 66:3. All three difficulties as well as the main problem can, however, be solved when the verse is taken as referring to the same cult that is mentioned in verses 11 and 3-5 of the contemporary prophecy, Isaiah, chapter 65, with 66:3 and 17, which belongs to it.

We shall take up 65:11 first:

Who prepare the table for the goddess of fortune (*Gad*),
And fill up the cup to Destiny (*Meni*).

¹²⁸ Cf. Deut. 4:17-25; 6:14; 7:16, 25-26; 8:19; 11:16, 28; 12:2-3, 30-31; 13:7 ff., 14 ff.; 20:15; 29:16-27; 30:17-18; 31:20-21, 29.

¹²⁹ Cf. Ezra 9:1-10:44; Neh. 8:9-10:1, 26-40; 13.

Our authority for this interpretation of the second part of the verse is that the original Greek renders *Gad* with *Tyche* and *Meni* with *Daimon*, text witnesses for which are fourteen cursives,¹³⁰ Eusebius' quotation of it,¹³¹ and Jerome, who in *Commentarii in Iesaiam* says:

Iuxta Septuaginta: Paratis fortunae mensam et impletis daemioni poculum. . . . Quodque Septuaginta transtulerunt "daemioni" in Hebraico habet Menni.

Another text witness of this original reading is the Syro-Hexaplar, which renders *Meni* with *Shīdā'*, that is, *Daimon*. And still more important for our purpose is the fact that in rendering *Gad* with *Tyche* the Jewish Alexandrian translators have shown themselves well informed, as may be seen from the Palmyrene bilingual inscription No. 3.¹³² This inscription speaks of yearly oblations to Malakbēl, and to *Tyche Thaimeios*, and to *Atargatis*, and the Aramaic rendition of *Tyche Thaimeios* is *Gad Taimi*, as Mordtmann has shown.¹³³ Another proof to the same effect is the frequently occurring Punic woman's name *Na'm-gad'* (spelled in Latin inscriptions *namgedde*, *namgidde*) and turned round *Gad-na'm* (spelled in Plautus, *Poen. giddeneme*), written phonetically *Gadnm*, and found also with the feminine ending *Gad-na'mi*¹³⁴—all of which I take to be the Punic name of *Agathe Tyche* or *Fortuna Bona*. Warrant for this conclusion I find in the fact that *Agathe* came to be generally used as epithet to *Tyche*, according to some authorities, as early as the fourth century B.C., while others hold that the use of the epithet had already started in the fifth century.¹³⁵ From the fourth century B.C. on, the worship of *Tyche-Fortuna* grew steadily evermore popular not only in Greek and Roman countries but also in the countries of the Orient. The reason for her popularity and universal worship is found in the attributes with

¹³⁰ See the critical apparatus in Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, IV (Oxonii, 1827), and Field, *Originis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, II (Oxonii, 1875).

¹³¹ *Demonstratio evangelica*, p. 79.

¹³² Vogüé, *Inscriptions Sémitiques* (Paris, 1868-77), pp. 7 f.

¹³³ See ZDMG, XXXI (1877), 100.

¹³⁴ Cf. Lidsbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), "Der Wortschatz," pp. 249 and 324.

¹³⁵ Cf. "Tyche" in Roscher, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1916-24), V, 1328 f., 1333, 1337 f., 1340, 1345 f., 1350-53.

which she was generally represented—the cornucopia, carried in her left arm, and the rudder, held in her right hand. The first emblem characterizes her as goddess of fortune, as the dispenser of material blessings, and the second pictures her as the controller of destiny, whether of the individual or of society. As goddess of destiny she is also identified with the Moera and is even considered the mightiest of the Moera, being like them the child of Zeus, nay, his first-born daughter, as the ancient Fortuna of Praeneste is called, with which it accords that in due course she takes the place of the Moera. Hence, she appears often in grave inscriptions and is also known as the goddess of death. These names and roles show, each and all, that Tyche belongs to the Chthonian gods, the *inferi*, that govern the life and death of both nature and society.¹³⁶

As another important feature it must be pointed out that as a Chthonian deity Tyche was often worshiped together with Agathodaemon (likewise a Chthonian god), forming with him a pair of god and goddess. The two had a common chapel at the temple of the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia in Boeotia and elsewhere. Their names appear also side by side in grave inscriptions. A more essential trait of their close relationship is found in the fact that Tyche assumed gradually the distinctive character of Agathodaemon, being conceived of as a guardian spirit or personal Tyche—as the good genius that is born with every individual and accompanies him throughout his life—and that vice versa Agathodaemon, as dispenser of the blessings of the soil, is depicted with the horn of plenty in his left hand, the typical attribute of Agathe Tyche, on a votive relief from Thespieae, the legend of which reads “Agathos Daimon.” And most significant is the custom observed at the end of a feast of drinking a cup of pure wine to Agathodaemon in his dual role as a giver of material blessings and as the good genius of man.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 1312, 1315, 1330 f., 1338; “Fortuna” in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XIII, 13 f.; Dietrich, *Nekyia* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 87 f.

¹³⁷ Cf. “Tyche” in Roscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 1321, 1332 f., 1337 ff., 1346; “Fortuna” in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, XIII, 13; “Agathodaimon” in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 98 f., and in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, I, 746 f.; Rohde, *Psyche* (Tübingen, 1907), I, 254 f., n. 2.

To return to Isa. 65:11 and its version in the Greek, it is clear from their rendering, first, of *Gad* with Tyche (disposed of already) and, second, of *Menī* with Daimon that the translators understood the verse, that they knew that *Menī* was used as the Hebrew equivalent of Agathodaemon; and it is equally clear that the words, "And who fill up the cup to Daimon," refer to the custom just described of drinking a cup of wine to Agathodaemon. As to "Daimon," meaning Agathodaemon, note that in classical writ, too, Daimon is often so used.¹³⁸ The difficulties of verse 4 of our psalm disappear now. Since it is the worship of Tyche that the verse refers to, the verb *maharū*, used to denote "that woo," is excellent; and, since Agathe Tyche was closely associated with Agathodaemon, it is but natural that the words, "that woo another god," should be followed by "I will not pour unto them libations of blood." The last term, "libations of blood," is in Isa. 66:3 more definitely described as "bringing the blood of the swine as oblation," on which, too, light is thrown by the peculiar cult of Tyche and of other Chthonian gods. The swine was the usual sacrificial animal for all of them. And the peculiar feature of this sacrifice was that the blood of the animal constituted the oblation proper; the meat was not offered up, or eaten by the sacrificers, but was burned or otherwise destroyed. The oldest, well-known example of this customary sacrifice to Chthonian deities is found in the *Iliad*,¹³⁹ where it is told how, facing the boar which was to be sacrificed, Agamemnon, invoking the Erinyes, the goddesses of Hades, Gaia (another Chthonian goddess), and Helios, took the oath and then cut the throat of the boar, and, how after the blood had run out of the sacrificial animal, the priest Talybius hurled the carcass into the sea to be devoured by the fish. In some cases, instead of the swine alone, the *suovetaurilia*, consisting of a swine, a sheep, and a bull, was the sacrifice to the Chthonian gods, which explains the fact that in Isa. 66:3 ox and sheep are mentioned alongside the swine. In order that the blood of the victim might flow into the earth, the animal was slaughtered on

¹³⁸ Cf. Rohde, *op. cit.*, II, 316 f., n. 1, where a number of examples of this meaning of Daimon are quoted.

¹³⁹ xix. 256 ff.

a low altar built close to the ground, or on a hollow altar hearth, or on an altar near the opening of a cave, and the night was the customary time for sacrificing to Chthonian gods: all of which throws light on Isa. 65:4. As the only exception to the rule mentioned above, that the meat of the sacrifices to Chthonian gods was not eaten, it should be noted that at the feast of the Ambarvalia of *Dea dia*, the Italian Ceres, the ceremonial required the priests to eat the meat and drink the blood of the sacrificial swine, which, if more were known about it, might possibly have bearing on "who eat the meat of the swine, and in whose vessels is unclean broth" of Isa. 65:4 and 66:17.¹⁴⁰

The psalmist's declaration that Tyche, the goddess of fortune, has no lure for him and that "many are the sorrows," that is, the bitter disillusion, of those who worship her is very much in place in the psalm, which centers in the thought that all that is needed to be safe and content with one's lot and to lend beauty and dignity to one's existence is to live in harmony with the true order of things—in harmony with the Divine. Not only does this declaration make the psalm more rounded and complete but it also adds color to some of the lines. Thus the phrases *nē'imīm* of verse 5 and *nē'imōth* of verse 11 were doubtless suggested by the epithet "Agathe," which was universally applied to Tyche, and which, we know, was rendered as *na'am* by the Phoenicians of ancient Carthage. And, in opposition to the faith of a blind world in Tyche, the psalmist affirms his trust in God as the master of his fate. The important feature of his affirmation, "Thou art the master of my fate," is that the phrase *tōmek gōralī* was evidently not coined by him but belonged to the stock of phrases current in many lands. As support of this, note, first, that in the temple of the Fortuna of Praeneste, which was famous for its oracles of sortilege, it was customary to employ little boys in giving out oracles by means of lot, and that the lots were not drawn casually but at the direction of the goddess, as Cicero puts it, *Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscen-*

¹⁴⁰ Cf. "Tyche" in Roscher, *op. cit.*, V, 1335, 1339; "Demeter" in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, VIII, 2723, 2751; "Schwein," *ibid.*, II, Part III, 811 ff.; Rohde, *op. cit.*, 149 f.; "Ceres" in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 863 f., "Dea dia," *ibid.*, pp. 968, 969, 972.

*tur atque ducuntur.*¹⁴¹ Note, further, that when in Palestine to-day the arable village land is yearly apportioned by lot among the *fellaheen* for cultivation, each of the *fellaheen* present exclaims as the little boy under five, employed for this purpose, puts his hand into the bag to draw out one of the lots, *Allah yakūm bi-ğaralī*, "Allah controls my lot,"¹⁴² *yakūm* of which is a synonym of *tamak*.

AUTHORSHIP

As stated above, Psalm 16 is a companion piece to Psalm 27, written by the same author. Not only are the two psalms closely related in thought but they show marked similarity in language as well. Conspicuous among the phrases which they have in common is *ṭōbathī* or, rather, *'atta ṭōbathī*, "Thou art my supreme good," of the opening lines of Psalm 16, by which phrase the singer takes up *ṭūb 'ādōnai* of the conclusion of Psalm 27 and, using it in a different sense as well as in a different form, makes it the theme of his new psalm. Note next the phrase *'eth panēka* of the concluding verse of Psalm 16—a phrase which is very conspicuous in Psalm 27. It occurs, alongside *panai*, *nota bene*, twice in immediate succession in verse 8, in which the keynote of both psalms is sounded, and once more in the following verse 9. And the important feature is that the recurrence of the phrase in 16:11 is not a case of mechanical repetition but that, inasmuch as in this verse the phrase is a case of ellipsis, the element of variation and development enters into it even as it does into the case of *'atta ṭōbathī*. This quality marks also the thought expressed by the verse, for "To live in thy presence is fulness of joy" supplements Psalm 27 in a very essential way. While there the singer dwells on the passionate desire of his soul for a life of fellowship with God, here he emphasizes that to satisfy this urge of the soul is fulness of joy indeed. Further, the phrase *'al ta'azbenī* of verse 9 of Psalm 27 recurs in verse 10 of Psalm 16, used, however, with a different meaning, which is determined by the construction with

¹⁴¹ *De divinatione* ii. 86; see "Fortuna" in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, XIII, 25 f.

¹⁴² See S. Bergheim, "Land Tenure in Palestine," *PEFQS* (1894), p. 194.

an indirect object in addition to the direct, with the paraphrastic pronoun *naphshi* as direct object instead of the pronominal suffix, and with the negative *lō* instead of *'al*, as required by the indicative mode of *tha'āzob*. It should be noted that *lō' tha'āzob naphshī lish'ol* of 16:10 and *'al titnenī bēnephesh šarai* of 27:12 express the identical thought in different language. Note, finally, the similarity in thought and to some extent also in language between *tōdī'enī 'orah hayyīm* of 16:11a and *hōrēnī 'ādōnai darkēka ūnēhēni bē'orah mīshōr* of 27:11.

INFLUENCE OF PSALM 73 AND DATE

A definite clue to its date is furnished by the fact that the psalm shows the influence of Psalm 73, which was written by the author of the Job drama and may appropriately be called an epitome of the Job drama. The line,

I say unto the Lord, Thou art my supreme good,

is closely related and has evidently been modeled after the lines,

But as for me,
My highest good is the presence of God within me,

with which Psalm 73 concludes. In addition to this thought, the phrase *lī tōb* of these lines is markedly similar to *tōbathī* of Psalm 16. Further, the line,

The Lord is my portion, my share,

resembles

God is my rock and my portion forever

of 73:26, with which it has *helqī* in common. Finally, the first stich of 16:8,

I keep God ever before me,

bears similarity in thought to the first stich of 73:23,

But I am ever in thy presence,

and both have the adverb *tamid*, while the second stich of 16:8,

With him at my right hand, I cannot falter,

and the second stich of 73:23,

Thou holdest me by my right hand,

have the phrase *yēmīnī* in common. The dependence of these lines on Psalm 73 is so obvious that it need not be demonstrated any further. It is, however, important for the proper appreciation of Psalm 16 to emphasize that the dependent lines do not show any trace of labored imitation but are marked, even as is their pattern, by that element of freshness and spontaneity which is the unfailing sign of all true poetry—naturally so, for the author of Psalm 16 was indeed a great poet.

It follows from its dependence upon Psalm 73 that Psalm 16 must have been written some time after 400 B.C., which is the approximate date of the Job drama and of Psalm 73 as well. Since, furthermore, what has been remarked above about Psalm 27 holds good also of Psalm 16, its companion piece—that its comparison with the many psalms inspired by the fatal blow Judaea suffered at the hand of Artaxerxes III Ochus in 344 B.C. shows that the blow could as yet not have fallen when it was written—it is clear that it must be a product of the first half of the fourth century B.C.

2. *I say*] Read, with some MSS, Gr., Syr., and Hier., אֲמַרְתִּי, which, being written without the final yod, the Massoretes mistook for the second sing. fem.

unto the Lord, Thou art] As often, 'āḏōnai was originally a marginal annotation, telling how *yhwh* was to be pronounced.

There is no greater good] *Bal 'alēka* is another predicate of *lōbathī*, which in the Hebrew sentence structure is the subject, the predicate being 'atta.

3. *The Lord will exalt the saints in the land . . . his delight*] With Gr. ἑθαυμάσσωσεν + ὁ κύριος (with some sixty Lucian MSS) π. τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ, read יֵאָדָר יְהוָה כ' חֲפָצוֹ, as Baethgen has admirably emended the verse: *liqēdōshīm* is the direct object, construed with *lē*, and since for emphasis' sake it has, with its qualificative 'āsher *ba'areš*, been put at the head of the sentence, it is taken up again by *hēma* directly before the verb. The present text is to be explained by the fact that *yhwh* was written abbreviated, ך, which, not being recognized, was joined to *ya'ādīr*, and as a consequence of this the initial yod was read as waw. The reading of the verse by Gr. is so notably accordant with the rest of the psalm that there cannot be any doubt that it is the original text, especially since it is so simple to explain the corrupt text of the present Hebrew. It is, therefore, incomprehensible that recent interpreters should have disregarded Gr. and resorted instead to amazingly unsound emendations. As by "the peaceful people of the land" of Ps. 35:20, so by "the saints of the land" here, the psalmist means his own people, who were ruled over and at the time also under attack by the foreign population of the country, "the Gentiles of the land," as Neh. 10:28 calls them.

4. *that woo*] As Robertson Smith¹⁴³ and Wellhausen¹⁴⁴ have shown, *mohar* does not only mean the purchase money paid to the father or the family of the bride but also the dowry, a kind of morning gift, given to the woman by the groom or husband, evidently to the end that he may win her affections. Note that Judg. 15:1 tells that "Samson went to visit his wife with a kid" as a gift, which may have been the customary thing to do at every visit of the husband to his wife who had remained in the parental home. Hence in Hebrew as well as in Arabic *mahar* means "to take" or "win a woman as wife by giving her a dowry"—the only meaning which *mahōr yimharennā lō la'ishsha*, Exod. 22:15, can have, as the fem. objective suffix shows. A logical development from this is the meaning "woo," with which *maharū* is used here in the psalm.

5. *The cup allotted to me*] *Kōsī* is another genitive depending on *mēnath*; *mēnath ḥelqī* I have for obvious reasons rendered in a slightly free manner.

art the master of] Read, or rather vocalize, with the Versions, אֲרִימָה. The meaning *art the master of* of *tōmek* follows from the notion which, as pointed out above (pp. 508 f.), is at the bottom of the phrase *'atta tōmek gōralī* and the corresponding Arabic *Allah yakūm bi-ḡaralī*.

6. *Blissful*] *Bannē'imīm* is not a prepositional adverbial phrase, as it is commonly taken, but is in apposition to *ḥābalim*, and *bē* is *bē essentialis*: cf. Ps. 54:6 or Isa. 40:11, *bēḥasak yabō*, "He enters as a mighty one." Like these two examples, *ne'imīm* might be taken as an adjective agreeing with *ḥābalim*, but the parallel *nē'imōth* of vs. 11 and also the definite article show that it is an abstract, an intensive plural, the force of which I have tried to bring out by *blissful*. Cf. the note on Ps. 68B:25.

I am well content] That this and not "well pleased" is the meaning of *shaphēra 'alai*, the preposition being an integral part of the verb, seems to me to follow from the context. In Syr. and Arab. the verb means "be beautiful, be bright, shine."

7. *my soul* renders *kilyōthai* accurately: see the remarks on Ps. 17:10.

8. *with him*] The object *'ādōnai* of vs. 8a is to be construed as subject with the nominal predicate *mīmīnī*, being a case of brachylogy.

9. *My spirit*] See Ps. 57B:9. *yea, even my body; I abide in the hope*] The emphatic particle *'aph* shows that *bēsari* is another subject of *wayyagel*, and *bēsari* is, of course, subject also of *yishkon*, being a case of brachylogy.

11. *to live in thy presence . . . To be guided by thy right hand*] *'Eth panēka* and *bīmīnēka* are cases of ellipsis, the governing verbal noun being omitted, which is *shebeth* in the one and *hanhōth*, used with the force of a passive infinitive, in the other. This deduction follows from vs. 8, in the first part of which the psalmist declares, "I keep God ever before me," and in the second, "With him at my right hand, I cannot falter." As further support, cf. Ps. 140:14b, where we have the full phrase.

is fulness of joy] *Sēmāhōth* is another intensive plural, intensifying the idea expressed—a nicety which is lost in the translation.

¹⁴³ *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (new ed.; London, 1903), pp. 93 f., 111 f., 119 f.

¹⁴⁴ "Die Ehen bei den Arabern," *Nachrichten d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* (1893), pp. 465 ff.

PSALM 46

*

- 2 God is our refuge and our strength,
A very present help in time of trouble:
3 Wherefore we shall not fear, though the earth totter,
And mountains sink into the depths of the sea.
4 Let the waters of the deep rage and foam,
Let the mountains quake at their stormy surge:
The Lord of hosts is with us,
The God of Jacob is our tower of strength.

- 5 He is as a river the flow of which gladdens the city of
God,
The holy abode of the Most High.
6 God is in her midst, she will not sway;
God will help her when the morning dawns.
7 Though nations rage,
Though empires crumble,
Though thunders roll,
And the world is in turmoil,
8 The Lord of hosts is with us,
The God of Jacob is our tower of strength.

- 9 Come, behold the works of God,
Who will bring to pass marvelous things on earth:
10 He will make war to cease throughout the world;
He will break the bow, and cut the spear asunder;
He will burn the shields in fire.
11 Be still, and know that I am God:
I will be exalted among the nations,
I will be exalted on earth.
12 The Lord of hosts is with us,
The God of Jacob is our tower of strength.

Psalm 46 has rightly been called "the grandest song of faith" ever written with pen. Combining simplicity of expression with

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of the Korahites; set to. . . . A Song.

depth of thought and emotion, it surpasses the preceding psalms as an illustration of how in those dismal centuries of post-Exilic history Israel clung to its faith in God as its rock and its hope, though life grew ever darker and more disheartening.

God is our refuge and our strength,
A very present help in time of trouble

is the trustful declaration with which the song begins, and the three strophes of which it is made up close each with the refrain,

The Lord of hosts is with us,
The God of Jacob is our tower of strength.

As the author of Psalm 16 declares,

With God at my right, I cannot falter,

so does the singer of Psalm 46, as the true spokesman for his people, affirm,

With God in her midst, she [the city of God] will not sway.

Is not even now his presence manifest in her, sustaining all that have faith in him? Carried away by this thought, the poet's mind turns to the future when a new day will dawn in history, which, he is convinced, is as sure to come as morning follows the night, even though at present the world is in turmoil, harassed by wars, and empires are crumbling. And transcending time and conditions, his faith soars even higher. He visions a society when war will have ceased throughout the world and all weapons of death be consigned to the flames. Then, he concludes, will God be truly exalted, be known among men all over the earth. This universalistic trend and hope is the all-significant feature of the psalm. Unlike other post-Exilic psalmists, the author of Psalm 46 does not pray for the undoing of Israel's enemies, nor even for its deliverance from their power, but craves instead for the salvation of all mankind. He can see hope and security for his own nation only in universal safety:

God will help her when the morning dawns—

dawns for men the world over.

DATE

In verse 7, and again by the fitting imagery of verses 3-4, the author refers to what was going on at the time in the world at large, and in the picture he draws, the situation existing in the Persian Empire during the reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-359 B.C.) may be recognized. His reign was marked by a continuous succession of rebellions against Persian imperialism. On his ascension to the throne, Egypt revolted, driving the Persian armies out of the country. While Artaxerxes was leading a large army against Egypt to put down the insurrection, and had advanced as far as Syria, the revolt of his own brother, the younger Cyrus, compelled him to give up the campaign against Egypt and return home posthaste. Two later expeditions against Egypt (385-383 and 374-372) ended in complete failure. In 399 B.C. war broke out between Sparta and Persia, in which Persia scored a temporary victory, which was, however, due entirely to the internecine strife between Sparta and Athens. Besides, the victory was frustrated, owing to the fact that, while Artaxerxes was undertaking his first futile expedition against Egypt, Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus, revolted and attempted to conquer the whole of Cyprus. At the same time there were continuous rebellions in Asia Minor, several provinces of which succeeded in throwing off the Persian yoke. Similar wars were going on in other parts of the empire, where the satraps fought for their independence, in close alliance with Egypt, Athens, and Sparta. The result of all this was a complete dissolution of the imperial authority of Persia in the west when the reign of Artaxerxes II drew to its close. It will now be seen what a true picture the author of the psalm gives of the world-situation in the lines,

Though nations rage,
Though empires crumble,
Though thunders roll
And the world is in turmoil,

and also by the metaphors of verses 3-4,

... Though the earth totter:
And mountains sink into the depths of the sea.

Let the waters of the deep rage and foam,
Let the mountains quake at their stormy surge.

It is clear, then, that the psalm dates from the time of Artaxerxes II.

The customary translation of the psalm contains two grave grammatical errors. The translators have mistaken verse 7 for a statement of a completed past occurrence, instead of recognizing it for what it is, the protasis of a concessive clause, describing what was going on in the world at the time. They have also failed to see that, like *mashbîth* of verse 10, *sām* of verse 9 is a participle and that both speak, with the imperfects that follow, of what, the poet hopes, will happen, not of what has happened. Because of these misinterpretations, the coherence of the psalm is impaired in the current translations, not however in the original, the sequence of which is perfect. When the tenses of verses 7 and 9-10 are correctly rendered, the psalm leaves no room for the view of some interpreters that it was occasioned by the deliverance of Jerusalem from the armies of Sennacherib in 701 B.C.

1. *set to. . . .*] 'Al 'ālamōth is doubtless a musical term, the meaning of which is unknown; the term occurs again in I Chron. 15:20.

2. *present*] *Nimšā*, denoting "be present," occurs repeatedly: cf. Gen. 19:15; I Sam. 13:15-16, *et al.*

3. *though*] Cf. the discussion on Ps. 31:22c, p. 565, and Ps. 92:8.

4. *at their stormy surge*] Read, with *avtrōv* of Cod. Sinait. and four cursives, גאורם.

The Lord of hosts is with us, etc.] Present-day interpreters are agreed that the refrain, with which the second and third strophe close, must have been read originally also at the end of the first strophe.

5. *He is as a river*] *Nahar* is an accusative of comparison and a second nominal predicate of 'ēlōhē Y. of the refrain: another example of a nominal predicate of the kind is Job 8:9b as I Chron. 29:15b shows.

the flow of which] Cf. Ps. 1:3, *palgē mayîm*, "running waters."

The holy abode] One fails to see why present-day interpreters should have questioned and even emended the phrase *qēdosh mishkēnē*, considering that it is a genitive construction like *yēphē iō'ar* "beautiful figure," *nēqī kappayîm*, "clean hands." The fact that there is no other example of the use of the masc. plural of *mishkan*, "as designation of Yahwe's abode," is irrelevant, for the main thing is that it is even as correct a form as the fem. plural and occurs again in Ezek. 25:4.

7. *Though thunders roll*] With papyrus fragment 2013 of Gr. (especially valuable as a text witness) which reads *φωνῇ* alone (instead of *φ. αὐτοῦ*), read

קָוֶל: cf. Job 37:4, 'aḥḏraw yish'ag qōl, "In its wake thunders roll," where Gr. renders again qōl with φωνή, and Ps. 77:18, qōl nathēnū shēḥaqīm, "The skies thundered."

is in turmoil] Cf. Jer. 49:23, namōqū kayyam (as many MSS read instead of bayyam), "They are in commotion as the sea."

9. *marvelous things*] It is with this meaning that *shammōth* is used, as the rendering *répara* of Gr. and *tedmūrthā* of Syr. show, the word being equivocal, even as is the verb *shammam*: cf. Isa. 57:16, wayyishtōmem ki 'ēn maphgī'a, "He wondered that there was none to interpose"; 63:5, wē'shtōmem, "I wondered"; cf. also the reverse case *mōpheth* in Ps. 71:7 and the discussion of it, p. 600.

10. *the shields*] Vocalize, with Gr. and Targ., שָׁוִי (Baethgen and others).

PSALM 63

*

- 2 Almighty One, who art my God, I seek thee.
My soul thirsteth for thee:
With all my being do I pine for thee
In a parched and weary land,†
3b Pine to see thy power and thy glory.
3a Oh, that I may behold thee in grandeur revealed.
4 Of thee my lips shall sing,
Sing that thy love is more precious than life:
5 Thus will I praise thee all my life.
In thy name will I lift up my hands.
6 Oh, that the craving of my soul may be satisfied
As though nourished with fat and marrow,
So that my mouth may sing a paean of praise‡
7 As I lie on my couch and think of thee,
As I commune with thee in the watches of the night.
8 Yea, be thou my help,
That under the shadow of thy wings I may burst into
song.
9 Let my soul cling fast to thee,
Let thy right hand ever uphold me.§

* 1. A Psalm of David, when he was in the Desert of Judah.

† Gloss: *Without water*.

‡ Variant: *That my lips may burst into song*.

§ Vss. 10-11, 12c belong to Psalm 64, and vs. 12a-b to Psalm 72.

Verses 10–12, with which Psalm 63 ends, cannot be an original part of it, being unrelated to the rest of the psalm, in which there is not even remotely any mention of enemies or of a king. By no art or finesse of interpretation is it possible to get around this fact. The presence of these verses in Psalm 63 is clearly another case of the many which we have met with before: it is to be explained by the well-known habit of ancient copyists of inserting at random lines which by the previous copyists had been put in the margin when omitted from the texts of that page or perhaps another. Judged by their content, verses 10–11 with 12c must originally have been omitted from Psalm 64, after verse 9, where they fit excellently, and verse 11a–b appears to have been omitted at the end of Psalm 72.

Another point, calling for a prefatory remark, is the force of the perfects in verses 3a and 8a. They are not statements of past occurrences, as they are commonly taken to be, nor even do they denote an existing state, but they are precative perfects, adding fervor to the prayer uttered. Aesthetically considered, the precative force of the two perfects is but one of the many perfections of the psalm, the combined effect of which is that essential quality of all true literary creations—poetic unity. In the customary translation, however, of these two perfects the unity of the psalm has become marred. Bound up with the misinterpretation of the first of these two perfects is another grave misunderstanding: the exegetes, missing without exception the real meaning of *bagodesh*, have mistaken it as meaning “in the sanctuary.”

This profound poem of exquisite beauty is, like Psalms 27 and 16, concerned with the all-consuming desire of the singer to live in union with God and find rest in him, but it differs from them in its poetic makeup in that this craving of his soul for the life divine is treated to the exclusion of every other thought, dominating the entire psalm from the first to the last line, and ringing forth in ever nobler language and with ever increasing passion. The dire circumstances under which it was written are only indirectly touched upon: first, by the words, “In a parched and weary land,” in which by two simple figures

the poet describes his country as wretched and helpless, and, second, by the phrase, "in the watches of the night," which calls up a picture of his heavy heart as he lies wakeful through the dreary hours of the night.

A prosaic editor, with no eye for the simple beauty of the words, "In a parched and weary land," took them literally and, reasoning that they needed elucidation, added "without water." He met his equals in the final editors of the Psalter, who, accepting it as a fact that David wrote the Psalms, deduced from these words that he composed Psalm 63 "when he was in the Desert of Judah"—a deduction which has challenged the ingenuity of those modern interpreters who still believe in the Davidic authorship of half or more of the Psalter as to how to square it with "the king rejoices" of verse 12.

To return after this digression to the psalm proper: considering under what hopeless conditions it was written, the lines,

Of thee my lips shall sing,
Sing that thy love is more precious than life,

assume the significance of pivotal lines. They can best be illumined by the closing scene of the Job drama, where Job in true humility of heart falls down in worship of God and confesses that he now knows God more profoundly than ever, that, though humbled by him in the dust, yet through sorrow and suffering he has come to know him as the God of morality and boundless love. Even as Job, sustained by this true vision of life, exclaims,

Though I am wasting away,
I am comforted for my lot of dust and ashes,

so does the psalmist declare out of the fulness of his own inner experience that henceforth his song of God shall be,

Thy love is more precious than life,

implying thereby that even death can have no terror for him any more. All that he desires is to live in communion with God and be at one with him—at one through love. The last thought—the desire to be at one with God through love—which follows by implication from "thy love is more precious than life," the

pronoun functioning as both subjective and objective genitive, is developed fully in Psalm 36B, even as it is in the closing scene of the Job drama, where Job seals his act of worship by asking God's forgiveness for the friends who have maligned him.

2. *3b, 3a.* It is obvious that this must have been the original order of the lines, for taken as a continuation of vs. 3a, vs. 3b does not admit of construction; but, taken as a continuation of vs. 2, there is no difficulty in construction, nor is there anything amiss in sequence.

With all my being] *Bēsari* is used as a synonym of *naphshi*: its customary rendering as "my flesh" but shows how impossible a slavishly literal translation may sometimes be.

Oh, that] *Kēn* is not the adverb *ken*, meaning "so," but the verbal adjective of *kūn*, functioning as interjection or emphatic particle, as again in Ps. 127:2, "Verily (*kēn*), he giveth his beloved sleep"; Amos 5:14, *wihī kēn*, etc., "May God be truly with you," and numerous other examples: in the present case *Oh, that* renders *kēn* accurately.

in grandeur revealed] *Baqodesh* is not a prepositional adverbial phrase, meaning "in the sanctuary," as it is generally taken, but is the abstract *qodesh*, used with its primary meaning and is in apposition to the pronominal suffix of *hāzithika*, and as such is formed with *bē essentiae*: cf. the notes on Pss. 16:6; 68B:25, and p. 35.

4. *Of thee my lips shall sing, Sing that*] Vs. 4a is an objective clause, depending on vs. 4b and put in prominent sentence position for the sake of emphasis: cf. Job 19:27.

6. *may be satisfied As though nourished*] *Tisba'* is a case of zeugma; it is to be construed with both *naphshi* and *kēmō heleb wadeshen*.

7. *As*] '*Im* functions as temporal conjunction, as again in Pss. 78:34; 94:18; 138:8; Job 17:16.

8. *Yea*] Note that, as often, the precativ perfect is intensified by emphatic *ki*.

9. *Let my soul cling fast*] *Dabēka* is a precativ perfect, functioning as an optative, as again in Pss. 83:11 and 97:6.

PSALM 36B

- 6 O Lord, thy love reaches to the heavens,
Thy faithfulness mounts to the skies;
- 7 Thy righteousness is immovable as the mountains of
God,
Thy justice is unfathomable as the depth of the sea:
O Lord, thou preservest man and beast.
- 8 Most precious, O God, is thy love,
Wherefore men seek refuge under the shadow of thy
wings.

- 9 They will be satisfied from the bounty of thy mansion;
 Thou wilt give them to drink of thy stream of delights:
 10 For with thee is the fountainhead of life,
 In thy light do we see light.
 11 Continue to reveal thy love to them that seek to know
 thee,
 To reveal thy righteousness to the upright of heart.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PSALM 36

Psalm 36 consists of two distinct, unrelated psalms, the first of which comprises verses 2-5, and the second, verses 6-11. The theme of the first is the wicked man's natural impulse to sin, and that of the second, the boundless love of God. Verses 12-13 are not an original part of either psalm but, as we have seen above, came in through the process well familiar by this time. Psalm 36A does not concern us here any further; it will be taken up later (p. 771) together with Psalms 52 and 58, to which it is closely related in thought.

PSALM 36B

This psalm of matchless beauty pivots around the lines,
 For with thee is the fountainhead of life,
 In thy light do we see light.

By a figure so pithy and lucid that its meaning must come home to everyone the poet expresses the same profound truth with which the three preceding psalms are concerned—that to live in God and be in harmony with the true order of things is the highest good. It is a plenitude which satisfies, a happiness which overflows. All that precedes is introductory, as it were, to this leading idea, while the two lines that follow add an essential complementary thought. What the singer means to say by

Continue to reveal thy love to them that seek to know thee,
 To reveal thy righteousness to the upright of heart

is elucidated by the parallel thought expressed in Ps. 18:26-27:

To a loving man thou showest thyself full of love,
 To a faultless man perfect;
 For a pure man thou art pure,
 But devious thou appearest in the eyes of the crafty man.

Both psalmists alike stress the point that to believe in the reality of the good requires the constant exercise of our faculties in the direction of the good; it demands perseverance in living up to the divine ideal within us. Ideals are idle unless transmuted into endeavor. For our psalmist God hides himself in light and love, and man can possess him only in the measure of his moral strength and integrity—a truth expressed also by Jeremiah (22:15-16), quoted above (pp. 206, 459), and again (9:22-23):

Thus says the Lord,
Let not the wise man boast of his wisdom,
Nor the mighty one of his strength,
Nor the rich man of his wealth:
But if one must boast, let him boast of this,
That he understands and knows me,
That he knows that I am the Lord,
Who works love, justice, and righteousness in the world,
That it is in these things that I delight.

Like Jeremiah, the author of Psalm 36B proceeds from the basic truth of the prophetic preaching that it is in the conscience of man that God speaks, that man's moral convictions and promptings are the very voice of God—his supreme manifestation. And with the prophets he reasons that, since this little flame, which impels us to a life of love and duty, which makes us thirst for righteousness, is the deepest in man, his supreme arbiter from which he cannot get away, it cannot be an illusion or blind deception but must be absolutely real and that hence its source must be God—the mysterious force back of this infinite universe, this harmonious cosmos. In brief, he realizes that eternal goodness rules the world, and hence, in the face of all the injustice that was going on in the world and degrading it to a vale of misery, he declares:

O Lord, thy love reaches to the heavens,
. . . . Thy righteousness is immovable as the mountains of God,
Thy justice is unfathomable as the depth of the sea:
. . . . Most precious, O God, is thy love.

Is not this the very acme of faith? It is worth while to repeat briefly what has been more fully stated earlier (in treating

Psalm 8) that the reasoning of the prophets, the psalmists, and the author of the Job drama is substantially the same as that by which Kant arrived at his demonstration of the existence of God and thereby rested religion on the same solid foundation on which they had erected it some twenty-two to twenty-five centuries before him—on the moral consciousness. For him as well as for them the inner urge to do good is the ground for the faith in the good and in God as the *a priori* source of it.

In this connection I deem it in place to refer briefly to Hosea not only for a further illustration of the point at issue but also for another pertinent reason. Hosea ranks next to Jeremiah in making clear that the doctrine of immanence is the basic truth of the preaching of the prophets, the foundation on which they built. He tells us himself that it was his tragic marital experience that made him a prophet and led him to his vision of divine love. His own unchanging human love spoke to him of the Infinite and the Eternal. His devotion to a faithless wife opened his understanding to the boundless love of God for his erring children. That despite the abundant material bearing on the question—what I have referred to is only a part of it—it is usually not realized what prominence the idea that God is love has in the Old Testament is chiefly to be attributed to the customary inaccurate rendering of *hesed* as “loving-kindness” or as (German) *Gnade*.

Since Psalms 63 and 36B have the leading idea of Psalms 16 and 27 for their subject and Psalm 63, moreover, is elucidated by the closing scene of the Job drama, it is possible that they, too, date from the first half of the fourth century B.C.

8. *Most precious*] Cf. what has been remarked about the function of *mā*, used with adjectives, in the note on Ps. 104:24.

9. *from the bounty of thy mansion*] *Middeshen* is a poetic figure, like the parallel phrase *naḥal 'ādanēka*, “of thy stream of delights,” which is the index of its meaning. By *bēthēka* the universe, more precisely the spiritual world as well as the material, is meant, as the context shows. This is so clear that it should not be necessary to mention it were it not for the fact that, strange to say, it is generally taken as meaning the Temple.

11. *that seek to know thee*] *Yōdēka* functions as potential participle.

PSALMS BY THE AUTHOR OF THE
JOB DRAMA

Although Psalms 73 and 139 were written later than Psalm 39, it will serve our purposes best to treat these two first.

PSALM 73

*
✧

- 1 Truly, God is good to the upright,
To those that are pure of heart.
- 2 Yet, I was near to stumbling;
The ground well-nigh gave way under me.
- 3 I chafed as I thought of the wicked,
I grew incensed when I saw the impious prosper.
- 4 These have no troubles:
Sound and sturdy are their bodies;
- 5 They know no human misery,
Nor are they afflicted like other men.
- 6 Wherefore they wear pride like a necklace,
They wrap themselves in violence as in a robe.
- 7 Their wickedness issues from their inmost soul,
The desires of their heart are beyond all bounds.
- 8 They scoff, they are taken up with evil,
Haughtily they talk oppression.
- 9 They would lord it over the heavens with their mouth,
Even as their tongue rules the earth.
- 10 Thus my people are deluded and follow in their ways:
They drain the cup of pleasure and say,
- 11 What heed does God pay?
Is omniscience with the Most High?
- 12 Behold, these wicked men!
What ease they enjoy in the world,
What wealth they have amassed,
- 13 While I in vain have kept my heart clean,

* A Psalm of Asaph.

- And washed my hands in innocence.
14 All day long I am afflicted,
Every day brings me chastisement afresh.
- 15 If I persisted in talking thus,
Verily, I should betray the present generation of thy
children.
- 21 When my heart was embittered,
When my soul was wrought up,
22 I was dull and without wisdom,
I was like a brute before thee.
- 16 I pondered over these things, sought to understand
them,
But I found it a hard task.
- 17 At last, I penetrated into the mysteries of God,
Then I saw what their end must be.†
- 18 Forsooth, thou hast set them on shaky ground,
Thou hast destined them for ruin:
- 19 Of a sudden they will be desolate,
They will die, consumed with terror.
- 20 As a dream vanishes when one awakes,
So thou, when aroused,
Wilt scorn their empty lives.
- 23 But I am ever in thy presence:
Thou holdest me by my right hand,
24 Thou leadest me with thy counsel;
And at the last thou wilt receive me into glory.
- 25 If I have thee, O Lord,
I care not for heaven or earth.
- 26 Though my mind and body waste away,
God is my rock and my portion forever.
- 27 Verily, they that are far from thee are lost,
Thou crushest those that stray from thee.
- 28a-b But as for me,
My highest good is the presence of God within me.
I place my trust in God.‡

† I.e., the end of the wicked.

‡ 28c. *That I may declare all thy works.*

The psalm has suffered disorder in the course of transmission, verses 21-22 being clearly not in their proper place. Following the first part of the solution of the problem, as they do now, they are not only an afterthought but also a break in the sequence, tearing asunder the two parts of the solution of the problem. I conclude that they originally followed verse 15.

The similarity which Psalm 73 bears to the Job drama is so conspicuous that it hardly needs to be demonstrated. The psalm is manifestly an epitome of the drama. The first part is taken up with the same problem as the drama—the problem of retribution, or, stated in its broader aspect, the problem of the ways of God with man. And, being a lyric, not a didactic poem, it presents the problem by the same indirect method of description as the drama does. The second part gives identically the same solution of the problem as the Job drama, and gives it in a nutshell.

Before considering their identical problem and solution in detail, I deem it advisable to remark prefatorily that (as I have pointed out in *The Book of Job*) the suffering hero Job of the drama is largely a self-portrait of the author. He, we are bound to believe, was a man who in his own life had sounded the depths of human suffering, and who had been awakened by his experience to a larger consideration of the universal problem of destiny. Into the mouth and mind of Job he put the doubts and obstinate questionings which had beset his own soul—the sorrow, the anger, the irony, the revolt, which in his darkest hours had filled his heart, even as the sense of the majesty of God and the dignity of man, which native and ever resurgent within him had served to save him from despair, and, finally, the understanding and reconciliation to which through this saving sense he had been led, with the crowning consciousness of security and fellowship with God. It is as if in the psalm the poet looked back on the gigantic struggle of his soul, unfolded in the drama, as passed and ended.

The lines of the psalm,

These have no troubles:
Sound and sturdy are their bodies;

They know no misery,
Nor are they afflicted like other men,

call to mind Job's impassioned lengthy denial of the belief of his age in retributive justice (chap. 21), the gist of which is that the wicked upper classes enjoy undisturbed prosperity to the end. Still more telling is that the trenchant question, which follows the psalmist's challenge of the belief,

What heed does God pay?
Is omniscience with the Most High?

is substantially the same as that which Job asks in his arraignment of the current belief (21:22):

Does God practice¹⁴⁵ discrimination?
Does he judge in his abode on high?

and its repetition in altered phraseology by Eliphaz (22:13):

What heed does God pay?
Does he judge behind the clouds?

Moreover, it has in common with the latter the words, "What¹⁴⁶ heed does God pay?" and with the former the word *dē'a* (*da'ath*) used though with a different connotation.

Further, the line of reasoning with which the question is continued in the psalm,

Behold, these wicked men!
What ease they enjoy in the world,
What wealth they have amassed,
While I in vain have kept my heart clean,
And washed my hands in innocence.
All day long I am afflicted,
Every day brings me chastisement afresh,

is strikingly similar to that following the question in Job (21:23-25):

One dies in perfect comfort,
Completely prosperous and at ease,
His pails full of milk,
And the marrow of his bones well nourished.
Another dies sad of soul,
Who never tasted happiness.

¹⁴⁵ Vocalize *yilmad* instead of *yēlammed* and read *hā'ēl* instead of *hāl'ēl*.

¹⁴⁶ The psalm has the interrogative particle *'eka* for *mā* of Job 22:13.

As to their phraseology, note the adjective *shalēw*, common to both, and the still more conspicuous similarity of *wēthōkahtī labbēqarīm* of verse 13 of the psalm to *wattiphqēdennū libēqarīm* of Job 7:18. Note also that of the substantive *tom* of Job 21:23, used with the unusual meaning "comfort," the adjective *tam*, "sound"—a meaning close to that of *tom* and just as rare—occurs in verse 4 of the psalm; further, that "I was like a brute before thee" of verse 15 of the psalm is an expression which, with some modification, is peculiar also to the drama: Bildad asks Job, "Why are we counted as brutes . . . in thy eyes?" (18:3).

Finally, the solution which the psalm gives of the problem of retribution or of God's ways with man is so similar to that which Job reaches in the drama that the parts of the drama taken up with it—specifically, 27:1-8; 31:2-3; 27:9-12; 23:10-12; 31:33-34, 14, 23, 4, 35-37¹⁴⁷—may serve as the most illuminating commentary on the psalm. These parts show that Job himself believes in retributive justice, but with a very significant difference. He believes in retribution of a spiritual, not of a material, nature: he declares that his clear conscience is his priceless good in that it gives him strength to endure his affliction and so fills his heart with comfort and joy that he can at all times feel assured in the presence of God. And this he follows with the complementary assertion that of this trust and assurance the wicked man knows nothing. For him the omnipotent God is a tormenting presence, threatening him with destruction. By this twofold declaration Job makes it plain that retribution is no longer for him a matter of outward fortune but of inner experience. The wicked man, notwithstanding his material prosperity and selfish enjoyment of life, pays the penalty for his wrongdoing and wrong thinking in his uneasy conscience and his unsatisfied soul:

What fellowship has he with God on high?

¹⁴⁷ The foregoing parts, with the rest of chap. 31 and 29:12-17, formed in all probability the original second last speech of Job, which I have attempted to reconstruct in *The Book of Job*, pp. 133-37, 323-26.

Job asks,

What communion with the Almighty in the heavens above?
Is he not a terror for the wicked, a dread for evildoers?

Or, as Psalm 73 puts it:

Forsooth, thou hast set them on shaky ground,
Thou hast destined them for ruin:
Of a sudden they will be desolate,
They will die, consumed with terror.
As a dream vanishes when one awakes,
So thou, when aroused,
Wilt scorn their empty lives.

Verily, they that are far from thee are lost,
Thou crushest those that stray from thee.

The righteous man, however, whose foot "has held fast to his path," who has "kept his heart clean and washed his hands in innocence," possesses in the knowledge of his fellowship with God a source of infinite happiness, which remains unaffected by bodily suffering and material privation. In other words, the drama and the psalm emphasize alike that not material prosperity constitutes man's happiness but that rather the strength and peace of soul which comes to him who lives a life of righteousness and purity and is at one with God. This at-oneness with God, their author has learned through adversity and suffering, is the only thing that counts, and the consciousness that he possesses this supreme good has been his mainstay under a well-nigh crushing fate.

Seen in the light of this experience, the lines with which the psalm ends become more pregnant with meaning than ever:

If I have thee, O Lord,
I care not for heaven or earth.
Though my mind and body waste away,
God is my rock and my portion forever.
... My highest good is the presence of God within me.

These lines—specifically, "Though my mind and body waste away"—recall, moreover, the closing scene of the Job drama, where Job in true humility, and with "the peace that passes

understanding" in his heart, falls down in worship of God and declares:

I have heard of thee by report,
But now mine eye has beheld thee:
Wherefore, though I am wasting away,
I am comforted for my lot of dust and ashes.

Yet, notwithstanding this marked resemblance between them, the psalm bears the same stamp of freshness and spontaneity as does the drama and treats their common subject with the same originality, bringing out sides not touched upon in the drama. These new sides are, first, the brief sketch of the insolence, the tyranny, and insatiable lust for power of the ruling classes; and, second, how their unjust, overbearing rule reacts on the masses, who in their despair cry out,

What heed does God pay?
Is omniscience with the Most High?

One might argue that this is done for poetic effect were it not for the parallels in the contemporary Psalm 9/10 and of Psalm 94 of some decades later, the first of which reads,

Weary and oppressed, crushed and felled by his might,
The helpless wretch¹⁴⁸ says in his heart,
God will not see, he hides his face,
He does not pay heed any more;

and the second reads,

The people say, The Lord sees it not,
The God of Jacob pays no heed:
Has the throne of terror thee for an ally,
The throne that frames evil beyond limit?

The psalm is a perfect poem, an organic whole; in the first line the last is implicit:

Verily, God is good to the upright,
To those that are pure of heart,

with which the psalm begins, receives its point from the concluding part: from the very start the poet emphasizes that only the upright and the pure of heart can know the goodness of God—know it by inner experience. Without a question, Psalm 73 is a poem worthy of the author of the Job drama.

¹⁴⁸ It is the nation that is described by the phrase "the helpless wretch."

As to the question, "Which was composed first, the drama or the psalm?" it seems to me impossible to arrive at any positive conclusion. For though by the nature of the case the drama describes the titanic struggle as going on in the soul of Job and depicts him as wrestling with God and pleading with him for light upon his darkened path, yet it is self-evident that light and understanding, reconciliation and peace, must have entered the poet's mind long before he sat down to write the drama. As proof of this, note how in the drama Job declares from the very outset that if God would but grant his fervent prayer to put an end to his life, instead of subjecting him to protracted torture,

I should still have the consolation,
So that I could leap for joy withal my relentless anguish,
That I have not denied the requirements of the Holy One,¹⁴⁹

and how in the next discourse he reiterates the declaration more emphatically:

This indeed has been my support,
For the godless cannot approach him.¹⁵⁰

1. *to the upright*] The Massoretic reading, *lēyisra'el*, is due to mistaken word division: the text read originally *לִישָׁר אֵל*, as the explanatory parallel phrase, *To those that are pure of heart*, shows. The emendation, made first by Graetz, has been generally accepted. 'Ēlōhīm is a later addition owing to the mistaken reading *lēyisra'el* and is to be omitted, being missing in Vet. Lat. of Gall.

2. *Yet, I was near to stumbling*] The Kēthīb *naūy* is to be read: *ragēlai* is not subject but accusative of specification, which, as far as possible, is taken care of by *to stumbling*; also in the second stich the Kēthīb is the superior text (cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, §145k). Both phrases are idioms and, as such, do not admit of literal translation but are to be rendered by the equivalent English idiom.

3. *I chafed . . . I grew incensed*] *Qinnē'thī* is a case of zeugma; it is to be construed with *bahōlēlim* and with the infinitive clause which follows.

of the wicked or impious] Cf. Ps. 5:6, where *hōlēlim* is found again with this meaning, as *pō'ālē 'awen* of the parallel stich shows.

4. *They have no troubles: Sound*] The nonsensical Massoretic *lēmōthām* is due to mistaken word division: the original text read *לְמוֹתָם*, as Moerlius observed almost one hundred years ago; his emendation has been generally accepted.

Haršubbōth, which in Isa. 58:6 denotes "bonds," "fetters," is used in the mental sense of the term, as it was understood, in fact, by Aquila.

¹⁴⁹ Job 6:8-10.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 13:16.

6. *as in a robe*] *Shīth* is an accusative of comparison.

7. *Their wickedness*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., עֲוֲנוֹתָם (Ewald and others); which reading is borne out by the parallel stich.

from their inmost soul renders *meheleb* accurately, as may be seen from what has been remarked above on *helbamō* of Ps. 17:10. Though from the latter it might seem that the text read originally *mehelebām*, *lebab* of the parallel stich rather points to the conclusion that both are a case of the possessive pronoun's being omitted in Hebrew. As an analogous case the Greek equivalent of Hebrew *meheleb*, *kabed*, and *kēlayōth*, καθ' or ὑφ' ἡμᾶς, used with similar omission of the possessive pronoun may be mentioned: cf. *Iliad* xx. 468-69; Sophocles *Antigone* 1314-15; *Trachiniae* 930-31; Euripides *Orestes* 1062-63.

The desires] This meaning of *maskiyōth* follows from the context.

are beyond all bounds] '*Abērū* is a case of ellipsis, the prepositional phrase '*ālē hoq*, found in Ps. 94:20, being omitted: cf. also Isa. 5:14, *pa'āra pihā liblēli hoq*.

8. *They scoff*] Though *hemīq* occurs only here, its meaning is established by the occurrence of the verb in Aram. and Syr.

They are taken up with evil, Haughtily they talk oppression] With Gr., Aq., and Syr., '*osheq* is, contrary to the accents, to be construed with the second *yēdabbērū*, which in its turn is qualified by *mimmarōm* functioning as an adverb: cf. the note on Ps. 68B:19. As to the meaning of the first *yēdabbērū*, cf. Ps. 38:13, *dibbērū hawwōth*, "that plot the deepest ruin," which is the parallel phrase to *dōrēshē ra'athī*, "they that seek my ruin"; 109A:20 *dōbērīm ra' al naphshī*, "of them that have evil designs on my life"; 120:7; Isa. 8:11, *dabbērū dabar*, "scheme" or "contrive."

9. The first part of the verse cannot mean "They have set their mouth in" or "against the heavens," as it is generally rendered and taken to mean "They blaspheme God"; for in Dan. 7:25, which is referred to in support of this meaning, this idea is expressed in an entirely different way: *millin lēšad illāyā' yēmallel*. Rather the meaning of the first part follows clearly from that of the second: *Their tongue is authority on or rules the earth*, the idiom *lēshōnām tihdlak* being similar to the American slang, "His word goes." Accordingly, *shattū bashshamayim pihēm* must mean "They would set up their mouths," that is, "They would put them in power in the heavens," or, more idiomatically rendered, *They would lord it over the heavens with their mouth*.

10. *Thus my people are deluded and follow in their ways*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., עֲנִיָּה. *Yashūb* expresses two ideas: that the people "are led astray" by the success of the wicked and that "they turn to" or "follow in their ways": cf. *hirhabta*, Ps. 4:2; also Jer. 8:4, '*im yashūb lo' yashūb*, "If one strays, does one never turn back?" As to *hālōm*, meaning *in their ways*, cf. Judg. 20:7, where *hālōm* denotes "in this matter."

They drain] Vocalize יִשְׁבְּזוּ.

the cup of pleasure] This signification of the figure *mayīm malē'* follows from the *dativus commodi lahēm*: cf. Isa. 12:3, "With joy will ye draw water from the fountain of salvation," and note that Arabic *mā'un* may denote "fluid" of any kind, likewise "sheen," "luster," "brightness"; note also the well-known line of Horace, *de patera fundens liquorem*, in which by *liquorem* "wine" is meant.

14. *Every day . . . afresh*] The plural *labbəqarīm* functions as a distributive.

15. *If I persisted in talking*] 'Amarti is complementary verb to 'asappəra, not co-ordinate: cf. Isa. 23:15, *heṭibī naggen*, "Play skilfully." thus] Read, with the Versions, כִּבְיֹרָה, the *He* of which dropped out, owing to homoeoteleuton.

21. *my soul*] Cf. *heleb* of vs. 7.

was wrought up] That is how the Versions understood 'eshlōnān, the derivation of which is uncertain.

22. *like a brute*] Read sing. *bəhēma*, in accordance with Job 18:3, which also shows that *bəhēma* is an accusative of comparison.

17. *At last*] As often, 'ad is an adverb, not a conjunction.

into the mysteries of God] As Hitzig and, following him, many other interpreters have observed, the context as well as the plural of *miqdəshē* precludes that it denote "sanctuary" and points to "mysteries" as its meaning. This meaning is further supported by Wisd. of Sol. 2:22, "They perceived not the mysteries of God," which seems to be dependent upon, or quoting the verse of, the psalm. Like the same, it implies that the divine purpose governing God's ways with man are known to the righteous but hidden from the ungodly. Though the etymology of *qadōsh* is unknown, yet so much is certain that the idea "holiness" is a comparatively late one, having developed gradually out of the more primary meaning "separation" or "remoteness," referring to the idea of the distance and chasm between the human and the divine, in the sphere both of the physical and of the spiritual, which explains the frequent meaning "sublimity" or "grandeur" of *qodesh* as well as that of "mysteries," with which *miqdəshē* is used here.

18. *Thou hast destined them for ruin* or "Thou hast consigned them to ruin" and not "Thou hurlest them to ruin" is the meaning of *hippaltām lemashshū'ōth*, as follows from the context, in particular from the fact that the psalmist believes in spiritual, not in material, retribution. As to this meaning *destined for* or "consigned to" of *hippaltām*, note that in the Qal the verb with *lē*, used either with or without *gōral*, means "to be allotted to" or "be assigned to."

20. *vanishes when one awakes*] After *mehaqīš* read עֵוֶן, on the strength of the related simile, Job 20:8, *kaḥlōm ya'ūph*; the use of *min* with the infinitive with temporal force is rather unusual, but it may possibly denote "as soon as."

when aroused] The active infinitive *ba'ir* is used in a passive sense: of this twofold use of the infinitive in Hebrew, or for that matter in Semitic languages in general, we have had a number of examples before.

their empty lives] Cf. Ps. 39:7 of the same author, where *šelem* denotes "shadow."

25. My rendering of the verse is identically the same as Luther's classical translation, "Herr, wenn ich nur Dich habe, frage ich nichts nach Himmel und Erde," which is a true translation according to the sense as well as to the construction and cannot be excelled: both *mī lī bashshamayīm* and *ba'areš* are to be construed with *lo' ḥaphaštī*, and the pronoun of *lī* functions also as subject of *wə'immeḱa*, being a case of brachylogy.

27. *Though*] The verse is a concessive sentence, of which the protasis is formed with the perfect, and the apodosis is a nominal clause.

God is my rock and my portion] Omit the second *lěbabī* as dittography.

28a-b. *But as for me, My highest good is the presence of God within me*] The rendering of these all-essential words in the English Versions obscures their meaning. Note that the original text of Jer. 23:23, as it has been preserved by Gr., uses very similar language in expressing the idea of the divine immanence: 'ēlōhīm qarōb 'ānī w'ēlō' 'ēlōhē meraḥōq, "I am a present God, not a far-off God." Note also that Arabic *qurb* is used to denote *unio mystica*, as Delitzsch has pointed out. Vss. 26a-b are the original end of the psalm: 26c *That I may declare all thy works* is clearly a later addition.

PSALM 139



- 1 Thou searchest me, O Lord, and knowest me:
- 2 Thou knowest me when I sit still or when I move about;
Thou readest my mind from afar.
- 3 Thou probest my conduct and my manner,
Thou knowest intimately all my ways.
- 4 Though the word is yet unuttered by my tongue,
Behold, thou knowest it fully, O Lord.
- 5 Thou enfolded me back and front,
And holdest me in the palm of thy hand.
- 13 Yea, thou art master of me, body and soul:
In my mother's womb thou didst weave me.
- 14 I praise thee for the awesome wonder of my birth;
Marvelous is thy work:
My soul knows this full well.
- 6 It is too wonderful for me to comprehend,
It is beyond my grasp.
- 7 Whither could I go from thy Spirit?
Whither could I flee from thy presence?
- 8 If I ascend to the heavens,
There art thou;
If I should spread my bed in the netherworld,
Behold thee there!
- 9 If I should soar aloft on the wings of the dawn,

- Or take up my abode in the farmost ocean deeps,
 10 Even there would thy hand lead me,
 Thy right hand hold me.
 11 If I should say, Let utter darkness enshroud me,
 And the light around me be turned to night,
 12 Lo, in thy presence darkness is not dark,
 And night is bright like daylight.†
- 15 Never hidden from thee is my self,
 Which was created in mystery,
 Designed in the lowest depths of Mother Earth.
 16 Thine eyes beheld my still unformed being;
 My days were ordered and set down in thy book,
 Ere any one of them had yet come to be.
 17 O God, thy thoughts are too great for me;
 How vast is their sum:
 18 Were I to tell them,
 They would outnumber the sands of the sea.
 I awake *from my vision*, and I am still in thy presence.‡
- 23 Search me, O God, and know my mind,
 Try me and know my heart and soul;
 See if there be any fault in my conduct,
 And lead me in the way everlasting.

Verses 19–22 are a foreign element in the psalm, being in content as well as in style and cadence radically different from it. Though these verses have been defended as genuine by interpreter after interpreter, there is no getting around the fact that they mar the poetic unity of the psalm. It is, however, not necessary to argue this point any further, for the fact of the case is that verses 19–20 stood originally in Psalm 140 after verse 12, and verses 21–22 in Psalm 141 after verse 4. When omitted from these psalms in the course of transmission, they were presumably put in the margin at the top of the page, the first line of which happened to be verse 23 of Psalm 139: this

- † *Darkness and light are alike.*

- ‡ Vss. 19–20 belong to Psalm 140 and vss. 21–22 to Psalm 141.

explains how in the next copy they were mechanically inserted in the text before this verse.

There is another text disorder which the psalm has suffered. Verses 13-14 cannot be in their original place, but must have stood before verse 6; the language as well as the thought of the second of the two verses shows this: for, as the continuation of verse 5, verse 6 shows a break in thought, but, when verses 13-14 are placed between verses 5 and 6, the sequence leaves nothing to be desired. Furthermore, the thought of verses 1-5 is rounded out by being brought to completion with

Yea, thou art master of me, body and soul.

Finally, as the immediate continuation of verses 7-12, verse 15 has more force and point inasmuch as their content is summed up in its first line,

Never hidden from thee is my self.

The thought with which Psalm 73 concludes—the poet's realization of the presence of God within him—is the all-absorbing theme of Psalm 139. It is the theme which had been dealt with in Psalms 8 and 51 two or three centuries before, but the author of Psalm 139 treats it from an angle not touched upon in them and with unsurpassed depth and richness of feeling. He is filled with wonder at the realization that there is no escape from the omnipresence of God, whithersoever he might turn—the heights of the heavens or the regions of the nether-world. Yea, were he to flee to the farthest depths of the sea, even there would the hand of God lead him, his right hand hold him. The current interpretation of

Even there would thy hand lead me,
Thy right hand hold me,

and of the parallel lines,

Thou enfoldest me back and front,
And holdest me in the palm of thy hand,

has missed the all-essential point that for the poet the presence of God is not anything disquieting or depressing but is cheering and reassuring. Aside from the fact that the language of the

lines admits of no other interpretation, conclusive proof is that he goes on to declare that this mysterious presence is his comfort and support even in the night of suffering, making darkness cease to be dark and night to look bright like daylight.

This realization is not the offshoot of philosophical speculation (as is usually argued) but it is the immediate fruit of the poet's inner experience, growing out of his heeding God's presence and living up to the divine ideal within him. In a word, it has been borne in upon him through moral intuition. He makes this clear by the line with which he concludes the description of his experience:

I awake *from my vision*, and I am still in thy presence.

Had we nothing else to go by, the line would be obscure indeed, open to all sorts of fanciful interpretations, of which there has been no lack. Light is thrown on what the poet refers to when he says, "I awake," by Jer. 31:25, where the prophet in conclusion of his vision of Israel's future rebirth says in a similar vein,

When I had beheld it, I awoke.¹⁵¹

To the words which follow, "And pleasant was my sleep," we shall come back presently. Still more elucidating is the masterly description of revelation and the mystic agitation attending it as given in Job 4:12-16—a description bearing also on the relationship of the psalm to the Job drama:

To me a message stole,
Mine eye caught a whisper thereof:
In the reverie of night-visions
When deep sleep lay on men,
Fear seized me and trembling,
Filled all my bones with dread.
A spirit flitted past my face;
The hair of my flesh stood on end:
It paused, but I could not discern the appearance thereof,
A form before mine eyes—
A faint whisper did I perceive.

¹⁵¹ *Wa'er'ē* is exegetical to *'al zō'th*, which in my translation is taken care of by the pluperfect and "when."

It is this mental state of deep reverie, analyzed so admirably in these lines of Job, which is in all brevity mentioned in the line of the psalm under discussion and in Jer. 31:25, as may be seen when one compares similar experiences described by modern poets and composers. Of these, which are not few, the well-known lines of Wordsworth in "Tintern Abbey" deserve to be quoted first:

. . . . that serene and blessed mood,
 In which the affections gently lead us on,
 Until, the breath of this corporeal frame,
 And even the motion of our human blood
 Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
 In body, and become a living soul:
 While with an eye made quiet by the power
 Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
 We see into the life of things.

Equally illuminating is Mozart's account of the state of complete abstraction and withdrawal into himself under which his great tone works were born:

When I am feeling well, and in good humor, perhaps when I am travelling by carriage, or taking a walk after a good dinner, or at night when I cannot sleep, my thoughts come in swarms and with marvelous ease. Whence and how do they come? I do not know; I have no share in it. Those that please me I hold in mind and I hum them, at least so others have told me. Once I catch my air, another soon comes to join the first, according to the requirements of the whole composition, counterpoint, the play of the various instruments, etc., and all these morsels combine to form the whole. Then my mind kindles, if nothing happens to interrupt me. The work grows—I keep hearing it, and bring it out more and more clearly, and the composition ends by being completely executed in my mind, however long it may be. I then comprehend the whole at one glance, as I should a beautiful picture or a handsome boy; and my imagination makes me hear it, not in its parts successively as I shall come to hear it later, but as a whole in its ensemble. What delight it is for me! It all, the inspiration and the execution, takes place in me as if it were a beautiful and very distinct dream. What I get in this way I do not forget any more easily, and this is perhaps the most precious gift the Lord has given me. If I then sit down to write, I have only to draw from this store in my mind what has already accumulated there in the way I have described. Moreover, the whole is not difficult to fix on paper. The whole is perfectly determined, and rarely ever does my score differ much from what I have had already in my mind.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Quoted by Prescott, *The Poetic Mind* (New York, 1922), pp. 42 f., and (in part) by Mickletham, *Prophecy and Eschatology* (London, 1926), p. 23.

The words from the lines of Wordsworth, "We are laid asleep in body," together with "and the deep power of joy," elucidate, besides, "And pleasant was my sleep" of Jer. 31:25, as do also the words of Mozart's description, "It all, the inspiration and the execution, takes place in me as if it were a very beautiful and distinct dream." I shall add that in a description Tennyson gives of a similar experience, which in thought strikingly resembles the lines of Wordsworth's in "Tintern Abbey," he calls this mental state "a kind of waking trance."¹⁵³

Attention must be drawn to another pertinent fact in order to bring out the full significance of the line of the psalm under consideration and the related passage of Jeremiah. Of Jeremiah and also of Isaiah we know that when in travail of spirit their visions had taken shape, they did not, like Mozart, sit down to fix them on paper but many years later—in one case as many as twenty-three years—from memory committed their prophecies to writing. And there is evidence that what Isaiah and Jeremiah relate of their own literary creations is no exceptional case but tells how literature was created for centuries in Israel (even as among other peoples of antiquity and the Middle Ages).¹⁵⁴ It will be seen then that when the psalmist says, "I awake from my vision," he really means to say, "I have come out of my deep reverie," under which the psalm took shape in him. There is nothing startling about this, for, though it is beyond the comprehension of us common mortals, it is admitted by many present-day psychologists and literary critics that the essential activity of poetic creation is either subconscious or superconscious.

From all these facts bearing on it, it is plain that by

I awake from my vision, and am still in thy presence,

the psalmist means to emphasize that the consciousness of God's presence within him has not been a passing state, limited to the time he has been rapt in reverie, but rather that it is the supreme

¹⁵³ See H. Tennyson, *Tennyson: A Memoir* (1897), I, 320.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *The Prophets . . .*, pp. 133-37, 167-75, where I have discussed the point at length; also the discussion on Ps. 78:3-4, above, pp. 139 ff.

reality of his existence. Enlarging on this consciousness, he then goes on to affirm that he can at all times submit without fear his life and conduct to the scrutiny of God and that there is only one thing which he craves—that God lead him, as heretofore, “in the way everlasting,” implying thereby that his assurance of God’s presence in him is ever dependent upon his obeying the divine dictates issuing from his presence. It will now be seen that the singer stresses this all-essential requisite in the very opening lines, in which he declares that God searches and knows him, that he knows him intimately and reads his mind like a book. What has been remarked of Psalm 73 holds good also of Psalm 139: it is a perfect whole, the parts of which are knitted together in unity.

There is another profound thought, looming large in the psalm. The poet is deeply conscious—incomparably more so than the writer of Psalm 51—of the mystery of human existence, above all the mystery of his spiritual being—the awesome, marvelous presence of the universal, infinite mind in the finite mind of man, transcending human understanding:

Yea, thou art master of me, body and soul,¹⁵⁵

he exclaims,

It is too wonderful for me to comprehend,
It is beyond my grasp.

And again,

Never hidden from thee is my self,
Which was created in mystery.

Color is added to his reflections by the line,

Designed in the lowest depths of Mother Earth,

which follows the words,

Which was created in mystery,

as a parallel line. The reference is to the universal, mythological notion of those days, that Earth is the Allmother of everything living. It is obvious from his advanced religious views that the author of the psalm had outgrown this primitive

¹⁵⁵ See note on the phrase below.

notion, but he employs it without hesitancy for poetic effect. He does so again for the same reason in the Job drama, which abounds in evidence of his advanced mind not only in the sphere of religion but also in the field of general knowledge,¹⁵⁶ when in the discourse of God he says:

Who shut up the sea behind the gates
When with a mad rush it poured forth
From the lap of Mother Earth?¹⁵⁷

The notion is met with also in Jesus ben Sira (40:1): "Man is encumbered with a heavy yoke from the day he came from his mother's womb till the day that he returns unto the Mother of everything living." It is also underlying the words which in Genesis (3:19) God speaks to Adam after his fall, and which down to the present day are addressed to the departed one by his kin and friends after the body has been lowered into the grave:

Dust art thou, and unto dust shalt thou return.

AUTHORSHIP

As proof that Psalm 139 is another work of the author of the Job drama, it should be noted, first of all, that there are not a few points of resemblance in language between the psalm and the drama. They are: (1) the rare verb *hasken* (vs. 3) found in Job 22:21; (2) the phrase *shīth kaph 'al* (vs. 5) occurring in Job 9:33 with the slight variation of *yad* for *kaph*; (3) *pi'l'īya da'ath mimmennī*, "It is too wonderful for me to comprehend," the parallel expression in Job 11:6 being *pēlā'im lēthūshīya*, "too wonderful for understanding" (note that neither phrase occurs anywhere else); (4) the expression *tēsukkenī*, "Thou didst weave me" (vs. 13), for which in Job 10:11 the Pō'lel, *tēsōkēkenī*, "Thou didst intertwine me with," is found—expressions which, too, occur nowhere else, and which, besides, are both said of the formation of the fetus in the mother's womb and are hence

¹⁵⁶ I have pointed out some of the evidence in *The Book of Job*, pp. 34-35, 50, 68-69, 159, 200, 281-82.

¹⁵⁷ Job 38:8: as I have pointed out, *ibid.*, p. 207-8, *merehem* is ellipsis, the genitive *'em* being omitted: cf. the reference from Jesus ben Sira.

like the preceding example a case of similarity of thought as well as of expression; (5) the denominative verb *'aššī'a* (vs. 8) derived from the noun *yašū'a*, which occurs in Job 17:13 (that the line of the psalm, "If I should spread my bed in the nether-world [She'ol]," and the line in Job, "In the darkness must I spread my bed," are linguistically interdependent, though entirely different in thought, may be deduced from the occurrence of She'ol in the parallel stich, "Verily, I have to look to She'ol for my abode," of the line in Job); (6) the figurative use of "night" (vss. 11-12) found in Job 35:11, "Who gives songs in the night"; (7) the personification of dawn occurring in "on the wings of the dawn" of verse 9 of the psalm and in "the eyelids of the dawn" of Job 3:9, and again, more elaborately, in 38:12-14.

Conclusive proof of their common authorship is the similarity which the psalm bears in thought to the Job drama. In both, the leading ideas are strikingly the same. As a matter of fact, Psalm 139, like Psalm 73, bears out what has been stated above—that the hero Job of the drama is largely a self-portrait of the author, Job being swayed by the identical convictions which the author represents as his own inner experience in Psalm 139. Like him, Job is absolutely certain of the presence of God within him, even though he is ever conscious of the overwhelming majesty of God; and he is also convinced that the moral sense inherent in man is the supreme reality, the law which God has implanted in him for his guidance. To these two certainties he clings as to his lodestar throughout the titanic conflict going on in his soul. And, like the author of the psalm, the hero of the drama realizes that one can feel assured of the presence of God within one only if one lives a righteous life. Evidence of this is his declaration, reiterated again and again, that the knowledge of his virtuous life is his priceless good, the mainstay in his affliction, as it gives him the assurance that he is near to God, living in his presence, no matter what men would have him believe. This assurance grows in intensity as the dramatic action progresses, until in the end Job's suffering is transmuted into spiritual triumph and, falling

down in worship of God who has revealed himself to him amid the storm, he calls out:

Mine eye has beheld thee:
Wherefore, though I am wasting away,
I am comforted for my lot of dust and ashes.

In the light of Job's transfiguration, verses 11-12 of the psalm reveal a deeper meaning:

If I should say, Let utter darkness enshroud me,
And the light around me be turned to night,
Lo, in thy presence darkness is not dark,
And night is bright like daylight.

Further, as in the psalm the poet dwells on the wonderful work of God and declares that it is beyond his comprehension, even so in the Job drama does the thought of the immensity of God, which "mocketh understanding," occupy great prominence. Of Job's reflections in this respect, running through the entire drama, it will suffice to quote the lines with which he concludes the description of the mystery in which the visible material world is veiled (in his original last speech):

Behold, these are but the outer edges of his ways,
Only a whisper of him do we catch:
Who can perceive the thunder of his Omnipotence?¹⁵⁸

Finally, another feature common to both is the use of mythological notions—specifically the notion of Mother Earth—for poetic effect. This feature carries weight because in the drama this use is found to an extent unknown in any other biblical writings. I also mention once more the obvious relationship, dwelt upon above, between "I awake from my vision" and the description of revelation in Job 4:12-16.

2. *my mind*, not "my thought," is the exact equivalent of *rē'i*.

3. *Thou probest*] The verb *zarā*, "winnow" or "sift," is used figuratively, as Gr. ἐξίχλιασας, in fact, understood it.

my manner] That this must be the meaning of *rib'i* follows from the fact that it is used as a synonym of *'orḥi*.

5. *enfoldest me*] Cf. Ezek. 5:3, *wēšarta 'ōthām*, "wrap them"; Cant. 8:9, *našūr 'alēha*, "We will encase her."

¹⁵⁸ Job 26:14. Cf. *The Book of Job*, pp. 142-46, 266 f., 329 ff., where I have attempted to reconstruct the speech: in addition to chaps. 26, 28, and 23:2, 8 f., 13-15, 17, it included 36:26-28a, 29 f., 32, and 37:1-5a, 6b, 11-13, 20-23.

And holdest me in the palm of thy hand] Note that in most instances of its use friendly intention or purpose is implied by *shūth yad* or *kaph 'al*; cf. Gen. 46:4, *Y. yashūth yadō 'al 'ēnēka*, "Joseph will put his hand over thy eyes" (to shade them); *ibid.* 48:14, 17, *yashūth . . . yad yēmīnō 'al rō'sh E.*, "He put his right hand upon the head of Ephraim." That both parts of the verse speak of the assuring presence of God and not of any restraining or even menacing presence, as they are generally taken, follows further from the emphatic reaffirmation of the thought in vs. 10, the plain meaning of which admits of no possible doubt (see note on the verse below).

13. *Yea]* *Ki* is emphatic particle, not causal, as it is generally rendered, though it is admitted that "the connection of thought expressed by 'for' is not obvious."

thou art master] *Qanā* denotes here, as often elsewhere—the finite verb as well as the participle—"ownership" or "mastery": cf. Isa. 1:3, where *qonēhū* is used synonymously with *ba'ālāw*; Deut. 32:6, where *qōnēka* is used synonymously with *'abika* and is, moreover, followed by *hu' asēka*, "who made" or "created thee."

of me, body and soul] This is not a free translation of *kilyōthai* but a rendering which brings out its meaning accurately, whereas the literal translation "reins" conceals it. As proof of this I shall repeat (the importance of the case warrants it) what has been remarked above in discussing *helbamo* of Ps. 17:10, that throughout antiquity the liver, the reins, and the diaphragm were considered the seat of the physical as well as of the intellectual and emotional life—a notion which has left its mark on ancient Greek and Roman literature as well as on Semitic. The notion explains the repeated use of "heart" and "reins" as synonyms, as, for example, Jer. 11:20, "Who tests the reins and the heart" (*kēlāyōth waleb*); 17:10 "I, the Lord, search the heart, I test the reins": in both examples "mind" is a far better rendering of *kēlāyōth*.

14. *for the awesome wonder of my birth]* *'Al* functions with *ki* as conjunction, and *nōrā'ōth* is an adverbial accusative: to express the clause adequately I have rendered it freely. The reading *niphlēthi* of the Hebrew is in every respect superior to that of *niphlētha* of Gr. and the other Versions: to emend according to the latter, as many have done, is a grave mistake.

10. *Even there would thy hand lead me, Thy right hand hold me]* Even if the verse were not followed by vss. 11–12, its language, notably *tanheni*, which can mean only what the phrase says: *lead me*, and the equally perspicuous *yēmīnēka* of the second clause, would admit of no other interpretation than that the psalmist affirms that he would be sure of the benign guidance of God even in the perilous depths of the sea. That, regardless of all this, the very opposite translation has prevailed is, to say the least, amazing, and the emendation by a number of interpreters of *tanheni* to *tiqqaheni* but shows what a biased approach can do.

11. *enshroud me]* Read, with Sym. and Hier., יִשְׁכְּנֵנִי = יִשְׁכְּנֵנִי (Ewald and many others).

15. *my self]* It has been generally overlooked that *'ašmī* functions here as a periphrastic pronoun, being a nice counterpart of the similar use of *nephesh* with pronominal suffixes. Conclusive proof of this is the first person

sing. of the verbs *'ussēthī* and *ruqqamī* of the relative clause, which have been a stumbling block for ancient and modern interpreters alike, but which simply agree in person with that of the antecedent, as the rule governing the structure of the Hebrew relative clause demands.

16. *my still unformed being*] The word *golem*, which in biblical Hebrew is found only here, denotes in talmudic Hebrew "the unformed body" or "fetus," and was so understood by Sym., ἀμόρφωτόν με, and Hier., *informem adhuc me*.

My days were ordered and set down] The pronominal suffix of *kullām* is anticipatory of *yamīm*, which is to be construed also with *yusṣarū*. Of other examples of the meaning "preordain" or "order" of *yaṣar*, cf. II Kings 19:25; Isa. 22:11 and 46:11.

17. *too great for me*] This meaning of *yaqērū* follows from the context: cf. the somewhat similar meaning of *yaqqīra* Dan. 2:11; the force of *mā* is adequately expressed by *too*; cf. Pss. 104:24 and 36B:8.

23. *my heart and soul* is the nearest English equivalent of *sar'appai*.

any fault in my conduct] Not only does the context point to this meaning of *derek 'oseb bī* but it is also supported by I Kings 1:6, *lō' 'āṣabō 'abū miyamaw*, "His father did not find fault with him at any time."

PSALM 39

*

- 2 I vow, I will take care
That I sin not with my tongue;
I will curb my mouth with a bit
In the presence of the godless man.
- 3aa, 10 I must be dumb, I cannot open my mouth,
For it is thou that hast done it.
- 3aβ-c I despair of happiness,
And my sorrow eats deep into me.
- 4 When I reflect on it, my heart within me burns;
Fire rages in my bosom when my tongue speaks of it.
- 5 O Lord, remember mine end
And the measure of my days—how short it is.
Consider how fleeting I am.
- 6 Thou hast made my life but as a handbreadth;
The span of my life is as nothing before thee:
A mere breath is every man.
- 7 Truly, like a shadow he walks through life.

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of Jeduthun. A Psalm of David.

All in vain are his restless efforts:
He piles up riches, and knows not who will reap them.

- 8 How then shall I find hope?
 In thee, O Lord, is my hope.
- 9 Deliver me from all my transgressions;
 Make me not the scorn of the godless.
- 11 Remove thy baleful stroke from me;
 By the blow of thy hand I perish.
- 12 When thou rebukest and chastenest a man for his
 iniquity,
 Thou makest his beauty to fade away like a moth:
 A mere breath is every man.
- 13 Hear my prayer, O Lord,
 Give heed to my cry,
 Ignore not my tears:
 Yea, I am but a wayfarer in thy presence,
 A sojourner, like all my fathers.
- 14 Look away from me that I may have cheer
 Ere I go hence and am no more.

Psalm 39 is in thought as well as in language closely related to the Job drama, and to a limited extent also to Psalm 73. The similarity between them is, however, not a case of one writer's dependence upon another (as is generally thought) but rather a case of the common style and vocabulary of two writings by the same author which deal, moreover, with the identical subject. The psalm abounds in evidence—far more so than Psalms 73 and 139—that the author of the Job drama was a man who in his own life had sounded the depths of human suffering; nay more, it tells definitely that he was stricken with a fatal disease, the nature of which it does not, however, divulge. Before substantiating all this, I deem it advisable to mention prefatorily that the psalm antedates Psalms 73 and 139 as well as the Job drama. Proof of this is the fact that there is no trace in it of the understanding and reconciliation to which the suffering hero is gradually led in the struggle which God's

calamitous blow has produced in his mind. Instead, it is, like the first part of the drama, taken up entirely with the sufferer's bewilderment and despair at God's visitation:

I despair of happiness,
And my sorrow eats deep into me,

he cries out.

When I reflect on it, my heart within me burns;
Fire rages in my bosom when my tongue speaks of it.

The reason of his anguish he tells in the line that precedes:

For it is thou that hast done it,

by which he implies that God's terrible visitation is undeserved and therefore leaves him in a maze from which he sees no way out—a thought about which he is most explicit in the drama (cf. Job 3:20-23; 19:8-9; 30:26; 23:15, 17).

Yet, realizing his responsibility, he vows to be careful not to sin with his tongue and become a stumbling block to others. His vow recalls how, in Psalm 73, the author pauses in his reflections about God's seeming injustice and declares,

If I persisted in talking like this,
Verily, I should betray the present generation of thy children.

And the line, "That I sin not with my tongue," resembles also in language the words with which in the drama the narration of Job's bodily affliction closes: "In spite of all this Job did not sin with his lips." Even the wicked taunt of his wife could not tempt him.

In the following strophes the similarity to the drama is still more marked. Like Job in the drama, the author reminds God how frail man is, how brief his existence, how far from perfect, and he humbly pleads with him for mercy:

Remove thy baleful stroke from me;
By the blow of thy hand I perish.

The two first words of these lines are practically identical with those which begin the corresponding plea in Job 9:34—a plea that is repeated with some modification of language in 13:21. They have also another feature in common with the related

pleas in the drama, specifically those of 14:13, 15-17 and 16:18-22,¹⁵⁹ in that they reveal the conflicting emotions in the sufferer's mind. Though he knows that he is fatally stricken—"By the blow of thy hand I perish" shows this—yet in a moment of abandonment to his faith his agonized human soul cries for the impossible. In the next moment the stern reality asserts itself, and he modifies his prayer in the following strophe, where he no longer asks that God restore him to health but that he grant him a respite ere he dies:

Look away from me that I may have cheer,
Ere I go hence and am no more.

These lines are in thought as well as in language strikingly similar to Job 10:20-21:

Leave me in peace, that I may have cheer for a little while,
Before I go, never to return,
To the land of darkness and of the shadow of death,

while their first phrase, *shē'ē*, recurs in the parallel pleas, Job 14:6 and 7:19, and the last, *wē'ēnennī*, in 7:21.

Yet, casting about for light in his perplexity of soul, the author in answer to his weary question,

How then shall I find hope?

affirms,

In thee, O Lord, is my hope.

Even so does Job, while the conflict is still raging in his heart, declare,

Even now my witness is in heaven,
He that vouches for me is on high.
And since my friends deride me,
My streaming eyes are turned to God.¹⁶⁰

And of this conviction he grows steadily more assured, until it reaches its climax in his exultant burst of faith:

I know that my Redeemer liveth.

The prayer,

Deliver me from all my transgressions,

¹⁵⁹ Cf. my discussion of these passages in *The Book of Job*, pp. 193 and 208.

¹⁶⁰ Job 16:19-20.

also accords with the fact that even though in the drama Job maintains that his affliction has been undeserved, that as far as humanly possible he has lived in conformity with God's moral law, yet he realizes that his life has been far from perfect, that time and again he has of necessity fallen short of his aspirations:

O that there might be found one pure man among the impure—
But not even one!¹⁶¹

he exclaims, with which it is consistent that he even prays that God forgive his transgression and pardon his sin¹⁶² and that he speaks of his affliction as God's chastisement.¹⁶³

Finally, the petition,

Make me not the scorn of the godless,

is elucidated by the suspicion cast upon Job's integrity because of God's mysterious visitation. He, who in the past was universally revered and looked upon as a paragon of righteousness, has now become a byword to the people, suffering contumely and abuse at their hands—at the hands even “of the lowest people”—because they look upon him as a guilty outcast, as “a manifest example” of God's wrath.¹⁶⁴ It was this cruel experience which in due course inspired the author to write the Job drama as a protest against the belief in material retribution and for the purpose of arousing sympathy for human suffering. In this drama he casts aside the scruples which restrain his thought in Psalm 39, and to a limited extent also in Psalm 73, and in the most passionate language assails the belief as unjust and untenable. All three psalms, then, are priceless as records of the personal history and inner life of the author of the Job drama.

It remains to be remarked that the author's reasoning in verses 5-7 and 12 not only resembles in thought Job 7:6-7, 16*b*; 8:9; 9:26; 10:9, 20; 14:1-3; and also 4:19-20, but has also in language much in common with them and other parts of the

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 14:4.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* 7:21.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 23:2, where the text read originally 'amnām yada'tī ki miyadō mūsarī, “Indeed, I know that my chastisement has come from the Almighty.”

¹⁶⁴ See Job 29:2-11, 18-25; 30:1, 9-11; 16:10-11; 17:6.

drama. Thus *hebel* is typical of both: for the refrain-like, "A mere breath (*hebel*) is every man," of the psalm the drama has (7:16b) "My days are but a breath" (*hebel*). Equally conspicuous is the similarity between "All in vain are his restless efforts" ('*ak hebel yehēmē*) and "Why make vain efforts?" (*lama zē hebel 'igā*) of Job 9:29. "Who are crushed like a moth" of Job 4:19 is a comparison very much like "Thou makest his beauty fade away (*wattemes*) like a moth" of the psalm; besides, the verb *masas*, of which (*wat*)*temes* is a secondary form, is very common in Job (cf. 42:6, '*emmas*,¹⁶⁵ "Though I waste away"; 8:19, *hen hū' mēsos*,¹⁶⁶ "so ends"; 6:14, *lammās*, "to him who is in despair"; 9:23 *lēmassath*, "at the despair"; 7:5, *wayyimmas*, "and festers again"). The phrase *qiššī* "mine end," with *mā* preceding it instead of following it as in the psalm, recurs in Job 6:11. The rare phrase *heldī* recurs twice in Job: 10:20¹⁶⁷ and 11:17. Finally, the meaning "shadow" of *šelem* of Ps. 39:7 is closely similar to that of "their empty lives" of *šalmām* of Ps. 73:20—a very striking similarity, since there is no other example of either meaning; and there is also a certain resemblance between *bēthōkaḥōth 'al 'awōn* of verse 12 of the former and *tōkaḥī labbēqarīm* of verse 14 of the latter.

2. *I vow*] '*Amartī* has not the force of a past tense but denotes what he resolves or is determined to do, the context as well as vs. 2 shows this: cf. Ps. 27:8, '*amar*, "avows."

3aa, 10, 3aβ-c. Vs. 10 in its present place shows a break in thought. The verse stood originally after *ne'ēlamtī* of vs. 3, whence it was omitted and put in the margin, with *ne'ēlamtī*, which had been left behind in the text, added to it as a cue. As usual, cue and all were in the next copy inserted at random.

I despair of] If *dūmīya* is original reading, it is, in accordance with σωπη ἐσίγησα of Aq. and the similar reading of Sym., to be construed with *heḥēshē-thī* as an intensifying adverbial accusative. However, Syr. and the readings of Gr. are altogether at variance with *dūmīya*.

eats deep into me] Cf. Prov. 15:6, *tēbū'ath rasha' ne'kāreth*, "The produce of the wicked corrodes."

4. *When I reflect on it*] The subject *kē'ēbī* of vs. 3c is to be construed as objective with *bahāgīgī*, being a case of brachylogy.

rages in my bosom] Another case of brachylogy: *bēqirbī* is to be construed also with *tib'ar 'ēsh*.

¹⁶⁵ This, not '*em'ās*, is, as Gr. shows, the original reading.

¹⁶⁶ *Mēsos* is spelled with sin, as again in Isa. 8:6.

¹⁶⁷ Read and divide, with Gr. and Syr., *yēmē heldī shīth*.

5. *O Lord, remember. . . . Consider*] From vs. 6, which enlarges upon vs. 5 and shows that the psalmist is pleading with God, it follows that neither 'ēdē'a nor hōdī'enī can be the original reading. I conjecture that the reading 'ēdē'a is due to dittography of the final 'aleph of the preceding hū' and that the text read originally לָצַד; and, on the strength of Job 10:9, I conclude that instead of hōdī'enī the text read originally זָכַר: cf. also Job 7:7 and Pss. 89:48 and 103:14. As to dē'a, denoting "consider," cf. its meaning "mark" or "perceive" in the frequent phrase da' ūrē'ē, I Kings 20:7; Jer. 2:19, 23; 5:1.

6. *but as a handbreadth*] Tēphahōth is an accusative of comparison; *but* renders the emphatic particle accurately.

A mere breath is every man] Vs. 6c is to be emended in accordance with vs. 12c, where it recurs refrain-like: the first *kol* is to be omitted as dittography, and likewise niṣṣāb, which is proved as not original also by the fact that Gr. does not read it but reads instead hay, which is a variant of 'adām: cf. Pss. 143:2 and 145:16.

7. *like a shadow*] The preposition bē of bēṣelem is bē essentiae.

are his restless efforts: He piles up riches] Read, with Gr. and Syr., יְהִיבָה הוֹן—a reading borne out also by the suffix of 'ōsēphām, the plural of which is a case of *constructio ad sensum*: the Massoretic text is due to homoeoteleuton.

8. *How then shall I find hope?*] 'Atta has the force of a consecutive particle, not of a temporal; with Gr. and Syr., read רַקוּרִי (Graetz and others).

In thee, O Lord] Contrary to the accents, 'āḏōnai is to be taken with the second stich.

12. *for his iniquity*] 'Awōn is one of the many cases of Hebrew's omitting the possessive pronoun.

14. *Look away*] Read שִׁירָה in accordance with Job 14:6 (cf. also 7:19), as Hupfeld and many others have emended.

PSALM 23

- 1* The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
- 2 He maketh me to lie down in green pastures;
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
- 3 He restoreth my soul:
He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his
name's sake.
- 4 Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of
death,
I will fear no evil, for thou art with me;
Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me.

* A Psalm of David.

- 5 Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine
 enemies.
 Thou anointest my head with oil;
 My cup runneth over.
- 6 Surely goodness and love will follow me all the days of
 my life,
 And I shall forever dwell in the house of the Lord.

Among the many eminent estimates of Psalm 23 that of Henry Ward Beecher in *Life Thoughts* ranks first. This surpassing ode, he says,

is but a moment's opening of the singer's soul; but as when one, walking the winter streets, sees the door opened for some one to enter, and the red light streams a moment forth, and the forms of gay children are running to greet the comer, and genial music sounds, though the door shuts and leaves the night black, yet it cannot shut back again all that the eyes, the ear, the heart, and the imagination have seen—so in this Psalm, though it is but a moment's opening of the soul, are emitted truths of peace and consolation that will never be absent from the world. The twenty-third Psalm is the nightingale of the Psalms. It is small, of a homely feather, singing shyly out of obscurity; but oh! it has filled the air of the whole world with melodious joy, greater than the heart can conceive. Blessed be the day on which that Psalm was born! What would you say of a pilgrim commissioned of God to travel up and down the earth singing a strange melody, which when one heard, caused him to forget whatever sorrow he had? And so the singing angel goes on his way through all lands, singing in the language of every nation, driving away trouble by the pulses of the air which his tongue moves with divine power. Behold just such an one! This pilgrim God has sent to speak in every language on the globe. It has charmed more griefs to rest than all the philosophy of the world. . . . Nor is its work done. It will go singing to your children and my children, and to their children, through all the generations of time.

I add the following from Spurgeon's estimate:

It is the pearl of Psalms whose soft and pure radiance delights every eye:—a pearl of which Helicon need not be ashamed, though Jordan claims it. Of this delightful song it may be affirmed that its piety and its poetry are equal, its sweetness and its spirituality are unsurpassed.¹⁶⁸

AUTHORSHIP

Though nothing definite is known about the author, one thing is certain—it was not David. The religious inwardness revealed in the psalm was utterly foreign to him, who gloried

¹⁶⁸ *The Treasury of David* (2d ed.; New York, 1882), I, 398.

in his military victories as the fulfilment of his soul's desire, and who heralded them to the world not only as proof that he was the chosen object of God's love but also as guaranty that God would be with him in the one conquest of territory which still remained to be accomplished in order to make his happiness and security complete. It is impossible to span by any stretch of the imagination the insuperable distance existing between the spiritual outlook of David, as faithfully portrayed in his Psalm 57B/60B, and that of the immortal singer of Psalm 23. His serene, joyous faith in God, dispelling all fear and material care, is the ripe fruit of the preaching and religious ideal of the great prophets. As their spiritual heir, he asks only one thing of God—that he lead him in the path of righteousness, even as he knows that the love and goodness of God are boundless. He has conquered the world. Though the two phrases—"the shadow of death" and "They comfort me"—which the psalm has in common with the Job drama, are not sufficient affinity of language to rest the case thereon, typical though they are of the drama, occurring in it with unwonted frequency,¹⁶⁹ yet it seems to me highly plausible that it is another "song in the night" of that heroic sufferer who, triumphing over fate, exclaimed,

If I have thee, O Lord,
I care not for heaven or earth.

Though my mind and my body waste away,
God is my rock and my portion forever.

My highest good is the presence of God within me.

He, more than anyone else, could from the fulness of his own experience declare,

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
I fear no evil, for thou art with me,

¹⁶⁹ The first of the two phrases occurs ten times: 3:5; 10:21, 22; 12:22; 16:16; 24:17 (twice); 28:3; 34:22 (belonging to the original last speech of Bildad); 38:17; and the second, with its derivatives, likewise ten times: 2:11; 6:10; 7:13; 15:11; 16:2; 21:2, 34; 29:25; 42:6, 11.

a thought expressed in different language also in Ps. 139:11-12; and from the depth of his inmost soul he could truthfully add:

Thy rod¹⁷⁰ and thy staff, they comfort me,

having by his trials and unconquerable soul exemplified the apotheosis of grief, the transmutation of suffering into spiritual triumph.

The last line,

And I shall forever dwell in the house of the Lord,

calls for another remark. By "dwell in the house of the Lord" residence in the Temple is not meant, as some have taken it, but the phrase is, as many others hold, a figure for living in the presence of God—a meaning which clearly follows from the context and is supported also by other psalms. As MacLaren remarks:

Such an unbroken continuity of abode in the house of the Lord is a familiar aspiration in other Psalms, and is always regarded as possible even while hands are engaged in ordinary duties and cares. The Psalms which conceive of the religious life under this image are marked by a peculiar depth and inwardness. They are wholesomely mystical. The hope of this guest of God's is that, by the might of faith and continual communion, he may have his life so hid in God that wherever he goes he may still be in His house.

¹⁷⁰ "Rod" is a common biblical figure for chastisement.

IV. PSALMS OF THE YEAR 344 B.C.

THE CRISIS OF POST-EXILIC HISTORY AND THE PSALMS
WHICH TELL THE STORY OF THE CRISIS

Brief mention has already been made of the fact that, while all the post-Exilic psalms which reflect the national distress are extremely valuable for the adequate treatment of post-Exilic history, a number of them are of particular significance because of the light which they throw upon what may be called the crisis of that period.

It is important to emphasize that the crisis of post-Exilic history, the real crisis, was not, as is generally thought, the Macabaeian struggle but the blow which Artaxerxes III Ochus dealt Judaea in the year 344 B.C. It was a catastrophe of the first magnitude, though, strange to say, it is commonly treated by historians as an incident of no consequence.¹⁷¹ We are unusually well informed about this crisis. There is, first, the record preserved by Eusebius¹⁷² and other historians¹⁷³ that Artaxerxes Ochus took a part of the Jewish people captive and transplanted them to Hyrcania on the shores of the Caspian Sea. Further, the attack made upon Judaea by Artaxerxes Ochus, or rather his general Orophernes, is the historical background of the Book of Judith. Regarding this source, it must be noted that in the Hebrew versions of Judith, which go back to a version which is older and more accurate than the Greek, there is no mention of Nebuchadnezzar and his Assyrian hosts, and the city which is attacked and besieged by Orophernes is not Bethulia but Jerusalem.¹⁷⁴ This variation carries the more weight, since in

¹⁷¹ Thus Kittel (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel* [1929] III, Part II, 677) says, "The information" that the Jews "had to submit to punishment" for participating in the revolt against Persia "does not lack credibility," but "we can neither form a sufficiently clear idea of the occurrence nor even arrive at any certainty regarding it." This is practically also the view of Sellin, in *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (1932) II, 168-69; Oesterly, *A History of Israel* (1932), II, 140-41, 172; Wellhausen, *Isr. Jüd., Gesch.*⁶, pp. 187-88; and H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 410.

¹⁷² *Chronicon* (ed. Schöne), II, 112-13.

¹⁷³ Syncellus, *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf), I, 486; Orosius, *Historiarum adversum Paganos libri septem*, III, 7, who both copy Eusebius.

¹⁷⁴ There are two Hebrew Versions, a shorter and a longer one, which have both been published by A. Jellinek in *Beth ha-Midrash* (Leipzig, 1853), the first in I, 130-31,

the Greek version, too, we have still a trace of Jerusalem's having been the scene of the attack in the prayer Judith offers in Orophernes' bed chamber: "O Lord, mighty God, look upon the work of my hands to the glory of Jerusalem," and again in the words of praise, "Thou pride of Jerusalem," with which the high priest and council of Jerusalem address Judith; as also in the mention made earlier in the story that, when the Israelites in Judaea heard of the destruction Orophernes had dealt to the coast cities and other lands, they were filled with consternation because of the danger to Jerusalem and the Temple.¹⁷⁵ Another trace in the Greek version of the actual state of things, specifically the identity of the attacking armies, is to be seen in Judith's song of praise at the end of the book: the line telling how Judith's sword pierced the neck of Orophernes is followed by

The Persians shuddered at her daring,
The Medes were dismayed at her courage.¹⁷⁶

I may add in passing that the role Judith plays in the story is, of course, fiction pure and simple.

But of far greater value than Eusebius' record and the Book of Judith are the many contemporary documents which tell the full story of the crisis. These documents are fifteen psalms and one prophetic product, Isa. 63:7—64:11, which is in reality but another psalm. Two of the psalms—Psalms 74 and 79—usually thought to be Maccabaeian psalms, were recognized by Ewald almost a century ago as related to the crisis of the year 344 B.C.,¹⁷⁷ and after him they were so recognized by Robertson Smith,¹⁷⁸ G. Beer,¹⁷⁹ and Cheyne.¹⁸⁰ Cheyne also identified the

and the second in II, 12—22. They have been translated into German by Lipsius, "Jüdische Quellen zur Judithsage," *ZWTh*, X (1867), pp. 337—66.

¹⁷⁵ See Jth. 13:4; 15:9; 4:2.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 16:11.

¹⁷⁷ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (3d ed.), pp. 263 ff., but in the following edition and in *Die Psalmen* he changed his view.

¹⁷⁸ *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (2d ed.; New York, 1892), pp. 207 f., 438 f.

¹⁷⁹ *Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen* (Marburg, 1894), pp. lv—lvi.

¹⁸⁰ *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (London, 1895), pp. 360 ff.

happenings of that fatal year as the historical background of Isa. 63:7—64:11. These scholars rightly hold that the content of all three products precludes Maccabaeian origin, for neither was "the Temple burned to the ground" at the time of the Maccabaeian struggle, nor was "Jerusalem made a heap of ruins" and "the country laid waste," nor yet was the nation "in the throes of death." In these words Pss. 74:7 and 79:1, 7, 11 describe the fatal happenings of the year 344 B.C., and in the same manner Isa. 63:7—64:11 describes these events:

Thy holy cities have become a desert,
Zion has become a desert, Jerusalem a waste,
Our holy and glorious house, where our fathers praised thee,
Has been burned down; all that we hold dear lies in ruins.

In the light of these happenings the additional calamity, of which the record of Eusebius tells, that a part of the people were led away captive to far distant Hyrcania, may now be seen in its real significance as the final act in the overthrow of the nation.

The remaining thirteen psalms in which I find the catastrophe of 344 B.C. reflected fall naturally into two distinct groups, the first of which consists of Psalms 6, 22, 30, 31, 38, 71, and 88, and the second, of Psalms 13, 143, 77, 90, 94, and 116A. The systematic mode of procedure for the treatment of all these psalms, including Psalms 74 and 79, will be to begin with the first of the three groups, then to take up Psalms 74 and 79, and, finally, Psalms 13, 143, 77, 90, 94, and 116A.

A. PSALMS 6, 31, 71, 30, 38, 88, AND 22

BY ONE AUTHOR

These seven psalms bear a close similarity to one another in both language and thought. Yet, the view of many interpreters to the contrary, none of them shows any trace of patchwork or labored imitation. The outstanding feature of every one is a freshness and directness of appeal—such as is found in all products of poetic genius. No matter how many expressions and lines they have in common, each of them has a poetic harmony of its own, determined by that vital though subtle interde-

pendence of form and thought which is the distinguishing mark of all works of creative art. Altogether, the marked similarity in the phraseology of these psalms, their general literary excellence, and the fact that the same spirit breathes through them all lead to the conclusion that they must all seven be the work of one and the same author. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that all seven of them were inspired by the same event—the calamitous happenings of the year 344 B.C. when, after the destruction of Sidon, Artaxerxes Ochus sent Orophernes with an army against Jerusalem, bent on dealing with Zion as he had with Sidon. I might interject here that Psalms 74 and 79, though called forth by the same event, are in spirit and language radically different from these seven psalms, which are clearly the successive outpourings of the writer's soul, according as the attack on Jerusalem progressed and the situation became steadily more alarming, until finally the end came with engulfing ruin. Besides being of extraordinary value as a historical source, they are priceless as a record of the psalmist's spiritual life and growth and his unconquerable faith. They were composed in the following order: 6, 31 and 71, 30, 38, 88, 22, as the detailed discussion will show. When systematically analyzed, their common vocabulary serves to illustrate the writer's method of composition: it shows that for the most part the points of resemblance are not a case of the psalmist's repeating in a later psalm expressions and figures he has used in an earlier psalm but rather a case of his varying these figures and enhancing their beauty, or of reshaping them so as to subordinate them to new ends, in particular to the change the situation has undergone in the meantime.

This holds good also of the points of contact Psalms 38 and 88 have with Job and Isa. 1:5-6, and Psalm 22 with Isaiah, chapters 40-55. A notable feature of these is that they strike us even more by what differentiates them from the passages in Job and Isaiah, after which they are modeled, than by what they have in common with them. This shows that we have not a case of mere copying but rather a case of the psalmist's assimilating what he appropriates from others and recasting it

to serve his own purposes. As to Psalms 38 and 88, from their dependence on Job it follows that they must have been written later than 400 B.C., which is the approximate date of Job. In passing it may be remarked that this fact disposes of the view of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Targum, and the Syriac that Psalm 88 is Exilic, describing Israel's condition in the Babylonian Exile—a view held also by some modern interpreters.

PSALM 6

*

- 2 O Lord, judge me not in anger,
Chastise me not in wrath.
- 3 Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I wither away.
O Lord, heal me, for my body is shattered,
- 4 And my soul is sore dismayed—
O Lord, how long?
- 5 Cease from thine anger.
Deliver me, O Lord,
For the sake of thy goodness save me,
- 6 For in the realm of death thou art no longer remembered:
Who should praise thee in She'ol?
- 7 I am weary with sighing:
Each night I drench my bed with weeping,
Flood my couch with tears.
- 8 Mine eyes are dimmed with sorrow,
They have grown old because of all mine enemies.
- 9 Begone, all ye evildoers!
For the Lord will surely hear my weeping.
- 10 May God hear my supplication,
May he accept my prayer.
- 11 May mine enemies be shamed and sore dismayed,
May they withdraw at once confounded.

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the accompaniment of Strings. In the Eighth Mode. A Psalm of David.

In the "I" of the psalm the nation is personified. "I wither away," "My body is shattered and my soul is sore dismayed," and "Mine eyes are dimmed with sorrow, they have grown old," are all figures of speech describing the life of the nation as ebbing away and threatened with extinction. Such figurative description of national decline and ruin is not peculiar to the Psalms, being very common also in prophetic literature, but in the Psalms it is found with unwonted frequency. Other examples of this figure occur in every one of the psalms of this series and in sixteen other psalms besides, though in all but one of these others—Psalm 102—this type of figure in no wise occupies such prominence as in the seven psalms under consideration. Of one of the figures used in Psalm 6, "Mine eyes are dimmed with sorrow, they have grown old," the first part recurs verbatim in Psalm 31, while the second part is effectively modified to "I am worn, body and soul," *naphshī ūbiṭnī 'asheshū*, from which one will see that in the Hebrew the variation is very distinct, the verb being the same as that in *'ashēsha mika'as 'ēnī*. It is but one of the many illustrations which might be given of the psalmist's style dwelt upon above. Another occurs in Psalm 38, the thought expressed by "Mine eyes are dimmed with sorrow" being stated anew, in quite different language, however: "Even the light of mine eyes has failed," *gam 'ōr 'ēnai 'ēn 'ittī* (unfortunately the beauty of the Hebrew is lost in the translation). Taken altogether, these seven psalms furnish cumulative evidence that the view which at present prevails among interpreters that real sickness is described in them is not tenable.¹⁸¹ It will be more instructive to weigh the evidence separately in each case.

As to Psalm 6, it may be seen almost at a glance that it is

¹⁸¹ As exponents of this view I shall mention: E. Balla, *Das Ich der Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1912); Duhm, *Die Psalmen*; Staerk, *op. cit.*; Kittel, *Die Psalmen*, also "Psalmen" in *PRE*, and *Geschichte . . .*, III, Part II, 697 ff.; Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*; S. Mowinkel, *Psalmenstudien: I Awān und die Individuellen Klagepsalmen* (1921); Bertholet-Kautzsch, *op. cit.*; Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, also *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, pp. 38 ff., 66 f., 83 ff., 172 ff., and "Psalmen" in *RGK*, and *What Remains of the Old Testament?* (New York, 1928), pp. 93 ff.; G. Quell, *Das Kultische Problem der Psalmen* (*BWAT* [1926]), pp. 118 ff., 143 ff.; König, *Die Psalmen*; H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im Alten Testament* (*BZATW* [1928]), and *Die Psalmen*.

the body politic and not the life of an individual which is described as threatened with collapse, for the psalmist concludes the last of the figures which he uses in the first and second strophes by mentioning expressly that enemies and not a fatal disease have accomplished the decay. And the words, "because of all mine enemies," with which the figure, "Mine eyes are dimmed with sorrow, they have grown old," ends, carry the more weight, since in Psalm 31, where the figure is modified to "I am worn, body and soul," it closes with the same words, and since, moreover, that psalm contains a datum of prime importance which removes all doubt about its interpretation as well as its date. It is also noteworthy that by the weary question,

O Lord, how long?

with which the first strophe closes, the writer makes it plain that dark days had gone before and thus confirms what we have learned about the conditions of the two centuries that preceded the present crisis.

Final evidence that Psalm 6 describes a national crisis is furnished by its concluding strophe, where the poet in a sudden burst of faith visions his people's enemies as shamed and confounded, repulsed in utter dismay. The strophe, far from being loosely joined to strophes one and two (as has been thought) constitutes with them a perfect whole. Note the dramatic effect produced by the psalmist's continuing "because of all mine enemies" with "Begone, all ye evildoers!" and by the sudden change from gloom and despair to the trustful exclamation, "For the Lord will surely hear my weeping." Note also how much color is added to the sudden change of tone by the use of the prophetic and precativ perfect in this and the following verse, respectively.

Yet, confident as the psalmist is of the eventual help of God, the fear which has filled his heart continues to affect the tone even of the third strophe: he still weeps and entreats God to heed his cry. Naturally so, for the danger of which he speaks (in vs. 6) that the worship of the true God would cease to have

a place on earth if the nation should sink into oblivion¹⁸² is still very real. But he has overcome his erstwhile despair. The anguished cry with which he begins the psalm,

O Lord, judge me not in anger,
Chastise me not in wrath,

and which he reiterates more passionately at the beginning of the second strophe, has given way to a prayerful mood and trustful calm.

Certainly the terror which the appearance of Orophernes and his army must have struck in the hearts of the people of Judaea could not have been more masterly portrayed. Realism and simplicity of presentation characterize the psalm.

PSALM 31

*

- 2 In thee, O Lord, I put my trust,
Let me never be ashamed:
Save me in thy righteousness,
3a β Deliver me speedily;
3aa Incline thine ear unto me.
3b, 71:3a-b Be thou to me as a towering rock unto which I may
repair;
Order my deliverance.
71:4 Rescue me, O God, from the clutches of the wicked,
From the hands of the treacherous despot.
31:4ba, 5a Save me for thy name's sake† from the pitfalls they
have dug for me,
5b, 71:7b For thou art my refuge and my strength.‡

¹⁸² This import of the lines,

"For in the realm of death thou art no longer remembered:
Who should praise thee in She'ol?"

is established beyond doubt by the elaborate parallel query, Ps. 88:11-13 (*q.v.*). Aside from this, common sense does not leave room for any other interpretation. It would be intolerable conceit, bordering on lunacy, for an individual to think that the world could not go on without him.

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David. † 31:4b β *Lead me and guide me.*

‡ Variant: 4a *For thou art my rock and my stronghold.*

- 31:6 Into thy hand I commit my spirit,
Redeem me, thou O Lord, the true God.
- 7 Thou hatest the worshipers of shadow gods,
But I trust in the Lord.
- 8 I shall rejoice and exult in thy love,
For thou wilt regard my misery,
Thou wilt heed the despair of my soul,
- 9 And wilt not surrender me into the hands of the
enemy;
But thou wilt make my feet to stand on free soil.
- 10a-b Have mercy upon me, for I am sore distressed:
Mine eyes are grown dim with grief,
- 11a-b My life is spent with sorrow, my years with sighing.
My strength is wasted with suffering;
- 10c, 11c, 12 I am worn, body and soul,§ because of all mine
enemies.
I am the scorn of my neighbors, a terror to mine
acquaintances;
Whoso sees me in the street flees startled from me.
- 13 I have passed from their minds like one that is
dead,
I am become like a worthless vessel that is cast
away.
- 14 Yea, I hear the whisperings of many,
Hostility circles me about:
They scheme against me, every one,
They plot to take my life.
- 15 Still, O Lord, I trust in thee,
I say, Thou art my God.
- 16 My destiny is in thy hand;
Deliver me from mine enemies, from them that
hunt me down.
- 17 Let thy face shine upon thy servant,
Save me in thy love.

- 18 O Lord, let me not be put to shame when I call
unto thee;
Let the wicked foe be shamed to silence and sent
to She'ol.
- 19 Silenced be their lying lips,
Which oppose the righteous with insolence|| and
contempt.
- 20 Abundant, O Lord, is the good
Which thou hast in store for them that fear thee,
Which in the sight of men thou wilt provide
For them that trust in thee.
- 21 From the conspiracies of men thou wilt shelter
them
Under thy protecting wing,
Thou wilt safeguard them from intriguing tongues.
- 22 Praised be the Lord,
Who will manifest his wondrous love unto me,
Though the city is besieged.
- 23 Though in my alarm I thought,
I am cast out of thy sight,
Still thou wilt hear my prayer
As I cry unto thee.
- 24 Oh, love the Lord all ye his loyal servants!
The Lord keeps faith,
And to him who now is practicing insolence
He will pay his due.
- 25 Be strong, be brave of heart,
All ye that rest your hope in the Lord.

DATE

The line, "Though the city is besieged" (vs. 22), is a datum of prime importance not only for interpreting the psalm but also for determining its date. This meaning of the nominal clause *bē'ir maṣōr* follows from the context: as soon as *bē'ir maṣōr* is taken in this sense, the incongruity, introduced into

|| *with haughtiness*

verses 22-23 by the customary translation, "in a strong city," is removed, and the two verses are cogent and consistent. That this obvious meaning has heretofore not been recognized seems to me primarily owing to the fact that the prophetic perfect *hiphl'i* has generally been mistaken for a past tense. Not only is "besieged" an obvious meaning but it is the only meaning *mašōr* can have, for a word *mašōr* denoting "fortress" or "fortified" does really not exist: in Ps. 60:11 the original text read 'ir *mibšar* instead of 'ir *mašōr*, as the version of verses 7-14 in Psalm 108 shows; in II Chron. 11:5 the text read originally *mēšūrōth*, as *τειχίους* of the Greek and also verses 10, 11, and 23 show, the present reading *mašōr* being due to the fact that *mēšūrōth* was written abbreviated and not recognized by the Massoretes; finally *mašōr* of Hab. 2:1 is generally acknowledged to be corrupt text. As to the preposition *bē* being used with the force of a concessive conjunction, note that there are five other examples of this use of *bē* in nominal clauses, two of which are *bēlō' ḥamas bēkappī*, "Though my hands have done no wrong" (I Chron. 12:17), and *bēhamīr 'areš*, "Though the earth totters" (Ps. 46:3). In view of the importance of *bē'ir mašōr* as a clue to the date and interpretation as well, Halévy's emendation *be'eth mašōq*, accepted by most present-day interpreters, appears almost wanton.

It might be objected that "Though the city is besieged" is rather indefinite and not the usual way of stating things, since the writer of the psalms fails to make it clear what city it was that was under siege. There is, however, no room for any such objection when it is remembered that the pre-Maccabaeen post-Exilic province of Judaea had only one city, in the ancient sense of the term, surrounded by walls and fortifications, and this was Jerusalem. Similarly in Ps. 55A:10 and again twice in Ps. 59:7, 15, Jerusalem is spoken of simply as "the City." It is hence clear, first, that Psalm 31 is a post-Exilic product and, second, that it can in no case have been written prior to 444 B.C., when on Nehemiah's appearance in the country the walls of Jerusalem were at last restored. Up to that time Jeru-

salem, being an open town, might at any time have been subject to raid but not to siege. Further analysis reveals that Orophernes' attack upon Jerusalem in 344 B.C. provides the historical background.

NATIONAL CRISIS

From the reference to the siege of Jerusalem it follows—we get back to this again and again—that it is a national crisis, not a personal affliction, which is described in the psalm. This follows also from the assurance the psalmist expresses (vs. 9) that God will not surrender him into the hands of the enemy but will make his feet to stand on free soil, which is the meaning of *he'amadta bamerhab raglai*. *Merhab*, the primary meaning of which is "wide, spacious ground" or "the wide land," is a case of ellipsis, the appositional genitive *'areš* being omitted, as may be seen from the full phrase *merḥābē 'areš* in Hab. 1:6, meaning either "wide lands" or "free countries,"¹⁸³ as the parallel clause "to conquer places that are not their own" shows. Used with the meaning "free soil" or "free country," the phrase is found again in Pss. 18:20 and 118:5. An exactly analogous case in Greek is the name of the city Plataea, so called because of the independence that was won there, also a case of ellipsis, with *χώρα* omitted, and meaning primarily "the wide land" or "spacious ground."¹⁸⁴

In the light of these data the interpretation of the lines which follow the line, "Thou wilt make my feet to stand on free soil," is plain:

I am sore distressed:
 Mine eyes are grown dim with grief,
 My life is spent with sorrow, my years with sighing.
 My strength is wasted with suffering;
 I am worn, body and soul, because of all mine enemies.
 I am the scorn of my neighbors, a terror to mine acquaintances:
 Whoso sees me in the street flees startled from me.
 I have passed from their minds like one that is dead,
 I am become like a worthless vessel that is cast away.

¹⁸³ Cf. the similar formation *merḥāqē 'areš*, "distant lands," Isa. 8:9.

¹⁸⁴ See Brugmann, *Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1904), p. 691.

These lines are, like the similar ones of Psalm 6, figures of speech which describe very aptly the despair of those in Jerusalem when Orophernes appeared at their gates and when, as Psalm 38 puts it, ruin stared them in the face. And, like Psalm 6, they portray also what their condition had been in the two centuries that went before. To realize the fitness of the description note that there is a striking parallel to "I am the scorn of my neighbors, a terror to mine acquaintances" in Ps. 79:4, which reads:

We have become an abhorrence to our neighbors,
The scorn and derision of the people round about us.

This parallel carries especial weight, since Psalm 79, as verses 1 and 7 make plain, was written after the armies of Orophernes

Had made Jerusalem a heap of ruins,
. . . . Had devoured Jacob, and laid waste the country.

Equally true to fact is the complaint with which the writer of Psalm 31 continues his description of the desperate situation:

Yea, I hear the whisperings of many,
Hostility circles me about:
They scheme against me, every one,
They plot to take my life.

The significance of this complaint and the still more passionate one in Psalm 38 that his neighbors and familiar friends "plot the deepest evil and treachery" is made clear by the repeated mention which the Book of Judith makes of Orophernes' being urged and aided in the attack on Jerusalem by the chieftains of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, the neighbors of Judaea.¹⁸⁵ As a matter of fact, the two psalms and the Book of Judith supplement one another on this essential point.

These facts, taken together with the fact referred to before that in language also Psalm 31 bears marked resemblance to Psalms 6, 71, 30, 38, 88, and 22,¹⁸⁶ show that it must be another

¹⁸⁵ See 5:2, 22 ff.; 7:8 ff., 17-18.

¹⁸⁶ See below, "Similarity in Style and Language."

product of the author of these, written when, after Sidon's resistance to Persia had been crushed, Oropernes descended upon Judaea.

THE "I" AS A PERSONIFICATION OF THE NATION

In addition to many figures and phrases, these psalms have a distinct feature in common. They are all seven perfect types of the peculiar use of "I" as a personification of the nation. This use is in every one of them carried through with a consistency not met with in any other psalm of such length. As an illustration, note that in Psalm 31 "Though the city is besieged" is introduced with the words,

Praised be the Lord,
Who will manifest his wondrous love to me,

and followed by the lines,

Though in my alarm I thought,
I am cast out of thy sight,
Still thou wilt hear my prayer
As I cry unto thee.

This peculiarity seems very strange to us today but did not seem so to the psalmists: to them it was a natural mode of speech, or rather mode of thought. For we must remember that they loved their native country with a fervor and devotion of which the cosmopolitan man of the twentieth century can scarcely have any notion. For them, as indeed for the men of antiquity in general, personal existence was unthinkable apart from the life of their country—even under normal conditions. How much the more so under such alarming circumstances as those described in these psalms! This explains why the psalmist is so wrapped up in his people, why he identifies himself with them so absolutely, that he feels and thinks of the common misery as his own personal misfortune and despair. As examples of this mode of thought in prophetic literature Jer. 10:19-20 and Mic. 7:7-10 may be compared, likewise Lam. 1:12-22, which is the most elaborate example outside of the Psalms. The first of these examples I shall quote:

Woe is me for the fell stroke I have suffered,
 Fatal is my blow.
 I say, Truly, it is my affliction,¹⁸⁷ I must bear it.
 My tent is destroyed, all my tent ropes are broken.
 Gone are my children, they are no more.
 None is left to set up my tent again,
 To hoist my curtains.

KEYNOTE

The keynote of Psalm 31 is the psalmist's staunch faith in God under most harrowing circumstances. He is not blind to the gravity of the situation: every line of the psalm attests to the anguish and alarm of his soul, to the strength of faith it requires not to succumb to despair. Naturally so, for had not Artaxerxes Ochus just dealt death and destruction to Sidon? How should helpless, prostrate Judaea be able to escape from his wrath? Yet, in spite of all this, the psalmist casts himself upon God as his hope and his strength:

In thy hand is my destiny,

he declares, trustful that somehow God will not let it come to the worst but will deliver the country "from the hands of the treacherous despot." Yea, his hope soars still higher. He trusts that God will make his "feet to stand on free soil"—a realization so ardently craved through all those dark years that had gone before. Accordingly, he urges his people to "be brave of heart" and "rest their hope in the Lord," assuring them that abundant is the good that God has in store for them that fear him. We could have no more convincing evidence than this that the writer was the true heir of the great prophets, that their transcendent faith was the spiritual force at work in down-trodden Israel even as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C., sustaining it in what to onlookers must have seemed a hopeless struggle—a point especially emphasized in Psalm 71. Though in a way this sublime faith is most conspicuous in Psalm 22, yet in Psalm 31 it is expressed with a vigor and warmth that cannot be excelled. It is the dominant note of the psalm, lending color and tone to every line. Because of this out-

¹⁸⁷ Read, with the Versions, *ḥolyī*.

standing feature it seems to me clear that the psalm must have been written shortly, if not immediately, after Psalm 6. It is a grand exposition of the serene faith to which we saw the psalmist rising in Psalm 6 as reaction from the despair which filled his heart at first when Jerusalem was attacked by the armies of Orophernes. When in the present psalm he says,

In my alarm I thought, I am cast out of thy sight,

he is evidently thinking of the erstwhile paralyzing effect which the attack produced on him.

PSALM 71

- 1 In thee, O Lord, I put my trust,
 Let me never be ashamed:
- 2a, 31:3aβ Save me in thy righteousness,
 Deliver me speedily,
- 71:2ba Incline thine ear unto me.
- 3a-b Be thou to me as a towering rock unto which I may
 repair;
 Order my deliverance.
- 4 Rescue me, O God, from the clutches of the wicked,
 From the hands of the treacherous despot;
- 7b = 3cG For thou, O Lord, art my refuge and my strength.*
- 5 Thou† hast imbued me with hope from my youth,
- 6 From the time of my birth I have leaned on thee,
 From the moment I left my mother's womb thou
 hast been my prop:
 My trust is ever in thee.
- 7a Though to many I am but an example of thy wrath,
- 8 My mouth is full of thy praise
 And loud with thy glory all day long.
- 9 Cast me not off in mine old age,
 Forsake me not now that my strength is failing,
- 10 Though mine enemies say of me,

* Variant: 3cH *For thou art my rock and my stronghold.*

† *my hope*

- 11 Though they that lie in wait for my life all reason:
God has forsaken him,
Persecute him and get hold of him,
For there is none to save him.
- 12 O God, be not far from me,
Hasten, my God, to my help.
- 13 Let them that make war upon me be abashed and
 confounded,
Let them that seek my ruin be covered with shame
 and despair;
- 14 But I will always cherish hope
And praise thee ever more and more.
- 15 My mouth shall tell of thy righteousness,†
Tell all day long of thy salvation.
Though I know that they baffle description,
- 16a I will reveal the mighty deeds of the Lord.
- 17 God, thou hast made me acquainted with them
From my youth until now:
I will proclaim thy wondrous deeds.
- 18a And now that I am old and gray
Forsake me not, O God.
- 18ba I shall yet tell of thy mighty arm to all future gen-
 erations.
- 18bβ, 19 Thy might and thy righteousness, O God, tower
 aloft;
Thou doest great things:
Who is like unto thee, O God?
- 20 Thou who hast made us live through great trials and
 adversities,
Recall us to life and bring us back from the infernal
 regions.
- 21 Make great my salvation and comfort me again.
- 22 Then shall I praise thee indeed to the strains of the
 lyre,
Praise thee for thy faithfulness, O my God:

† 16b *I will speak of thy righteousness, thine only.*

To the strains of the harp I shall sing unto thee,
Thou Holy One of Israel.

23 My lips will burst into song§ and my soul,
Which I know thou wilt redeem.

24 All day long my tongue will tell of thy righteousness,
That they that sought my ruin have been abashed
and confounded.

The opening of Psalm 71, comprising verses 1-4, is identically the same as that of Psalm 31. The psalm has also other striking points of contact with Psalm 31 as well as with Psalms 6, 30, 38, 88, and 22. Some of these—specifically, “Now that my strength is failing,” “Revive us and bring us back from the infernal regions,” “Cast me not off in my old age,” “And now that I am old and gray forsake me not,” and “They that lie in wait for my life”—are evidence that this psalm describes the nation as on the verge of ruin by much the same kind of figures as are used in the other six psalms. Note that the expression, “Now that I am old and gray,” occurs as a figure for the national decline as early as Hosea, who concludes his description of decadent Israel with the words, “Yea, it has become gray-headed, but heeds it not,”¹⁸⁸ and that also the phrase, “from the time of my birth,” or “from the moment I left my mother’s womb,” is found as a figure for the infancy and origin of the nation in prophetic literature.¹⁸⁹ And the sudden change in verse 20 from “I” to “we”—

Thou who hast made us live through great trials and adversities,
Recall us to life and bring us back from the infernal regions—

is indisputable proof that in the “I” throughout the rest of the psalm the nation is personified and that the psalmist describes by figures of speech the ruin that threatens her.

The historical background of the psalm is the same as in every one of the other six psalms, to which it is so closely related—the same hopeless situation, the same urgent plea for deliverance from death and destruction. Note how the descrip-

§ *Yea, I will sing unto thee.*

¹⁸⁸ Hos. 7:9.

¹⁸⁹ See below, Psalm 22.

tion, "the treacherous despot," fits the character of Artaxerxes Ochus, who by his treatment of Sidon had only shortly before given evidence of his treachery when he ordered five hundred of her citizens who had come out to implore his mercy for the city to be massacred.¹⁹⁰ As to the question at what particular moment of the fateful year 344 B.C. the psalm was written, it is difficult to arrive at a positive conclusion. It does not show the deep gloom that prevails in Psalms 30 and 38; it is, like Psalm 31, an exposition of the faith that sustains the psalmist that ultimately God will come to the rescue of the country. It lacks, however, the ardor of faith and the clarion ring of absolute assurance of God's help that are so conspicuous in that psalm. While it is thus certain that Psalm 71 antedates Psalms 30 and 38, it is doubtful whether it was written before or after Psalm 31. It may be the psalmist's first, imperfect attempt to give expression to the faith that animated him, or it may be another, renewed assertion of faith, showing what strength of soul it required not to yield to despair when the situation became ever darker, ever more hopeless. The tone of the following lines seems to speak in favor of the second probability:

Cast me not off in mine old age,
Forsake me not now that my strength is failing.
. . . O God, be not far from me,
Hasten, my God, to my help;

as do also the lines,

And now that I am old and gray,
Forsake me not, O God.
. . . Thou who has made us live through great trials and adversities,
Recall us to life and bring us back from the infernal regions—

from all of which it would seem that the situation was assuming a more alarming aspect. And indeed, the next stage of the attack is reflected in Psalm 30.

¹⁹⁰ W. Judeich (*Kleinasiatische Studien* [Marburg, 1892], p. 175) mentions this act of treachery.

PSALM 30

*

- 2 I will extol thee, O Lord,
For thou wilt surely deliver me,
And wilt not let mine enemies rejoice over me.
- 3 I cry unto thee, O Lord my God, to heal me.
4 O Lord, bring up my soul from the brink of She'ol;
Restore me to life among those doomed to the grave.
- 5 Sing praise unto the Lord, ye his faithful servants,
And profess his holy name;
6 For his anger is but for a moment,
His grace is for a lifetime.
Though one pass the night in weeping,
Yet joy will come in the morning.
- 8 In thy grace, O Lord, make my mountain to stand firm.
If thou hidest thy face, I shall be confounded,
7 Though in my prosperity I thought,
I should never be shaken.
- 9 To thee, O God, I call,
To the Lord I pray,
10 What would be the gain if my lifeblood were sacrificed,
If I were to go down to the engulfing pit?
Can he that sleeps in the dust profess thee?
Can he declare thy truth?
- 11 Hear me, O God, have mercy on me:
O Lord, be thou my helper.
12 Turn my mourning into dancing;
Loose my sackcloth and gird me with joy,
13 That the land of my glory may sing thy praise without
cease,
That I may give thanks unto thee, O Lord my God, for-
ever.

* 1. A Psalm. A Song for the Dedication of the Temple. Of David.

A CRY OUT OF THE DEPTHS

Misled doubtless by the heading, "A Song for the Dedication of the Temple," modern and ancient interpreters alike have always taken this psalm for a hymn of thanksgiving. Yet an unbiased analysis of the psalm shows that it is not an ode of thanksgiving but a cry for help. The clue to the function of the perfects of the opening verses 2-4, and again of verse 12 and to that of *he'ēmadta* of verse 8, is furnished by the imperatives of verse 11,

Hear me, O God, have mercy on me:
O Lord, be thou my helper.

Such a supplication would be a downright contradiction, which no art or finesse of interpretation could explain away, if verses 2-4, 8, and 12 spoke of deliverance that had been bestowed. Further, since *'egrā* and *'ethhannan* of verse 9 are not imperfects of reiterated action or of progressive duration, nor form a circumstantial or conditional sentence, they must describe present action on which the writer is resolved. The customary rendering of them with the past tense, "I cried," and "I made supplication," is contrary to all rule. It is noteworthy that neither Luther nor even the Alexandrian translators have been guilty of such an arbitrary translation, although the latter, because of the biased interpretation already established in their days, misread the imperatives of verse 11 as perfects of the third singular. If the psalmist had suddenly turned (as is argued) from the joy of the present to the gloom of the past, we may be sure that he would not have left it to the reader to divine his meaning but that he would have indicated the change of scene in much the same simple way as the writers of Pss. 107:6, 13 and 118:5 did, the one saying, "In their misery they cried unto the Lord," and the other, "In my distress I cried unto the Lord." As a matter of fact, in verse 7, where the psalmist dwells for a moment on the feelings of assurance he cherished in the past, in contrast to the despondency which gnaws his heart at present, he shows by the words, "In my prosperity I thought," that, knowing how to write, he was governed by the same rules of elementary logic and common sense that governed the writers of Psalms 107

and 118, or for that matter any sane writer. It is obvious, then, that the prayer of verse 10,

What would be the gain if my lifeblood were sacrificed,
If I were to go down into the engulfing pit?
Can he that sleeps in the dust profess thee?
Can he declare thy truth?"

speaks not of past but of present danger. From this it follows in turn that neither in verses 2-4 nor in verses 8a and 12 can the psalmist be speaking of deliverance that has been accomplished but only of deliverance for which he yearns and that hence the perfects of these verses are some prophetic and others precative.

NATIONAL CRISIS

The sufferer is not an individual afflicted with a fatal disease, but the lines,

O Lord, bring up my soul from the brink of She'ol,
Restore me to life among those doomed to the grave,

and

What would be the gain if my lifeblood were sacrificed,
If I were to go down into the engulfing pit?

are figures of speech, describing the country as being on the verge of ruin. This is clear from the lines,

Sing praise unto the Lord, ye his faithful servants,
And profess his holy name,

and still more so from

That the land of my glory may sing thy praise without cease,

showing as they do that the deliverance which the psalmist craves is of nationwide concern. Even more conclusive are the words,

In thy grace, O Lord, make my mountain to stand firm.

By "my mountain" Mount Zion is meant, with which meaning *har'ēri* is found again in Jer. 17:3, "I shall give up my wooded mountain (*hārari bassadē*) to pillage as well as thy wealth, yea, all thy treasures"—an utterance as genuine as anything in Jeremiah. "Make my mountain stand firm" can mean one thing only: Make the acropolis, Mount Zion, withstand the enemy's

attack. Here we have as definite a datum of supreme importance as is "Though the city is besieged" of Psalm 31. *Lēharēri* 'oz is perfect text: *harēri* is a direct object introduced with *lē*—a common Semitic construction, of which numerous examples occur throughout the Old Testament writings—and 'oz is an adverbial accusative. What has been remarked regarding the emendation of *be'ir maṣōr* of Psalm 31 applies also to the emendation of this half-verse by a number of interpreters: it is arbitrary in the extreme because it does away with a valuable clue to the interpretation and to the date of the psalm.

This datum makes it certain that it is a national crisis that is described in the psalm, and everything—specifically the marked resemblance the psalm bears to them in language and thought—goes to prove that it is the same national crisis of the year 344 B.C. that inspired the other psalms of the group. It was written shortly after Psalms 31 and 71. "Make my mountain stand firm" is positive proof of this, since it follows from this prayer that by that time the lower city had been conquered and the enemy's attack was directed against the acropolis, that is, Mount Zion. This situation is illuminated by Jer. 21:4 (as read by the Greek), which describes a similar case: "Verily, I will turn to the interior of the city the weapons with which ye are fighting the Chaldeans who are besieging you outside the wall": by which Jeremiah means to say that the outer fortifications will soon be taken, and the people will then have to concentrate their defense on the inner fortifications, that is, on the 'Ophel or acropolis. Note that later in verse 13 of this prophecy Jeremiah, apostrophizing Jerusalem, addresses her as "inhabitants of the valley," *yōshebeth ha'emeq*, and "of the rock that is rising above the plain," *ṣūr hammīshōr*, and that the verse is seen to be intact and perfectly clear (notwithstanding the view of present-day interpreters) as soon as one remembers that Jerusalem was made up of two distinct parts—the lower city and the acropolis, Mount Zion.

The tone of the psalm also shows that it must have been composed later than psalms 31 and 71. The singer is still hopeful, still confident, that God will not suffer the yawning grave to

close over his people. The precatave and prophetic perfects, which he uses so freely throughout the psalm, are especially illustrative of this, as is also the appeal to his people to sing God's praise and profess his holy name, coupled with the assurance that

His anger is but for a moment,
His grace is for a lifetime.
Though one pass the night in weeping,
Yet joy will come in the morning.

But it is not the exultant faith, not the absolute assurance of God's ready help which is so notably displayed in Psalms 31 and 71; it is hope overshadowed by grave fear. Naturally so, for the situation was growing ever more alarming.

PSALM 38

*

- 2 O Lord, judge me not in anger,
Chastise me not in wrath.
- 3 Thine arrows have sunk deep into me,
Thy hand lies heavy on me.
- 8a My loins are full of rottenness,
(8b) 4 There is no health in my body because of thine anger;
Nor is there any peace for my mind because of my sins.
- 5 Yea, mine iniquities overwhelm me;
Like a heavy load they weigh me down.
- 6-7 My wounds are putrid, they are running sores.
I am bowed down by my wicked folly,
I am weighed down exceedingly:
All the day I walk about in gloom.
- 9 My strength is gone, I am sore crushed;
I groan in the agony of my heart.
- 10 O Lord, to whom all my longing is known,
From whom my sighs are not hidden,
- 11 My heart throbs with anguish,
My strength has left me,

* 1. A Psalm of David. At the offering of the *Azkara* (?).

- Even the light of mine eyes has failed.
12 My friends and intimates hold aloof from my misery,
My neighbors remain afar.
13 They that are after my life lay snares for me,
They that seek my ruin plot the deepest evil,
They think of treachery all day long.
- 17 So I brood over the fear that they may triumph over me,
That they may kick me
When my foot slips:
18 For I am on the verge of ruin,
And ever conscious of my dismal plight.
20 Many are mine enemies without cause,
Many are they that hate me wrongfully:
21 They return evil for good,
They hate me for following the good.
- 14 Yet, I am like a deaf man who does not hear,
Like a dumb person who does not open his mouth:†
16 For my hope is in thee, O Lord.
Thou wilt surely hear me, O Lord my God,
19 Because I confess mine iniquity,
I repent my sins.
22 Forsake me not, O Lord,
O my God, be not far from me.
23 Make haste to help me, O Lord,
Who art my salvation.

When Psalm 38 is compared with Psalms 6, 31, 71, and 30, one cannot fail to notice strong evidence of its dependence on each of them. The obvious conclusion is that it must have been written later than any one of them. This conclusion is borne out also by the tone of the psalm. It lacks the buoyant faith that characterizes Psalms 31 and 71—the psalmist's stalwart assurance that God will surely "shelter those that trust" in him. Nor has it the subdued hope by which we have seen him still

† Variant: 15 *I am like a man who does not hear,
In whose mouth there is no reproof.*

upheld in Psalm 30, notwithstanding the grave fear besetting his heart. Rather the psalm is marked by deepest gloom. Every line shows that the situation has become destitute of hope:

I am on the verge of ruin,
And ever conscious of my dismal plight,

the psalmist calls out. In Psalm 30 he was still hopeful that God would not let the enemies triumph over him, but now he exclaims,

So I brood over the fear that they may triumph over me.

But this is only one side of the psalm. There is another, positive side bound up with his utter dejection—the psalmist's conviction that the ruin which stares his people in the face must be attributed to the nation's sinfulness. Accordingly he seeks to rouse his people to a consciousness of their guilt. This passionate endeavor of the psalmist is the center and essence of the psalm. It is noteworthy that the psalmist does not assume the role of the righteous admonisher but, on the contrary, identifies himself with the guilt-laden nation and confesses that he is overwhelmed by the consciousness of his iniquities, weighed down as by a heavy load. The confession illustrates the psalmist's spiritual growth amid trials. It shows how his sense of responsibility is quickened as he sees the political horizon grow ever darker and more threatening. And from this deepened spiritual insight he derives the strength to rally in the end and to affirm:

My hope, O Lord, is in thee,
Thou wilt surely hear me, O Lord my God.

As in Psalms 31 and 71 by his exultant trust and in Psalms 88 and 22 by his undying faith amid the crushing calamity, even so in the present psalm does the writer show himself the true disciple of the great prophets by the confession that it is its sinfulness that has brought the nation to the brink of ruin.

The psalm, it is obvious, has suffered text disorder in the course of transmission, for verses 14–21 in their present order show a lack of sequence. The psalmist's statement in verses 17–18 that the country's desperate condition fills him with grave

fear cannot originally have followed verse 16, in which he affirms his faith in God. Nor has the confession of sin which he makes in verse 19 any point or cogency between verses 18 and 20. By the rearrangement of verses 14-23 which I have suggested, the sequence, it seems to me, is restored. Verses 17, 18, 20, and 21 form a third strophe that is taken up with the description of the gravity of the situation. Besides, it elaborates the concluding lines of the preceding strophe inasmuch as, like these, it describes the alarming situation no longer by imagery but in plain language. Furthermore, the concluding strophe (vss. 14, 16, 19, 22-23) is, as rearranged, cogent throughout: the affirmation of his faith in God and the acknowledgment of the country's sinfulness the psalmist follows with a fervid prayer for help—a fitting ending, indeed, for the psalm.

EXAMPLES FROM PROPHETIC LITERATURE OF SIMILAR PERSONIFICATION OF THE NATION

There is another important point that calls for attention. For the metaphorical description which he gives in verses 8a, 4, and 6 of the ruin threatening the nation, the psalmist is dependent upon the figure which Isaiah (1:5-6) employs in describing the diseased body politic of his own days:

Every head is sick, every heart diseased:
From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no health,
But wounds, and bruises, and festering sores,
That have not been pressed out, nor bandaged,
Nor softened with ointment.

From these lines he has borrowed the expression *'ēn mēthōm*, "There is no health"; this cannot be doubted, since outside of these two passages the phrase does not occur in biblical literature.¹⁹¹ Further, he has modeled after these lines the words, "My wounds are putrid, they are running sores," which have *ḥabbūra* in common with Isaiah's figure and have the synonymous phrase *namaqqū* in place of *ṭērīya*. Though I am not resting the case on the fact that Isa. 1:5-6 stood as a model for verses 8a, 4, and 6 but rather on the cumulative evidence that

¹⁹¹ In Judg. 20:48 *mēthōm* of the editions is a mistake for *mēthim*, as many MSS, in fact, read.

these seven psalms are the work of one author and inspired by one and the same national calamity, yet this fact precludes by itself their individualistic interpretation, prevalent at present. The point made receives additional weight when one considers that similar figures are very common throughout prophetic literature. Thus in Deutero-Isaiah's fourth song of the servant the nation is depicted as an individual without beauty and figure, afflicted with a loathsome disease, and shunned and abhorred by all, yea, as cut off from the land of the living, stricken to death¹⁹²—all of which bears not only on Psalm 38 but also on the rest of the group, in particular on Psalms 88 and 22. It is also noteworthy that in this song the pagan nations speak of their own sinful life figuratively as of a disease and affliction:¹⁹³ the bearing of this on Psalm 38 is obvious.

Another such description in Deutero-Isaiah of the nation under the guise of an individual, outside of the songs of the servant, *nota bene*, is Isa. 51:14:

He that is bent crooked [that is, under the weight of his chains]
Will soon be freed of his fetters:
He shall not die, nor be consigned to the engulfing pit.

These lines have direct bearing not only on the psalms under discussion but also on many others of the type, of which I shall mention especially Psalm 118, the great national ode of thanksgiving, containing the exultant declaration:

I shall not die, but I shall live. . . .
The Lord has chastened me sore,
But he has not given me over to death.

Compare also the two following descriptions by Jeremiah of the nation's succumbing to the enemy:

Hark! I hear sounds as of a woman in travail,
Cries of anguish as of a woman giving birth to her firstborn:
It is the cry of the daughter of Zion
That gasps for breath, that throws up her hands, *crying*,
Woe unto me! My life is succumbing unto murderers.

She that has given birth to seven fades away,
She breathes out her life:
Her sun sets in broad daylight,
And she is thrown into dismay and confusion.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Isa. 52:14; 53:2-4, 8; see above, p. 264. ¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 53:4. ¹⁹⁴ Jer. 4:31; 15:9.

These parallels, to which several others might be added, show what a common and natural thing it was for biblical writers to deal with a national catastrophe under the guise of an individual stricken with and succumbing to a fatal disease or some other deadly blow.

As a final link in the chain of argument one other highly lyrical prophetic piece may be quoted, which in spirit and literary character closely resembles the seven psalms under consideration, and concerning which it is, besides, generally admitted that the voice of post-Exilic Israel is speaking through the "I" of the writer:

Yet I, I look to God with hope,
I shall await the Lord, my Savior.
My God will hearken unto me.
Rejoice thou not, O mine enemy!
Though I am fallen, I shall rise again,
Though I sit in darkness, the Lord is my light.
The grim anger of the Lord I must bear,
Because I have sinned against him.
But he will yet plead my cause,
And defend my right.
He will lead me out of *darkness* to light:
Then shall I behold the triumph of his righteousness.¹⁹⁵

In this connection I deem it in place to list once more the excellent example found in Psalm 129 of this common figure and personification—an example which even the opponents of the collectivistic interpretation of the psalms under discussion and the many others of the kind must willy-nilly admit is unassailable:

Relentlessly have they assailed me from my youth,
Israel may well say:
Relentlessly have they assailed me from my youth,
But they have not conquered me.
Like plowmen they plowed my back,
And long they drew their furrows.

And not only in poetry but also in prose is such personification of the nation very common. Thus note that the story of the patriarchs in Genesis describes the migrations and exploits of tribes and their gradual growth into one nation under the guise

¹⁹⁵ Mic. 7: 8-9.

of family history or the adventures of individuals. Compare also Deut. 7:17—8:18, noting especially such sentences as these:

Thy eye shall not pity them. . . . If thou sayest in thy heart, These nations are more than I; how can I dispossess them? . . . Thy clothes did not wear out, neither did thy feet get sore, these forty years. . . . Beware lest thou forget the Lord thy God . . . lest when thou hast eaten and art full . . . then thy heart become haughty and thou forget the Lord thy God who brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt . . . and thou say in thy heart, My own power and the might of my own hand has gotten me all this wealth.

PSALM 88

*

- 2 O Lord my God, I call for help in the daytime,
And at night I cry to thee.
- 3 Let my prayer reach thee,
Incline thine ear to mine appeal;
- 4 For my soul is sated with misery,
And my life has drawn nigh to She'ol.
- 5 I am counted among those who have sunk into the
grave,
I am like a man with no strength left.
- 7, 9c^aG, 6 Thou hast placed me in the nethermost pit,
Hast consigned me to infernal darkness,
Like the dead† that lie in their graves,†
That thou rememberest no more,
That are cut off from thy hand.
- 8 Thy wrath lies heavy upon me;
Thou sufferest all thy breakers to surge over me.
- 9a, 19 Lover and friend hast thou put far from me,
And mine acquaintances hast thou caused to stand
aloof from me:
- 9b Thou hast made me a horror to them.

* 1. A Song. A Psalm of the Korahites. For the Hymnal. To be sung to *maḥalath*. A *maskil* of Heman the Ezrahite.

† 9c^H I am shut in and cannot get out.

† 9bβH&G Like the slain that are thrown to the ground.

- 10 Mine eyes are grown dim with sorrow;
All day long I cry to thee, O Lord,
I stretch forth my hands unto thee.
- 11 Wilt thou do wonders for the dead?
Will the dead arise to praise thee?
- 12 Do they tell in the grave of thy goodness,
In the world below of thy faithfulness?
- 13 Is aught known of thy wonders in the regions of
darkness,
Or of thy righteousness in the land of oblivion?
- 14 But I, O Lord, I invoke thee,
Zealously do I offer prayer unto thee.
- 15 Why, O Lord, wilt thou cast off my soul?
Why dost thou hide thy face from me?
- 16 I am wretched and dying. . . .
I must bear thy fearfulness, I am crushed by it.
- 17 Thy fury overwhelms me, thy terrors are destroying
me;
- 18 They surround me like water all day long,
They close in on me from every side.

THE BLOW HAS FALLEN

Psalm 88 shows the same literary excellence that marks the six other psalms of this group. The points of contact it has with them are quite numerous. Yet it is by no means a cold, feelingless imitation but rather a masterly portrayal of genuine, overwhelming sorrow. An example or two may illustrate this. In the lines,

Lover and friend hast thou put far from me,
And mine acquaintances hast thou caused to stand aloof from me:
Thou hast made me a horror to them,

the psalmist blames it on God that no help or sympathy is forthcoming for his forlorn people. The charge exceeds in passion and bitterness the parallel complaint of Psalm 38:

My friends and intimates hold aloof from my misery,
My neighbors remain afar.

But there is nothing discordant about his vehement reproach; on the contrary it harmonizes with the despondent tone of the psalm. Similarly, the lines,

Wilt thou do wonders for the dead?
Will the dead arise to praise thee?
Do they tell in the grave of thy goodness,
In the world below of thy faithfulness?
Is aught known of thy wonders in the regions of darkness,
Or of thy righteousness in the land of oblivion?—

are more than a masterly elaboration of the corresponding queries in Psalms 6 and 30, one of which reads,

For in the realm of death thou art no longer remembered:
Who should praise thee in She'ol?

and the other,

Can he that sleeps in the dust profess thee?
Can he declare thy truth?

The despairing questions of Psalm 88 interest us primarily not because they bear evidence to the psalmist's perfected poetic skill but because they are directly inspired by the deathblow the nation has suffered. The essential difference between them and the similar queries in Psalms 6 and 30 is that the psalmist no longer urges that, if Israel should cease to exist, the worship of the true God would die out on earth but that with infinite pathos he asks, in effect, how the goodness of God and his faithfulness is to be told, how his righteousness is to be declared among men now that the nation has sunk into oblivion?

The psalm was written when the psalmist saw all his hopes blasted, saw Jerusalem, as Psalm 79 puts it, "made a heap of ruins" by the armies of Orophernes.

The lines,

Thou hast placed me in the nethermost pit,
Hast consigned me to infernal darkness,
Like the dead that lie in their graves,
That thou rememberest no more,
That are cut off from thy hand,

are another figurative description of the tragic fate the country has suffered—enough, even without any other facts to go by,

to show that the psalm does not admit of individualistic interpretation. An individual, threatened with death, might say that he was at death's gate or on the brink of the grave, but he would not say that he has been "placed in the nethermost pit, . . . consigned to infernal darkness, like the dead that lie in their graves." Language such as this can only be figurative description of the nation that has suffered destruction, even as is "Thou hast all but laid me in the dust of the grave" of the companion Psalm 22. Note that likewise Psalm 79, which refers to the same catastrophe, though not one of our group, describes the nation as "in the throes of death," and that in Psalm 118, the ode of thanksgiving written some twelve years later, when during the world-rule of Alexander the Great the Jews had reason to hope that a new era of freedom had at last dawned for them, the psalmist, voicing the joy that filled the hearts of his people, declares,

I shall not die, but I shall live . . .
The Lord has chastened me sore,
But he has not given me over to death.

But Psalm 88 is more than a frenzied expression of agony and woe. Though the psalmist can see nothing but grim despair ahead, though he must admit that Israel has been cast off even by God, yet he clings to God as the only hope that is left him. Never in history have the words of the poet, *Und am Grabe noch pflanzt er die Hoffnung auf*, been more gloriously demonstrated—"Even at the grave he unfurls the banner of hope." Were not the circumstances such as to blight all hope rather than to inspire it? For since the Restoration of the year 538 B.C. the life of the nation had been but a protracted struggle for existence, and now had not the tragedy of the country's overthrow by Babylonia in 586 B.C. been re-enacted to the bitter end? For the time being the psalmist was unable to articulate the hope in God which was sustaining him; he was still under the immediate paralyzing effect of the crushing calamity. He closes:

I am wretched and dying. . . .
I must bear thy fearfulness, I am crushed by it.

Thy fury overwhelms me, thy terrors are destroying me;
 They encircle me like water all day long,
 They close in on me from every side.

The reaction from this state is pictured in Psalm 22.

PSALM 22

*

- 2 My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?
 Why art thou so far from my cry for help, from my
 wails and sobs?
- 3 O my God, I call in the daytime, but thou hearest
 not,
 And in the night, but I find no rest.
- 4 Yet thou art enthroned as the Holy One,
 Art the glory of Israel.
- 5 In thee our fathers trusted,
 They trusted, and thou didst deliver them;
- 6 They cried unto thee and were saved,
 They trusted in thee and were not put to shame.
- 7 But I am a worm, and not a human being,
 The scorn of men, despised by all.
- 8 All that see me jeer at me,
 They gape at me and wag their heads, saying,
- 9 He trusted in the Lord to deliver him, to save him,
 Confident that the Lord delighted in him!
- 10 Yet thou hast been my prop from my birth,
 Thou hast imbued me with hope from the days
 When I lay *an infant* at my mother's breast:
- 11 From the time of my birth I have leaned on thee,
 Ever since I came from my mother's womb
 Thou hast been my God.
- 12 Be not far from me, for disaster is nigh,
 And no helper is at hand.
- 13 Many bullocks beset me,
 Fierce bulls of Bashan hem me in.

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the tune of "The Hind of the Dawn." A Psalm of David.

- 17*a-b* A pack of dogs surround me,
An evil mob is closing in upon me.
14 They open wide their jaws for me,
Like a ravenous, roaring lion;
17*c* They mangle my hands and feet.
16*aβ*, 15 My strength flows from me like water,
My body is sapped to the marrow;
My heart is like wax, melting in my bosom.
16*a*, *b* My throat is dry as a potsherd,
And my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth.
18*a* I can count my every bone—
16*c* Thou hast all but laid me in the dust of the grave.
- 18*b* Still they gloat over me, feasting on my misery.
19 Already they divide my clothes amongst them,
For my garments they cast lots.
20 But thou, O Lord, who art my strength,
Be thou not far from me;
Hasten to my help.
21 Save me from the sword,
Rescue this lone soul from the dogs;
22 Pluck me from the lion's jaws,
From the wild oxen's horns.
Hear my prayer
23 That I may proclaim thy name to my brethren,
That I may praise thee amidst the congregation.
24 Praise him, ye that fear the Lord;
Glorify him, all ye of the stock of Jacob.
Stand in awe of him, all ye of the race of Israel;
25 For surely he will not turn in scorn,
In loathing from the misery of the afflicted,
Neither will he veil his face from them.
When they cry to him, he will hearken.
- 26 Of thee will I sing a paean of praise,
Will chant it amidst a large congregation.
It will be granted that I may pay my vows

- In the presence of them that revere him.
 27 The lowly will eat to contentment,
 The followers of the Lord will praise him,
 Their hearts will be quickened forever.
 28 Men the earth over will think of God and turn unto
 him,
 All families of men will bow before him.
 29 God's will be the kingdom;
 He will rule over the nations.
 30 All the mighty of the earth will worship him alone,
 All who are mortal will kneel before him;
 And my soul will live in him.
 31-32 My race will serve him,
 Will tell of God to future generations;
 They will make known his righteous ways to a people
 yet unborn,
 Will declare that he has done it.

COMPLEMENTS PSALM 88

Like Psalm 88, Psalm 22 has many examples—many more, in fact, than Psalm 88—which show that the points of contact which the psalm has with the six others of the group are not repetitions but always variations—variations fitted to the change which the situation has in the meantime undergone. To give just one example—the cry of despair with which the psalm opens is a variation of the passionate appeal, “O Lord, forsake me not,” of both Psalm 71 and Psalm 38.

Enough of language. As to the content of the psalm, it is important to emphasize, in view of the interpretation which at present prevails, that, even if we had not the other psalms to go by, it would be plain from this one that the psalmist does not speak of personal suffering but of the common misery. The words,

Yet . . . thou art the glory of Israel.
 In thee our fathers trusted,
 They trusted, and thou didst deliver them;
 They cried unto thee and were saved,
 They trusted in thee and were not put to shame,

have point only when they are taken for what they are meant to be—another attempt to contrast Israel's hopeless present with the nation's happier experiences in the past. This interpretation is further confirmed by the fact that the lines with which the poet continues,

But I am a worm, and not a human being,
The scorn of men, despised by all,

he has evidently modeled after the analogous expressions in terms of which Deutero-Isaiah describes Israel of the Exile:

Thou worm Jacob

and

Thus says the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel,
To him that is utterly despised, abhorred by all.¹⁹⁶

He doubtless found these epithets once again applicable to Israel, the psalm being written after the country had been laid prostrate by the armies of Orophernes. Further, the lines,

Yet thou hast been my prop from my birth,
Thou hast imbued me with hope from the days
When I lay *an infant* at my mother's breast:
From the time of my birth I have leaned on thee,
Ever since I came from my mother's womb,
Thou hast been my God,

are effective only when the expressions "from my birth," "ever since I came from my mother's womb," and "from the days when I lay *an infant* at my mother's breast" are understood as the author meant them to be—as figures referring to the infancy of the nation; taken literally, they would be an insipid exaggeration. It is significant to note that he borrowed the two first figures, *mibbeṭen* or *mibbeṭen 'immī* and *merehem*, as also the similar *mimmē'ē 'immī* of the parallel lines in Ps. 71:5,

¹⁹⁶ Isa. 41:14; 49:7, which requires no emendation: *bēzōh* is an emphatic infinitive used in the passive sense; and *mēṭha'eb* is a case of the use of the active participle in the sense of the passive, as are *'ōbed* of Ps. 31:13, and *hakkeseṣeph hashshāb*, "the money that was returned" of Gen. 43:18—an example which admits of no possible doubt, since in *hakkeseṣeph hammūshab* of vs. 12 we have the Hoph'al participle instead of it. Vice versa *mēḥōlal* Ps. 102:9 and *'dhūbath rē'a*, "enamoured with a paramour," Hos. 3:1, are examples of the use of the passive participle in the sense of the active. Well-known Arabic examples of the kind are *ḥābis*, "bound," and *tāḡir*, "a salable" or "marketable camel."

from Deutero-Isaiah, who is not merely the only other writer to use them but who uses them also with great frequency—eight times in all.¹⁹⁷ The last of these figures, *'al shēdē 'immī*, was in all probability suggested to him by Hos. 2:4, where the prophet, personifying the nation, not only calls her mother of the country but, carrying the figure still farther, also speaks of her breasts. Finally, the hope with which he concludes, that through the deliverance which he so ardently craves, men the world over may turn to God and worship him alone, leaves room for but one conclusion—that the psalmist is the spokesman of his people, praying for their preservation. By no finesse of interpretation can this obvious conclusion be argued away. The picture presented of the situation is so lucid that it may be seen almost at a glance at what juncture of the crisis of the year 344 B.C. the psalm was written. Thus the agonized cry with which it begins,

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

shows that the poet's hopes have been shattered, that in vain had he prayed that God forsake him not. The derisive taunt which he hears on all sides,

He trusted in the Lord to deliver him, to save him,

depicts the same hopeless situation. Most conclusive is the description of the enemy's murderous assault on the country¹⁹⁸ with its conclusion,

Thou hast all but laid me in the dust of the grave.

THE FAITH THAT UPHOLDS HIM

All this shows that Psalm 22, like Psalm 88, was written after the crushing blow which the armies of Orophernes dealt the country. It complements Psalm 88 in a very essential respect. In Psalm 88 the psalmist is under the immediate effect of the calamity the nation has suffered, and, though he still clings to God as his only hope, he is so crushed by the disastrous blow that he is unable to give utterance to his faith, whereas in

¹⁹⁷ See Isa. 44:2, 24; 46:3; 48:8; 49:1, 5.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. the note on vs. 13.

Psalm 22 his faith in God is the keynote. He follows the despondent cry with which he begins the psalm with the declaration,

Yet thou art the glory of Israel:

In thee our fathers trusted, they trusted . . . and were saved.

Then he reiterates, with more passion and eloquence than in Psalm 71, that ever since the nation's birth Israel has leaned upon God as its prop and hope, and he draws strength from the past experience of the nation. When this is borne in mind, it will be seen that the concluding strophes, far from being a later adjunct (as some interpreters think), are in reality an integral and harmonious part, the very climax of the psalm. They show that it was by the glorious faith of the prophets and their undying hope that their illustrious author was upheld in this darkest hour of post-Exilic history. Even as at the time of the destruction of the nation by Babylonia Deutero-Isaiah was inspired by the faith of his great predecessors to his lofty vision of Israel's rebirth and the universal blessings to follow, so now, when the country has suffered another such blow, his disciple draws strength and inspiration from the religious idealism of the prophet of the Exile. He shows the same broad universalism that distinguishes Deutero-Isaiah. Unlike the writers of Psalms 2, 18, 80, 89B, and 110, he does not dream of Jewish world-power, or wish that the downtrodden Jews may become the absolute masters of their tyrants, but, like Deutero-Isaiah and his pre-Exilic predecessors, he hopes that Israel's deliverance may bring men the world over to think of God and turn unto him, may lead all families of men to bow before him.

SIMILARITY IN STYLE AND LANGUAGE

As to the resemblance between Psalm 6 and the other psalms of the group, it should be noted that the points of similarity between Psalm 6 and Psalms 31 and 30 are more numerous than has generally been observed. Besides the two already indicated, the following points are to be mentioned: (1) "Have mercy on me, O Lord" (vs. 4) recurs verbatim in Ps. 31:10, followed, however, by "For I am sore distressed," instead of "For I wither away"; it recurs also in Ps. 30:11. (2) "May God hear [precativ perfect] my supplication" (vs. 10a), preceded by "The Lord will surely hear [prophetic perfect] my weeping" (vs. 9b), is modified in Ps. 31:23b to "Still thou wilt hear [prophetic per-

fect] my supplication." (3) "O Lord, heal me" (vs. 3*b*) is modified to a final clause, "[I cry unto thee . . .] to heal me," in Ps. 30:3*b*, and *hōshi'enī* of verse 5*b* to *šiwwithī lēhōshi'enī* in Ps. 31:3*b* (=71:3*b*). (4) The thought of verse 6 is voiced in Ps. 30:10 in different language, except for the phrase *yōdē*, which occurs in both. To the elaboration of this thought in Ps. 88:11-13, reference has already been made.

Psalm 71.—As to Psalm 71, note, first, that, reiterating in verse 13 the prayer with which he concluded Psalm 6, the writer repeats its opening phrase *yebōshū* but employs otherwise altogether different and more eloquent language. Illustrative of his skill is also the concluding line of the psalm, where, expressing his faith that God will answer his prayer, he uses again the verb *būsh*, changed, however, as the case demands, to the perfect and amplified for emphasis by the synonym *haphērū*. Second, to find that the opening lines of Psalm 71 are identically the same as those of Psalm 31 ceases to surprise when it is remembered that similarly Psalm 38 has practically the same beginning as Psalm 6. In addition to this, the two psalms have the verb *patītha* in common, used as prophetic perfect in the one (71:23) and as precativ perfect in the other (31:6). Further, the related lines, "Now that my strength is failing" (71:9*b*) and "My strength is wasted with suffering" (31:11), have both *kōhī* for their subject. There is also a marked similarity in language between '*dsher hir'ithanū šarōth rabbōth wēra'ōth* (Ps. 71:20) and '*dsher ra'ītha 'eth 'onyī yada'ta bēšarōth naphshī* (Ps. 31:8).

Psalms 30 and 31.—Psalm 30 has in common with Psalm 31 the perfect *he'ēmadta*, using it however (vs. 8*a*) with the force of a precativ perfect instead of that of a prophetic perfect as in 31:9*b*. It is noteworthy for our purpose that the language of the rest of the two lines is entirely different, though the wish which they express is virtually the same. Equally illustrative of the poet's skill and resourcefulness is the similarity between verse 20*b* of Psalm 71,

Recall us to life and bring us back from the infernal regions,

and verse 4 of Psalm 30,

O Lord, bring up my soul from the brink of She'ol,
Restore me to life among those doomed to the grave.

Note that, repeating the prayer he uttered in Psalm 71, he uses in place of "infernal regions" two new figures, "brink of She'ol" and "doomed to the grave," as designations for peril of death and that in place of (*tashūb*) *tēhay-yenū* and (*tashūb*) *ta'ālenū* he employs the precativ perfect of the same verbs and so lends more ardor to his wish.

As a last point of similarity between Psalms 30 and 31, note "Thou wilt shelter them under thy protecting wing" (31:21) and "If thou hidest thy face" (followed by "I shall be confounded"). The difference between these lines demonstrates again the originality of style that marks both psalms, for note, first, that the two lines express contrary feeling—the one trust and assurance, the other fear and alarm; second, that they accordingly use *histīr* with *panēka*, which they have in common, with opposite meanings; note, finally, that in 31:21 emphasis is added to *tastīrēm* by *bēsether panēka*. All this shows how far afield the interpreters are who generally have mistaken

Psalm 31 as well as others of the group for an artificial mosaic work. I deem it in place to point out in this connection that another good illustration of the literary method of the writer of the seven psalms is *kikēli 'ōbed* of Ps. 31:13. These words are usually referred to as dependent upon Jer. 22:28, though they cannot possibly be considered as a case of dependence. The words *kikēli 'ēn ḥepheš bō* of the passage in Jeremiah are evidently a proverbial phrase, occurring already in Hos. 8:8 and also in verse 38 of Jeremiah, chapter 48, another prophecy much older than Jeremiah. But the really important point is that the writer of Psalm 31, in using the expression, recast it to make it fit his own altered purpose.

Psalm 38.—Attention has already been drawn to verse 11c, as a nice variation of Ps. 6:8a, and also to the identical beginning of the two psalms. The points of contact between Psalm 38 and Psalms 71, 31, and 30 are as follows. First, the figure *'āzabani kōhī*, "My strength has left me" (38:11b), bears close resemblance to that of *kikēlōth kōhī*, "now that my strength is failing," of Ps. 71:9; it also reminds one of *kashal bē'onī kōhī*, "My strength is wasted with suffering" of Ps. 31:11. Further, of the prayer with which Psalm 38 ends,

Forsake me not, O Lord,
O my God, be not far from me,
Make haste to help me, O Lord,

the first line occurs twice in Psalm 71—in verse 9 and again in verse 18—and the second and third occur in verse 12, and there is an element of freshness about them in both psalms. The line, *ki lēka 'ādōnai hōhālī*, "For I rest my hope in thee, O Lord" (vs. 16), is a variation of *bēka tōhālī thamīd*, "My hope is ever in thee," of Ps. 71:6c, and the expressions *mēbaqēshē naphshī*, "they that are after my life," and *dōrēshē ra'athī*, "they that seek my ruin," of verse 13 are variations of *sōlēnē naphshī*, "them that are at war with me," and *mēbaqēshē ra'athī* of Ps. 71:13 and 24. Finally, there is by way of contrast quite a marked similarity between *wēlō' simmahta 'ōyēbai lī*, "And thou wilt not let mine enemies triumph over me," of Ps. 30:2 and *ki amartī pen yismēhū lī*, "So I brood over the fear that they may triumph over me," of Ps. 38:17, to the significance of which attention has already been drawn.

Psalm 88.—(1) Verse 14a, *wa'ānī 'elēka 'ādōnai shiwwa'tī*, "But I, O Lord, I invoke thee," seemingly a repetition of *'ādōnai 'ēlōhai shiwwa'tī 'elēka*, "I cry unto Thee, O Lord my God," of Ps. 30:3, varies from it, first, by the repetition of the subject *'ānī* at the head of the sentence for emphasis, second, by the prominent position *'elēka* occupies, and, third, by the use of *shiwwa'tī* with a different connotation, as the parallel clause shows. Similarly does *'ādōnai 'ēlōhai shiwwa'tī*, "O Lord my God, I call for help," with which Psalm 88 begins, differ in tone (which is determined by what follows) from the identical clause in Ps. 30:3. (2) With Psalm 30 the psalm has in common the expression *yōrēdē bōr*; but while there it denotes "those doomed to the grave," here it means "those who have sunk into the grave." (3) *'Ēnī da'ābā minnī 'onī* (vs. 10a) is a nice variation of *'ashēsha mikka'as 'ēnī* of Ps. 6:8 and Ps. 31:10 (note the use of *'ēnī* in the singular in all three), while "Incline thine ear to mine appeal" (Ps. 88:3b) is a minor variation of "Incline thine ear to me" of the opening lines of Psalms 31 and 71. (4) The line, "That are cut off

from thy hand" (vs. 6), has the verb *nigzar* in common with "And I am cast out of (*nigzartī*) thy sight" of Ps. 31:23. (5) The contrast presented by the passionate question, "Why dost thou hide thy face" (*tastir panēka*) from me?" (vs. 15b) to "Thou wilt shelter them (*tastirēm bēsether panēka*) under thy protecting wing" of Ps. 31:21, is far more pronounced than that presented by "If thou hidest thy face" of Ps. 30:8 referred to above. (6) Reference has already been made to the similarity which verses 9a, 19, and 9b bear to Ps. 38:12, as also to the parallel we have in verses 11-13 to both Ps. 6:6 and Ps. 30:10b. There remains to be pointed out that verse 9b resembles in thought also Ps. 31:12.

Psalm 22.—Attention has already been drawn to the opening line, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"—what a dramatic contrast it presents to the appeal "Forsake me not, O God," of Ps. 71:9, 18, and 38:22. Verses 10-11 are a variation of superior beauty of verses 5b-6 of Psalm 71. Other points of contact between Psalm 22 and the other psalms of the group are as follows:

1. The lines,

O my God, I call in the daytime, but thou hearest not,
And in the night, but I find no rest [vs. 3],

are a nice variation of the opening lines of Psalm 88,

O Lord my God, I call for help in the daytime,
And at night I cry to thee.

2. The appeal,

But thou, O Lord, who art my strength,
Be thou not far from me; hasten to my help [vs. 20],

differs from the practically identical appeals in Pss. 38:22-23 and 71:12 only by the repetition of the subject *'atta* for emphasis and the substitution and different position of "Who art my strength" for "Who art my salvation" of Ps. 38:23—a substitution very much in place indeed, for was it not his faith in God that sustained the psalmist when he saw all his hopes shattered?

3. *Wēlō' histir panāw mimmennū*, "Neither will he veil his face from them," of verse 25 forms an effective contrast to the despairing cry *lamā tastir panēka mimmēnī*, "Why dost thou hide thy face from me?" of Ps. 88:15.

4. Very marked is also the similarity between "When they cry to him, he will hearken," *bēshawwē'ō 'elāw shame'a*, of the same verse 25 and "Still thou wilt hear my prayer when I cry unto thee," *'aken shama'ta qōl taḥānūnai bēshawwē'i 'elēka*, of Ps. 31:23, especially since *shama'* as well as *shama'ta* is a prophetic perfect. Note that the verb *shiwwa'*, as we have seen above, occurs also in Psalms 30 and 88.

5. Verses 7-8 have the phrases *herpath* and *rō'ai* in common with verses 12-13 of Psalm 31, to which they show a certain resemblance also in thought.

6. The description in verse 17 has the phrases *sēbabūnī* and *hiqqīphūnī* in common with verse 18 of Psalm 88 but differs from it in subject matter.

7. Note, finally, the similarity between "In thee (*bēka*) our fathers trusted, They trusted . . . they trusted in thee" of verses 5-6 and "But I trust in

('el) the Lord" and "Still, O Lord, I trust in thee ('alēka)" of verses 7 and 15 of Psalm 31; note also the poetic effect which the poet achieves in Psalm 22 by the repetition, first, of *baṭṭhū* and, then, of *baṭṭhū bēka*—a repetition which lends the line freshness and spontaneity.

6:4. *O Lord, how long?*] 'Atta is an example of the attributive use of the personal pronoun with a vocative—a peculiarity of Hebrew which does not admit of translation. Other such examples are Job 19:21, 'attēm rē'ai, "O my friends"; Jer. 2:31, hāddōr 'attēm, which may be rendered "O present generation."

5. *Cease from thine anger*] Shūb is a case of ellipsis; the complete expression is *shūb mēharōn 'appēka*: cf. Exod. 32:12, also Ps. 85:4. The ellipsis recurs in Ps. 90:13.

6. *in the realm of death*] There are a number of examples of the use of *maweth* as a synonym of *shē'ol* (see Gesenius-Buhl, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.).

thou art no longer remembered] Zeker has here retained its primary function as a verbal noun, as has *šedek* in Pss. 4:2 and 35:27; like *šidki* in the second of these examples, it functions as a passive infinitive.

7. *with weeping . . . with tears*] Bēdim'athi is to be construed with both verbs of the verse, being a case of brachylogy.

8. *sorrow*] Ka'as denoting "grief" or "sorrow" occurs again in Ps. 10:14, I Sam. 1:16, et al.

31:3a. *Deliver me speedily*] External evidence that the verse originally began with *mēhēra haṣṣileni* we have in ἐξελού με which Gr. reads in vs. 2 after *pallēleni* here as well as in Ps. 71 (cf. also the Heb. of 71:2). From this reading of Gr. it may be inferred that originally *mēhēra* alone was omitted from vs. 2 and that, with *haṣṣileni* added to it as a cue, it was put in the margin, whence in the next copy it was as usually inserted into the text at random.

3b, 71:3a-b. The text of vs. 3b has to be emended in accordance with that of 71:3a-b and not vice versa, as has been done; for, being the superior text, it is obvious that 71:3a-b must be the original reading.

as a towering rock] Instead of *ma'ōn*, מַעֲוֵן is to be read, with many MSS, Gr., Sym., and Theod.

unto which I may repair] On the strength of Syr. *leh*, read שָׁמָּה, instead of *thamid*, which Gr. and Targ. do not read.

Order] *Šiwwitha* functions as a precative perfect.

71:4. That this verse must originally have been read also in Psalm 31 follows from the fact that without it there is a gap between 31:3 and 4-5, the antecedent of "They have dug" being missing.

treacherous despot] *Mē'awwel wēhōmes* is a case of hendiadys.

31:4bβ. *Lead me and guide me* must originally have been a marginal gloss.

5b, 71:7b, 31:4a (71:3c). *For thou art my refuge and my strength*] The text of 31:5b, (ki) 'atta ma'ūzi, is incomplete, while in the parallel text of 71:7b, 'atta mahāsi 'oz, there is a grammatical hitch, the *nomen rectum* being separated from the *nomen regens* by a pronominal suffix;¹⁹⁹ the obvious conclusion

¹⁹⁹ It should be emphasized that there neither is nor can be any exception to the rule that the genitive cannot be separated from the *nomen regens* by a pronominal suffix.

from this hitch is that in 71:7b the text originally read, instead of 'oz, ūma'ūzi—a reading which has, in fact, been preserved by *καὶ κραιώμα* of Sah., Armenian, and Ethiopian. The conclusion is clinched by the fact that Gr. reads *ki 'atta maḥāsī ūmū'azī* a second time in both psalms—in 31:4a and in 71:3c (with the order of *maḥāsī ūma'ūzi* reversed)—and reads it, *nota bene*, both times in place of *ki šal'i ūmēšūdathī 'atta*. It is from this reading of Gr. in 31:4a and 71:3c that I conclude that *ki 'atta šal'i ūmēšūdathī* was originally a marginal variant of *ki 'atta maḥāsī ūma'ūzi*.

31:6. Redeem me] *Paditha* is a precative perfect.

the true God] As often, the abstract is used equivalent to an adjective; the rendering of R.V., "God of truth," obscures the meaning.

7. Thou hatest] Read, with the Versions, שָׂנֵאתָ (Ewald and many others).

8-9. The perfects of these two verses are prophetic perfects.

on free soil] See above, p. 566; the phrase *merhab* must not be confused with *mishōr*, "level ground," of Ps. 26:12 or 'oraḥ *mishōr*, "smooth path," which find their explanation in the notion which biblical literature has in common with Persian—that hilly ground is a curse, while level ground or tableland, best suited for cultivation, is a blessing, the one, the ancient Persians held, being the creation of Ahriman, and the other the creation of Ahura Mazda.

10a-b. sore distressed] בָּאֵר of vs. 12, which makes no sense there, I conjecture stood originally in vs. 10a, after *šar lī*, whence it was omitted in the course of transmission, put in the margin, and then inserted at random in the next copy.

11a-b. with sorrow] Read, with ten MSS and the parallel text in 6:8, בָּכִי.

with suffering] Read, with Gr. and Syr., בָּעֲנִי instead of *ba'āwōnī* (Ehrlich and others).

10c, 11c, 12. I am worn, body and soul, because of all mine enemies] נֶפְשִׁי וְגַבְשִׁי of vs. 10c cannot originally have been other subjects of 'ashēsha 'ēnī, but they fit excellently into vs. 11c as subjects of 'asheshū: they are in all probability a correction of 'āšamai made originally in the margin, whence in the next copy they were inserted into the text at random.

because of all mine enemies] *Mikkol šōrērai* of vs. 12 is to be joined to vs. 11c.

13. is cast away] See p. 591, n. 196.

14-15. *They scheme against me . . . Still*] In the Hebrew sentence structure *bēhiwāsēdām* is a concessive clause, depending on *wa'dnī baṭaḥtī* of vs. 15 (cf. the discussion of *bē'ir mašōr*, p. 565). By *still* of vs. 15 I have endeavored to bring out the syntactical relation of these verses.

18. *Let the wicked foe be shamed to silence and sent to She'ol*] The difficulty presented by vs. 18b and the forced translations given of it are attributable to the fact that, as *καταχθείνων* of Gr. shows, יִרְדָּה dropped out *before* *lishē'ol*: cf. Isa. 14:15, 'ak 'el *shē'ol tūrad*, "But thou hast been sent to She'ol" or "to hell," as R.V. renders, and again vs. 11, *hūrad shē'ol gē'ōneka*, "Thy glory has been brought down to She'ol." *Yiddēmū*, it will now be seen, is a complementary verb to *yebōshū*.

19. *Which oppose . . . with insolence and contempt*] Like *nidbar 'al* in Mal. 3:13, *dōber 'al* means, "to oppose" and "to be adverse"; *'athaq* and *būz* are adverbial accusatives, and *bega'dwa* was originally a marginal gloss on *'athaq*.

20. *Abundant*] As in Arabic, so in Hebrew by the use of emphatic *mā* with adjectives superlative degree is expressed.

21. *From the conspiracies*] This meaning of *rukšē*, which occurs only here, may be inferred from that of *rib*, denoting *intriguing*, of the parallel clause.

Under thy protecting wing seems to me the nearest equivalent of *bēsether panēka*.

23. *I am cast out of*] Read, with a number of MSS and on the strength of Ps. 88:6, *נִצְרַתִּי*, transposing *resh* and *zayin*.

thou wilt hear] *Shamma'ta* is, like *hiphlī* of vs. 22, a prophetic perfect.

71:2-4, 7b. See 31:2-5.

5. *Thou hast imbued me with hope*] In the translation of the psalm, I have transposed the vocative *O Lord* of this line to the previous line for a reason which is obvious. By this transposition the emphatic *ki* of vs. 5 has been taken care of, too. *'Adōnai yhw̄h* calls for a remark. The history of the numerous instances of *'ādōnai* and *yhw̄h*'s occurring alongside of each other is as follows: originally the text read *yhw̄h*, and *'ādōnai* is a later marginal or interlinear addition, made for the purpose of indicating that, in reading, *'ādōnai* was to be substituted for *yhw̄h*. At a later stage in the transmission *'ādōnai* was taken into the text, though *yhw̄h* was left untouched. The substitution, in reading, of *'ēlōhīm* for *yhw̄h* and the Massoretes' giving the pointings of this word to *yhw̄h* were the final stages in this uncritical process.

my hope] *Tiqwathī* is not an original reading but a later gloss, attributable to the fact that *mabliḥī* was misread *miblahī*, as Gr. ἡ ἐλπίς μου shows. This misreading is also back of the customary translation "my trust" of *mabliḥī*. One can only wonder at this, since, aside from everything else, the reading *mabliḥī* is also borne out by its recurrence in the parallel lines, Ps. 22:10.

6. *From the time of my birth, etc.*] See the note on Ps. 22:10-11.

my prop] *Gozi* and *gohi* of the parallel text 22:10 have always been a *crux interpretum*—naturally so, since they are corrupt text: their customary translation, "He that took me out," is mere guesswork. The clue to the original reading in both psalms is furnished by *גִּזִּי* without *waw*, as six Kenincott MSS read, which is the phonetic spelling of the original reading, that is, *גִּזִּי*, which the Massoretes failed to recognize. There are numerous other cases of the kind; a few of them are *lamō*, Ps. 28:8, instead of *lē'ammō*; *mašmithai*, 69:5, instead of *me'ašmōthai*; *bel*, Isa. 46:1, instead of *ba'al*; *mimmē*, Isa. 48:1, instead of *mimmē'ē*. As to the meaning *prop* of *giz'i*, note that Arab. *ḡid'an*, in addition to "trunk," denotes the "beam of a roof" acting as a tie,²⁰⁰ and that Syr. *guz'ā* means also "staff," and that, in vernacular Arab., the adjective *ḡad'an* means "strong," "solid," "valiant."²⁰¹

My trust is ever in thee] Instead of *tehillathī*, the text read originally

²⁰⁰ Cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, s.v.

²⁰¹ Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, s.v.

תִּחְלֹתֶיךָ, as ἡ ἀναμονή of Sym. and ἡ ὑπόστασις of Pars. 205 show—an emendation made by Wellhausen and others.

7a. *but an example of thy wrath*] Like Gr. τέρας and Lat. *prodigium*, Hebrew *mōpheth* is equivocal, meaning any “sign” or “omen,” in which men believed they could see the finger of God and therefore marveled at. Hence the additional meaning of all three words: “anything unnatural, unearthly, monstrous.” Other examples of this meaning of *mōpheth* are Deut. 28:46 and the byform *tōpheth*, Job 17:6.

10. *Though*] *Ki* functions as a concessive conjunction.

reason] Cf. I Kings 12:28 and II Chron. 25:17, where *nō‘aš* denotes “consider.”

13. *be . . . confounded*] Instead of *yikēlū*, read, with many MSS, יִכְלְמוּ: cf. also Ps. 35:4—a generally accepted emendation.

15, 16. *Though I know that they baffle description*] Vs. 15 is to be construed as a concessive clause with vs. 16. I find support for my translation of *sēphorōth* in Gr.’s rendering it *πραγματείας*, that is, “treatment” or “description” of a subject: cf. also Ps. 40:6, ‘*ašēmū missaper*; *gēbūrōth* of vs. 16a is to be construed also with ‘*sēphorōth*, being a case of brachylogy.

I will reveal the mighty deeds] Like Arab. ‘*athā bi*, Hebrew *bā’ bē* denotes “to exhibit, disclose, reveal,” also “spread abroad, propagate”: cf. I Kings 13:1, *bā’ biddēbar yhwē*, “He revealed the word of Y.”; Prov. 18:6, “The lips of the fool (*yabō’ū bērib*) propagate strife”; in all three examples *bē* denotes “the end in view.” Vs. 16b was originally a marginal variant of vs. 15a.

17. *Thou hast made me acquainted with them from my youth until now*] *Bigēbūrōth* of the preceding verse is to be construed also with *limmadtanī*, with which ‘*ad hena* is to be taken, the accents to the contrary; that this is the sentence structure follows from the plain meaning of ‘*ad hena*, which cannot possibly denote “hitherto,” as R.V. renders.

I will proclaim] It is self-evident that the tense of ‘*aggīd* must be the same as that of *pī yēsapper* and ‘*abō’*.

18ba. *I shall yet tell*] ‘*Ad* is here used as an adverb, as again in Job 8:21, ‘*ad yēmallē*, “He will yet fill.”

to all future generations] The text order, as Gr. shows, was originally לְכָל דּוֹר וָדּוֹר.

18bb, 19. *Thy might and*] The last phrase of vs. 18 is to be joined to vs. 19.

20. The plural suffixes of the Kēthib and not the singular suffixes of the Kēre are the original reading. The Massoretes, who failed to see how effective this sudden change to the plural suffixes is, and also the resumption of the singular suffixes in the following verse, blundered in their attempt at harmonization.

from the infernal regions] The use of *tēhōmōth* with this meaning follows, first of all, from the context, in particular from *tashūb ta’denū* and *tashūb tēhayyenū*. It is further borne out by the fact that in Ps. 88:7 *mešōlōth* has the same meaning, being used as a synonym of *bōr tahtiyōth*, “the nethermost pit.” There is nothing strange about finding the two phrases so used when it is remembered, first, that in Ps. 18:5 *nahālē bēliya’al*, “the infernal torrents,” is a designation of She’ol and that in Job 26:6 and in Isa. 38:17 *shaḥath bēlī*,

"pit of perdition," and *'dbadōn*, "perdition," are two other designations of it; further, that we have the exact analogue in Gr. ἡ ἄβυσσος, as used in Septuagint and New Testament Greek, to denote "the deep" as well as "the bottomless pit" or "the abyss," both as the common receptacle of the dead and as the abode of demons (cf. Rom. 10:7; Luke 8:31; Rev. 9:1-2, 11, *et al.*). It is also important to note that τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἄβυσσος of Rev. 9:1-2 is the exact equivalent of *bē'er shahath* of Ps. 55:24 and *bōr sha'ōn* of Ps. 40:3, all three meaning "the bottomless" or "yawning" or "engulfing pit." Similarly Euripides²⁰² describes Tartarus as ἄβυσσα χάσματα, "the abysmal pit," and Psalm 88 describes She'ol as *bōr tahtīyōth*, "the nethermost pit."

21. *comfort me again*] Read, with Gr., Hier., and Syr., *וְחַשְׁבָה*—a reading accepted by many interpreters.

23. *Ki 'dsammēra lēka* is dittography of the same words of vs. 22.

Which I know thou wilt redeem] *Paditha* is a prophetic perfect, the force of which I have sought to bring out by *I know*.

30:3. *to heal me*] As often, the imperfect with *waw consecutivum* forms a final clause: cf. the note on Ps. 3:5.

4. *among those doomed to the grave*] *Yōrēdē*, as the Kēthib reads excellently, is a potential participle. There can be no doubt that the participle is the original reading, since the phrase *yōrēdē bōr* recurs in Ps. 88:5 and is, besides, found frequently in the Psalms as well as in other writings: cf. Pss. 28:1; 143:7; Isa. 38:18; Ezek. 26:20; 31:14, 16; 32:18, 24-25, 29; Prov. 1:12. The Massoretes' change of the participle to the infinitive is primarily attributable to the traditional interpretation of the psalm.

5. *name*] *Seker* is here used as a synonym of *shem*: cf. Exod. 3:15, also Ps. 97:12 and Hos. 12:6—three other examples of *seker's* being so used.

6. As to the sentence structure of vs. 6a, note that the temporal phrases *rega'* and *hayyīm* are the subjects. In Arab., sentences of this type occur often. The construction of the two nominal sentences of vs. 6a is identically the same as that of *wamā lailu ḡārin ḥalla fikum binā'imi*, "A stranger who settles among you cannot sleep at night," Hamasa 38:7, quoted among others by Brockelmann.²⁰³ As with the predicate *na'imi* of this Arab. example, so with the predicates *'appō* and *rēšōnō* of the present verse *bē'essentiae* is used. The examples show that this type of sentence is in no wise limited to Arab.—a fact which escaped Brockelmann.

Though one pass the night] The subject of *yalīn* is not *bekī* (as it is generally taken) but the impersonal pronoun *one*; *bekī* is an accusative of manner.

Laboqer rinna is a nominal clause, the predicate of which consists of an adverbial phrase.

8, 7. In the present order of the two verses sequence is lacking, which is restored when they are transposed.

make my mountain to stand firm] The construction of the direct object with *lē* is in no wise peculiar to the late Hebrew literature but is frequently found also in the older writings, as I have pointed out in *The Book of Job* (p. 167), where I have also referred to the article of A. Fischer, "Auflösung der Ac-

²⁰² *Phoenissae*, 1605.

²⁰³ *Op. cit.*, II, 50.

cusativrektion des transitiven Verb durch die Preposition *li* im klassischen Arabisch" (*Berichte KSGW, phil.-hist. Kl. LXII*, No. 6 [1910], 186 ff.) as proof that the construction is a common Semitic usage. 'Oz is an adverbial accusative: cf. Judg. 5:21, *tidrēkī naphshī 'oz*, "O my soul, march on bravely" or "tread down with might."

If thou hidest thy face, I shall be] Vs. 8*b* is a conditional sentence not introduced by a particle and formed with the perfect in both the protasis and the apodosis.

10. *if my lifeblood were sacrificed* renders *bēdamī* accurately, *bē* being *bē* of price: cf. I Kings, 2:23 and Prov. 7:23, *bēnaphshō*, "at the risk of his life" or "at the peril of his life." The prevailing translation of *bēdamī* obscures the meaning.

he that sleeps in the dust] 'Aphar is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun *shōkeb* or *shōken* being omitted: the full phrase is found in Isa. 26:19, *shōkēnē 'aphar*.

13. *The land of my glory]* Read, with Gr. and Syr., כְּבוֹדִי: see the note on Ps. 7:6.

38:2. *Chastise me not]* Read, with many MSS, the Versions, and Ps. 6:1, *וְאַל* and omit *ū* of *ūbāḥāmāthēka*.

3*b*. *lies heavy]* Read, with Ps. 32:4*a*, *wattikbad* (Wellhausen and others); this reading is borne out further by *yadō* (as Gr. and Syr. read) *kabēda* of Job 23:2, after which both 38:3*b* and 32:4*a* are doubtless modeled: the corrupt *wattinḥath* is very likely due to dittography of *niḥāthu*.

8*a* (8*b*) 4. The identity of vs. 8*b* and vs. 4*a* is to be accounted for by the fact that 8*a* stood originally before 4*a*, whence in the course of transmission it was omitted and put in the margin, with vs. 4*a* added to it as a cue. As usual, the omitted line with the cue was in the next copy taken into the text at random.

for my mind] As in Ps. 35:10, where 'ašmōthai connotes "heart," being used as a synonym of *naphshī* of vs. 9, so does 'āšamai here connote *mind*: cf. also Ps. 51:10, where it denotes "being."

5. *overwhelm me* is the accurate English equivalent of the idiom 'abērū rō'shī, a literal translation of which makes no sense.

6-7. *I am bowed down by my wicked folly]* Mippēnē 'iwwaltī of vs. 6 is to be joined to vs. 7.

9. *in the agony]* Cf. Prov. 5:11, where *naham* denotes "to agonize."

13. *plot]* The use of *dabbērū* with this meaning follows from its construction with *hawwōth* as its object.

treachery] It follows from the context that this is the connotation of *mirmōth*.

17. *So I brood over the fear that]* Ki 'amarti *pen* is a case of sentence ellipsis, the governing clause or verb expressing fear or anxiety being omitted—an ellipsis which is very common: see Ges.-Buhl, *Wörterbuch, pen*, s.v.

That they may kick me] 'Alai *higdilū* is another case of ellipsis, the object 'aqeb being omitted; the full phrase occurs in Ps. 41:10, and the ellipsis is found again in Pss. 35:26; 55:13; Zeph. 2:10.

18. *ruin]* Šela', which occurs again with the same meaning in Ps. 35:15;

Jer. 20:10; and Job 18:12, is not etymologically related to *šala'*, meaning "to halt."

20. *without cause*] Read, on the strength of Pss. 35:19 and 69:5, חַנּוּם instead of *hayyim*—an emendation generally accepted.

14. *who does not hear*] Read יִשְׁמַע (Buhl-Kittel and others).

15. This verse is a variant of vs. 14.

16. *surely*] The repetition of the subject of *tha'anē* for emphasis may best be rendered in this way.

88:2. *O Lord my God, I call for help in the daytime*] On the strength of the parallel line, Ps. 22:3, read אֱלֹהֵי יְמִינִי (Graetz and others).

7, 9cG, 6. External evidence that vs. 7 originally preceded vs. 6 may be seen in ἐξέδωκεν, which Sym. reads at the beginning of vs. 6, before *kēmō*, and which, as we shall see presently, is a purposive modification of *nēthattani*, with which vs. 7 originally ended. As additional support of this original order of the two verses it should be noted that in Ps. 143:3 and Lam. 3:6, which are both in all probability modeled after 88:7, 6, *bēmaḥashakkim hōshibenī* precedes *kēmēthē 'ōlām*. (The date of Lamentations, chap. 3, Löhr considers to be around 325 B.C., and Budde and Cheyne place it still later.)

Hast consigned me] At the end of vs. 7 the text read originally נִתְּתִי : aside from the parallelism which calls for such a verb, the reading has with some modification been preserved twice, first by ἐξέδωκεν of Sym., mentioned above, and, second, by παρεδόθην, which Gr. reads in 9c, and which is incongruous with the preceding part of the verse, even as is *kalū' wēlō' 'ēšē'*, which is a gloss on vs. 7, as we shall see in a moment. For the present I shall remark that the change in Sym. of the second person of *nēthattani* to the third sing., used impersonally, and to the first passive in Gr. was made purposely, to mitigate the reproach the psalmist heaps upon God. Note that similarly Gr. changed *shattani* in both vs. 7 and vs. 9 to the third plural used impersonally: ἔθεντό με. As already indicated, *kalū'* or, as Syr. reads instead, *nīklē'thī wēlō' 'ēšē'* was originally a marginal gloss on vs. 7b, suggested by Lam. 3:7, *gadar ba'ādī wēlō' 'ēšē'*. In the Hebrew archetype of Gr., *nēthattani* had evidently been added as a cue to the marginal, to show the line in the text to which it pertained. This explains how Gr. comes to read παρεδόθην in vs. 9, which cannot possibly be a rendering of *nīklē'thī*, as Buhl-Kittel and Gunkel seem to think.

to infernal darkness] See the note on 71:20.

Like the dead] On the strength of Ps. 143:3 and Lam. 3:6 read כְּמָוֶה.

Hophshī is generally admitted to be corrupt text: it can mean neither "free" nor "cast off" nor "cast away."

Like the slain that are thrown to the ground] *Kēmō ḥālalim*, which, as ἐπιμύμενοι of Gr. shows, was followed by *mushlakim*,²⁰⁴ is a later addition, made for dogmatic reasons: later ages, taking umbrage at the statement that God does not remember the dead that lie in their graves, sought to restrict it to those that met with violent death and were left unburied.

²⁰⁴ In the *pasek* after *ḥālalim* we have still an indication that in the course of transmission *mushlakim* was omitted in the Hebrew.

8. *Thou sufferest . . . to surge over me*] Read, with Syr. 'aythiḥ 'alī, עלי תעבר.

9a, 19, 9b. Vs. 19 cannot possibly be the original conclusion of the psalm. Following vss. 15–18, it would be an anticlimax, marring their overwhelming effect. The verse consists of two omitted parts from vs. 9, with the word preceding each omitted part prefixed to it as a cue: the first of these parts consists of *mimmennī 'ōheb warē'a*, and *hirḥaḡta* is the cue word; the second part originally read *ḥasakta*, as *abstulisti* of Hier. and also the Syr. show (note also *maḥsak* of some MSS), and *mēyūda' ai* is the cue word. The text as restored reads:

הרחקת ממני אהב ורע מידעי חשכת ממני

The omitted parts with their cues were put in the blank space at the end of the psalm, and in the next copy they were mechanically joined to the last line of the psalm.

14. *Zealously*] Cf. Jer. 21:12, where *laboqer* is used again with this meaning: "Administer justice zealously."

16. *I am wretched and dying* excludes that *minno'ar*, "from youth," could be the original reading. There is, however, no clue whatever as to what the text read instead.

I am crushed by it] The hapax legomenon *'aphūna* is another crux. Turning to Gr. for a clue to the original reading, we must not be guided by ἐξηπορήθη, which is missing in both Cod. A and Sah., but rather by the fact that Gr. reads in addition ἐταπεινώθη, from which it follows that the text read here, as in 38:9, נדכאת.

17. *are destroying me*] Read צמיתני.

22:2 *Why art thou so far*] *Raḥōq* is another predicate of the subject *thou* of vs. 2a.

from my cry of help] Read מִשְׁוֹעֵתִי (Hitzig and others).

4. *Yet thou art enthroned as the Holy One, art the glory*] The accents to the contrary, *yōsheb* is to be construed as predicate with '*atta*, as Gr., Sym., and Hier., in fact, take it. With these Versions and many MSS, read תהלת, which is another predicate of '*atta*. This construction and meaning of vs. 4a is confirmed by the parallel thought in Isa. 57:15, *marōm wēqadōsh 'eshkon*, "As the sublime and Holy One do I abide."

9. *He trusted*] *Gol* is an emphatic infinitive: cf. Ps. 32:9, *bal qērob. to deliver him, to save him*] *Yephallētehū yaššilehū* are final clauses.

Confident that] *Ki* functions as emphatic particle.

10–11. *Yet thou hast been my prop*] As in 71:6 (*q.v.*) read גִּדְעִי.

from my birth . . . From the time of my birth . . . Ever since I came from my mother's womb] *Mibbeṭen* and *mereḥem* are cases of ellipsis; there is omitted, first, the genitive '*immī* (note the use of the complete phrase in vs. 11b and in *mimmē'ē 'immī*, 71:6), and second, the infinitive clause *mišē'thī*, in these two as well as in *mibbeṭen 'immī* of vs. 11b, and also in *mimmē'ē 'immī* of 71:6 (cf. above, pp. 591 f.).

13-18. Vss. 13-18 have obviously not come down in their original order, for the climax to which the writer works up by "Thou hast all but laid me in the dust of the grave" (16c) cannot possibly have been followed by additional details of the attack that had this fatal result. The distich 17a-b, I conclude, must originally have followed vs. 13, of which it is an excellent parallel member. Similarly vs. 14 is rounded out and made more complete by vs. 17c placed after it, and so is vs. 16a-b by vs. 18a.

13. *Fierce bulls of Bashan*] Bashan with its rich pastures was famous for its fine breed of cattle: cf. Amos 4:1. The use of animals as emblematic or figurative designations of certain nations is a common feature of biblical style: cf. the remarks on the wild swine of Ps. 80:14, above, pp. 234-35; also Isa. 30:16; 31:1; Hos. 14:4, in which passages "horse" is a figurative designation of Egypt, and Isa. 34:7, where, as in vss. 13 and 22 of this psalm, "bullocks," "fierce bulls," and "wild oxen" are designations of enemy nations of Israel.

17a-b. *A pack of dogs*] Read, with Gr., רבִּים after *kēlabīm*. This phrase has, of course, no emblematic significance but expresses simple contempt.

An evil mob] See the note on Ps. 7:8.

14. *Like . . . a lion*] 'Aryē is an accusative of comparison as the Versions, in fact, have understood it.

17c. *They mangle*] Read, with many MSS and the Versions, כָּאָרַר—a spelling of middle *waw* verbs which occurs several times; its meaning "to mangle" or "to lacerate" follows not only from the context but also from what has been borne out by the fact that Arab. *kara* denotes in the second conjugation "to throw one down in a heap" and "to prostrate one," and in the fourth "to have one crippled."

16aβ, 15, 16aα, b. *My strength flows from me*] Vs. 15a is clearly defective text, as one would not say, "I am poured out like water," in any language. I conclude that כִּהְיִי of vs. 16a, which the interpreters are agreed cannot be the original subject of *yabesh*, stood originally at the beginning of vs. 15; it was omitted and put in the lateral margin, whence in the next copy it was erroneously inserted into vs. 16.

My body is sapped to the marrow] The customary translation of *hith-parēdū*, "are out of joint," is untenable, for this could mean one thing only—that his bones are dislocated, which the writer could not possibly have said, even if such a meaning could etymologically be argued. Since in Ps. 92:10 *yithparēdū* denotes "are routed" and in Job 4:11 "are scattered," and since, moreover, it is in both passages used synonymously with *yōbedū*, it may be concluded that *sapped to the marrow* is its meaning here. 'Ašmoth denoting "frame" or "body" is very common in the Psalms as well as in other biblical books.

My throat] Ewald and others have rightly deduced from the parallelism that in place of *kōhī* the text read originally הִכִּי. In the *pasek* after *kaḥeresh* we have still an indication that in the course of transmission *hikki* was omitted from vs. 16 and put into the margin.

18b. *they gloat over me*] *Bī* is to be construed with *yabiṭū* as well as with *yir'ū*, being a case of brachylogy.

21. *Rescue this lone soul*] Cf. 35:17, where *yēhīdathī* has again this connotation; also Ps. 68A:7, where *yēhīdīm* denotes "the desolate."

22-23. *Pluck me from the lion's jaws, from the wild oxen's horns*] The accents to the contrary, *miqqarne rē'ēmīn* is to be construed with *hōshī'enī*, not with *'ānīthani*.

Hear my prayer] *'Ānīthani*, which, strange to say, is commonly considered to be in need of emendation, is a precative perfect. Its use at this particular point is highly effective. Not only does it lend color to the prayer but it is an inimitable prelude, as it were, to the affirmation of faith with which the Psalmist continues. Its emendation by all present-day interpreters cannot be censured strongly enough.

That I may proclaim . . . That I may praise] *'Āsappēra* and *'ahalēlekka* are final clauses.

25. *For surely he will not turn in scorn, in loathing . . . Neither will he veil*] *Lō' bazā, lō' shiqqaš*, and *lō' histīr* are all three prophetic perfects.

26. *Of thee will I sing a paean of praise, Will chant it amidst a large congregation*] Vs. 26a is a compounded nominal sentence: *tēhillathī* is the subject and *me'ittēka* and *bēqahal* are the predicates.

27. *will eat to contentment*] *Wēyisba'ū* is a complementary verb to *yō'kēlū*. *their hearts*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., לבבם.

28. *will bow before him*] Read, with one MS, Gr., Syr., and Hier., לפני (Bickell and others).

29. *He will rule*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., יהוה (Graetz and others).

30. *will worship him alone*] Read אך לו יש (Graetz and others).

All who are mortal renders *yōrēdē 'aphar* accurately; since *yōrēdē* is a potential participle, the phrase does not mean "those who have sunk in the dust of the grave," as some have interpreted it, but "those who [by nature] are destined for the dust of the grave."

And my soul will live in him] Read, with some MSS, Gr., Quinta, and Syr., נפשי and with all the Versions, חי (Baethgen and others); *lō'* is one of the many instances of the preposition's *lē* with the pronominal suffix of the third sing. masc. being spelled with 'Aleph.

31-33. *My race*] Read, with Gr. and Theod., זרעי (Baethgen and others).

Will tell . . . to future generations] Read, with Gr. and Syr., יספר, and, with Gr., כנה and join *yabō'* to vs. 31 (Bickell and others).

They will make known . . . will declare] *Yaggidū* is a case of zeugma, *šidqathō* as well as *ki'asā* being its objects.

yet unborn or that is to be born] *Nōlad* is a potential participle: cf. the synonymous expression *nibērā'* in Ps. 102:19.

B. PSALMS 74 AND 79

PSALM 74

- 1* O God, why hast thou forever cast us off?
Why art thou wroth at the flock of thy pasture?

* A *Maskil* of Asaph.

- 18a β , Remember that this is thy congregation
 2a-b Which thou didst acquire of yore,
 The tribe which thou didst redeem as thy heritage.
 3a Direct thy steps to the perpetual ruins,
 2c To Mount Zion whereon thou dwellest.

 3b The enemy has made havoc of thy sanctuary,
 4a Thine adversaries have stormed through thy taber-
 nacle.
 4b, 5aa The signs they have left are signs unknown before.
 5a β , b As . . . in a thicket, with axes
 6 They tore down all its carved woodwork,
 With hatchet and axes they knocked it off.
 7 They set the torch to thy sanctuary,
 They desecrated, leveled to the ground the dwelling-
 place of thy glory.
 8 They said in their hearts, Let us wipe them out;
 And let us make an end of all the feasts of the Lord
 in the land.

 9 We see no omens that augur well for us;
 Neither is there any prophet, nor is there a sage
 among us.
 10 How long, O God, shall the enemy scoff?
 Shall the foe blaspheme thy name forever?
 11 Why hast thou withdrawn thy hand?
 Take thy right hand out of thy bosom and consume
 them.

 12 Yet thou, O God, art my King of old:
 Thine is the power to work salvation on earth.
 13 In thy might thou didst lash into fury the sea,
 Thou didst break the head of the dragon in the water,
 14a Didst crush the head of Leviathan,
 14b Giving it as food to the sharks of the sea.
 15 *Through the rock* thou didst cut an opening for a well
 and a brook.
 Thou didst dry up the swollen river.

- 16 Thou rulest the day and the night,
 Thou hast created the sea and the stars.
- 17 Thou hast fixed the zones of the earth,
 Thou makest summer and winter.
- 19 Deliver not
 Oh, forget not forever thy poor people.
- 20 Look at
 For the homes of the land are full of darkness and
 violence.
- 21 Let not the afflicted and poor, who praise thy name,
 Be turned back crushed and ashamed.
- 22a Arise, O God, champion thine own cause,
22b, Remember that the enemy blasphemes thee,
18aa, b That the impious people mock thy name without end.
- 23 Ignore not the shouts of thy foes,
 The roars of thine adversaries that fill the air con-
 stantly.

PSALM 79

- 1* O God, the heathen have come into thy heritage,
 Thy holy Temple have they defiled,
 They have made Jerusalem a heap of ruins.
- 2 They have given the bodies of thy servants
 As food to the birds of the air,
 The flesh of thy pious people to the beasts of the field.
- 3 They have poured out their blood like water round
 about Jerusalem,
 And have left them unburied.
- 4 We have become an abhorrence to our neighbors,
 The scorn and derision of the people round about us.
- 5 How long, O Lord, wilt thou be wroth?
 Will thine anger burn forever like fire?
- 6 Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that know thee
 not,
 Upon the kingdoms that invoke not thy name;

* A Psalm of Asaph.

- 7 For they have devoured Jacob
 And have laid waste his country.
- 8 Count not against us the sins of our fathers,
 Let thy compassion embrace us soon;
 For we are in deep misery.
- 9 Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy
 name,
 Save us and forgive our sins for thy name's sake.
- 10 Beware lest the heathen shout,
 Where is their God?
 Let us see vengeance wreaked on the heathen
 For the blood of thy servants which they have shed.
- 11 Let the groans of the prisoners reach thee,
 And by thy mighty arm deliver those who are in the
 throes of death.
- 12 Pay back our neighbors seven fold for the taunts
 With which they affront thee.†
- 13 Then will we, thy people and the flock of thy pasture,
 Render thanks unto thee forever,
 To all generations will we recount thy praise.

It has been pointed out above that the description which both psalms give of the catastrophe precludes their Maccabean origin and shows that they were occasioned by the fatal happenings of the year 344 B.C. To these earlier remarks I now proceed to add some further explanation. At the time of the Maccabean crisis the actual damage which the Temple suffered was limited to the burning of its gates. This is stated three times: I Macc. 4:38; II Macc. 1:8 and 8:38. How slight a damage this was may be seen from the fact that the Book of Daniel ignores it. Further, the essential features of the crisis as described in Daniel and the Books of the Maccabees were the suspension of the sacrificial cult, the desecration of the altar by the erection on it of an altar to the Olympian Zeus, and the religious persecution in general.²⁰⁵ But there is no mention of

† Gloss: 80: 17b *May they perish at thy rebuke.*

²⁰⁵ Cf. Dan. 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; I Macc. 1:44-51, 54, 56-57, 59 ff.

all this in Psalms 74 and 79. Besides, there is another vital difference between the situation as reflected in these two psalms and the social as well as spiritual situation existing during the Maccabaeen struggle, for which the Book of Daniel, dating from the very time of the crisis (165/164 B.C.), is the foremost contemporary source. Voicing the otherworldly hope which held sway over the minds of his contemporaries, the author of this apocalypse regards their tribulation as foreshadowing the Kingdom of God about to be ushered in; and so convinced is he of this that he predicts that within a year's time the Seleucid world-power will be overthrown and Antiochus Epiphanes will meet with his death on Mount Zion. Contrast with this the picture of utter hopelessness presented in Psalms 74 and 79. The authors of these "can see no omens that augur well for" them but ask in despair,

O God, why hast thou forever cast us off?

Will thine anger burn forever like fire?

Like the related question, with which the first strophe of Psalm 6 closes,

For my body is shattered,
And my soul is sore dismayed—
O Lord, how long?—

these despondent questions were called forth by the untoward conditions that had prevailed in the country since the Restoration. These questions, then, show that the two psalms are post-Exilic and that the view advanced by some interpreters that they are products of the Exile occasioned by the destruction of Jerusalem by Babylonia in 587 B.C.²⁰⁶ is untenable. Nor does their general content leave room for Exilic origin. One has but to compare them with the Exilic psalms to see this at a glance. Further evidence to this effect is furnished by the companion piece of the two psalms, Isa. 63:7—64:11, which is in reality another psalm, not a prophecy—a cry from the depths of literary and spiritual excellence. In 63:18 of this piece, the text of

²⁰⁶ Kessler, Briggs, and Budde. Hans Schmidt (*Die Psalmen* [1934]), though he grants that Psalm 79 cannot be Exilic, holds that Psalm 74 is Exilic.

which is perfect, we have an important datum bearing on its date (as I pointed out twenty years ago):²⁰⁷

Thy holy people possessed it but a little while,
Our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary.²⁰⁸

Here we have conclusive proof that Isa. 63:7—64:11 cannot date from the Exile or from the Maccabaeian times, for in neither case would the words, "They possessed thy sanctuary but a little while," have been applicable. Dating, however, as they do from 344 B.C., these words are exceedingly applicable, for hardly more than a century and a half had elapsed since the Temple had been rebuilt in 516 B.C. The genuineness of this datum, which has been arbitrarily emended and obliterated by most present-day exegetes, admits of no doubt, being confirmed by a fuller statement to the same effect, with which the Book of Judith (4:2-3) prefaces the story of Orophernes' attack upon Jerusalem:

And they were exceedingly afraid of him, and were troubled for Jerusalem and for the Temple of the Lord their God: for not long ago had they come up from the captivity and but of late had all the people of Judaea been gathered together, and had the vessels, and the altar, and the Temple been newly sanctified after the profanation.

It is clear from all this that the similarity between I Macc. 1:37 and Ps. 79:1b and 3, on which the widespread view of the Maccabaeian origin of Psalms 74 and 79 rests, shows nothing further than that the writer of Maccabees quotes Psalm 79, as he does again in 6:17, where he applies verses 2-3 of the psalm to the treacherous execution by the high priest Alkimus of sixty men of the Chasidim, who had come to him to negotiate peace. In the description of this occurrence, what actually happened has been grossly exaggerated by the quotation from Ps. 79:2-3. So, we may be sure, the story of the general distress has been overdrawn by being told, in part, in the words of the psalm.

²⁰⁷ In "Are There Any Maccabaeian Psalms?" *JBL*, XXXVI, 245.

²⁰⁸ *Miqdashêka* is a case of brachylogy. It is to be construed as object also with *yarêshû*. Gr. reads *har godshêka* (instead of 'am q.) as object of *yarêshû* and construes with it as subject *shibîrê* of vs. 17b: "They possessed thy holy mountain but a little while"—a reading by which the parallelism of the lines becomes still more perfect.

The tendency to exaggerate the hardships of the Maccabaeen crisis is characteristic of the Books of the Maccabees.

Reference has already been made to the contrast which Psalms 74 and 79 spiritually as well as poetically present to Psalm 6 and the six others of the group. The author of these when he sees the nation laid prostrate by the armies of Orophernes, draws strength and hope from the vision of the prophets: inspired by their religious idealism, he prays that men the world over may be led to know God, while the writers of Psalms 74 and 79 beseech God to avenge them upon their heathen enemies. Further, the author of that group of psalms is agitated by his consciousness of the nation's sinfulness, which he reasons has brought on the crisis; he is so weighed down by it that he repents for the country's sins as if he had committed them himself (cf. Psalm 38). Of such agitation there is no trace in Psalm 74, and to the writer of Psalm 79 it is so foreign that he asks of God,

Count not against us the sins of our fathers,

and that only as an afterthought does it occur to him to implore God's forgiveness for the sins of his own age.

The two psalms, as implied by the remark just made, are by different writers. This follows from the fact that, although both have much in common, yet they are not altogether on a par spiritually: Psalm 74 ranks somewhat higher than Psalm 79. Another difference between the two is that the author of Psalm 74 turns from the dark present to the wondrous deeds of God in the days of old in order to draw from them courage and strength. Both psalms, their contents show, were written under the immediate impression of the fatal blow dealt to Judaea by the armies of Orophernes in 334 B.C. It will suffice to quote as illustration:

They have made Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

. . . . They have devoured Jacob

And have laid waste his country.

. . . . The enemy has made havoc of thy sanctuary

. . . . Set the torch to it.

They have desecrated, leveled to the ground the dwelling-place of thy glory.

74:18a^β, 2a-b. *Remember that this is*] Zō'th of vs. 18a stood originally after zēkor of vs. 2a; in the course of transmission it was omitted from this verse and, with zēkor prefixed to it as a cue, was put in the margin, whence in the next copy it was mechanically taken into the text where it is found now. Additional external evidence of the omission of zō'th from vs. 2a we have in τῆς κτισέως σου = kinyāneka (cf. 104:24 and 105:21), which Gr. of 18a has in excess of the Hebrew, and which was originally a variant of 'adathēka of vs. 2a.

The tribe which thou didst redeem] Transpose shebeṭ before ga'alta.

3a, 2c. That vs. 2c cannot be in its original place follows from the fact that it is detached text, for har šīyōn cannot be in apposition to 'adathēka and shebeṭ. By transposing vs. 2c after vs. 3a, reading harima pē'amēka lēmash-shū'ōth neṣaḥ har šīyōn zē shakanta bō, we get a perfect text.

3b. *has made havoc of*] Kol is not object of hera', as it is generally taken to be, but is an adverbial accusative, which is adequately translated by *made havoc*: cf. Hos. 14:3, kol tissā' 'awōn, "Forgive our guilt altogether." of thy sanctuary] Read, with Gr. and Syr., בְּקִדְשְׁךָ, which is the object of hera'.

4a. *thy tabernacle*] The singular mō'ddeka of the Massoretic text is the original reading; it is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun 'ohel being omitted. The ellipsis occurs again in Lam. 2:6, "He ravaged his tabernacle (sukko) . . . he destroyed his tent of meeting (mō'ddō)"; for our purpose it is noteworthy that in the second part of this verse mō'ed denotes "feast," just as it does in vs. 8 of this psalm.

4b, 5aa. *The signs they have left*] The pronominal suffix of 'ōthōthām has the force of a subjective genitive.

unknown before] On the strength of Gr. οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, read יָדְעוּ לֹא and join it to vs. 4b as the relative clause of 'ōthōth. In the light of the reign of terror by which Artaxerxes Ochus put down the revolt against Persia in Sidon and Egypt, the words, *The signs they have left are signs unknown before*, impress one as a true description of the character of Orophernes' attack upon Jerusalem.

5a^β, b. *As . . .*] The beginning of the description of the destruction of the Temple by the armies of Orophernes is hopelessly corrupt.

6. *They tore down*] Read, with Gr. ἐξέκωψαν, יִגְדְּעוּ instead of the corrupt we'atta.

7. *of thy glory*] Read, with a number of MSS, כְּבוֹדְךָ instead of shēmeka.

8. *Let us wipe them out*] Read, with Syr. and Ps. 83:5, נִכְחִידם instead of nīnām (Budde and Buhl-Kittel).

let us make an end] Read, with Gr., נִשְׁבִּית.

9. *omens that augur well for us*] As in II Kings 19:29, 'ōth is a case of ellipsis, the explanatory phrase lēlōba being omitted: cf. Ps. 86:17, where the full phrase is found.

nor is there a sage among us] Cf. Job 34:2 and Eccles. 9:11, where yōda' denotes "sage," and note as further proof of this meaning of yōda' that Syr. renders it ḥakīmā; 'ad mā at the end of vs. 9 is to be omitted as dittography of 'ad mathai, with which vs. 10 begins.

11. *Take thy right hand out of thy bosom and consume them*] *Yēmīnēka* is another object of *tashīb*, and the subjects *šar* and *'ōyeb* of vs. 10 are to be construed as objects with *kallē*, being a case of a twofold brachylogy. The words, *Take thy right hand out of thy bosom*, find their explanation in the fact that the ancient soldier when fighting bared his arm, which is to say, he threw back the cloak which ordinarily covered his arm: cf. Isa. 52:10, "The Lord has bared his holy arm."

12. *Yet thou, O God, art my king*] Read **וְאַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ** on the strength of Ps. 44:5, which is modeled after 74:12.

Thine is the power to work] *Pō'el* is a potential participle.

13-14. *The head of the dragon . . . the head of Leviathan*] In vs. 13 read **רֹאשׁ תַּנִּינִי** and in vs. 14a **רֹאשׁ**, with a number of codd. of Gr.: cf. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, X. The present plurals crept into the text, it seems to me, as a result of the later fanciful interpretation which took the verses as a figurative description of the fate which Pharaoh and his army met with in the Red Sea, whereas in reality the verses belong in one and the same category with Ps. 89:11; Isa. 51:10; Job 7:12, 9:13, and 26:12-13: as in these passages, so in the verses of this psalm the defeat which in the Babylonian myth of creation Marduk, the god of light, deals to Tiāmat, the goddess of darkness and ruler of the primeval sea, is transferred to Yahweh. The new feature, added to the myth here, that the head of the dragon Leviathan-Tiāmat was given as food to the sharks of the sea, may be attributed to the later fusion of the Babylonian Tiāmat myth with the Persian Ahriman myth, met with for the first time in Isa. 27:1. According to this fusion, the struggle which took place between the god of light and the god of darkness at the beginning of time will be re-enacted at the end of time when Yahweh will slay outright "Leviathan . . . the dragon in the sea, with his grim, great, and mighty sword."

to the sharks of the sea] Read **לְעִמְלִיִּים יָם**, as I. Löw (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung* [N.F.] XXII, 1055) has convincingly emended; 14b is a circumstantial clause, which explains the imperfect.

15. In vs. 15a the wonder related in Ps. 78:15-16, 20; Exod. 17:6; and Num. 20:8-11 is referred to, and in vs. 15b the drying-up of the Jordan at the time of Israel's entry into Canaan.

the swollen river] *Nahārōth* is intensive plural, because the Jordan is the foremost river of Palestine; the qualifying *'ēthān* doubtless finds its explanation in the statement (Josh. 3:15) that at the time the Israelites crossed it, on entering Canaan, "the Jordan overflowed all its banks."

19. *Lēhayyath nephesh tōreka* does not admit of translation, being hopelessly corrupt. The traditional interpretation of *tōreka* as meaning "thy dove" is untenable, since there is no trace of this interpretation anywhere in the ancient Versions and the older rabbinic literature. It is not found even as late as Saadia, who renders the phrase *tastadilluka* as if it were third sing. fem. Hif'il of *yara*. It is not until the time of Rashi and Ibn Ezra that this interpretation is met with for the first time. As to the rendering of the phrase by the ancient Versions, those of Sym. and of Hier. and Targ. *eruditam lege tua* cannot be considered at all, being, after the manner of the Midrash,

without regard for grammar or text. Nor can *tōdēka* of one MS and the Gr. be accepted as the original text, Ehrlich and others to the contrary.

[*thy poor people*] Cf. Ps. 68:11 of Psalm 65B, where, too, *ḥayyathka* means "thy race."

20. Vs. 20a is obscure, and the difficulty cannot be removed by reading, with Gr., *libēriṯhēka*: some words must have dropped out.

[*For the homes of the land are full of darkness and violence*] To remedy the obscurity of the present vs. 20b all sorts of emendations have been suggested, though all difficulty is removed by the reading of Syr., *mdul d'ethmēlī dairē' d'ar'ā ḥēshokā we'aulā*, which shows that the original word order and reading are as follows:

כִּי בִלְאִי נֹאֵת אֶרֶץ בַּחֹשֶׁךְ וְחָמָס

21. *crushed and ashamed*] Read, with Gr., רָן. With regard to the verse as a whole, note that it consists of one sentence only, the subject of which is '*anī wē'ebayōn* and the predicate '*al yashōb*: the singular of the predicate is to be explained by the fact that '*anī wē'ebayōn* is logically a single subject; *tak wēniklām* are predicate adjectives, more accurately, adverbial accusatives of product or result (cf. Isa. 9:17, *wayyith'abbekū gē'ūth 'ashān*, "Upward they whirl as columns of smoke"), and *yēhalēlū shēmeka* is a relative clause.

22b, 18aa, b. Vs. 22b consists partly of corrupt readings and partly of defective text: the parts missing are, however, not lost but have been misplaced in vs. 18. The corrupt readings are (1) *herpathēka* or, as Gr. reads, *ḥāraphōthēka*, instead of which the text read originally אֶרֶץ אוֹתֶךָ, of which evidence is found in vs. 18b; and (2) *minni*, the original text being *wē'am*, as vs. 18b shows. The parts omitted are (1) the original subject of *hereph*, namely, '*ōyeb*, to which, when it was put in the margin, *hereph* was added as a cue; and (2) the original predicate, with its object, of *wē'am*, namely, *nī'āšū shēmeka*, to which, when it was put in the margin, '*am nabal* was prefixed as a cue: as usual, the two omissions with their cues were in the next copy taken into the text at random. The original text of vss. 22b and 18b, as restored, reads:

*zēkor 'ōyeb hereph 'ōthēka
wē'am nabal nī'āšū shēmeka kol ḥayyōm.*

The present object '*ādōnai* of *hereph* in vs. 18 was subsequently added.

23. *The roars . . . that fill the air* is the English equivalent of the Hebrew idiom *shē'ōn 'ōlē*.

79:1. *a heap of ruins*] The complementary object is construed with *le*.

4. *We have become an abhorrence to our neighbors,*

[*The scorn and derision of the people round about us*] Cf. Ps. 31:12-13 and the comment on it, p. 567.

5. *Will thy anger burn forever . . . ?*] Contrary to the accents and the customary interpretation, *lanešah* is to be construed with the second stich; *qin'ā* denotes *anger*, as again in Deut. 29:19 and Ezek. 16:42, where *qin'a* is used as a synonym of '*aph* and *ḥema*.

7. *they have devoured*] Read, with a number of MSS, the Versions, and Jer. 10:35, אָכַל, which, being written without final vowel letter, was mistaken for the third sing. by the Massoretes. The verse recurs verbatim in Jer. 10:25, where it has been added from this psalm by later editors.

10. *Beware lest*] This is the force and meaning of *lamma*, as often elsewhere: cf. *Heb. Lexica*, *mā* (s.v.), and note that Gr. correctly renders it μήποτε.

11. *the groans of the prisoners . . . those who are in the throes of death*] These words find their explanation in the deathblow dealt to the people by the armies of Artaxerxes III Ochus and the additional fact that many of them were led away captive: cf. Pss. 88:7, 9cG, 6, and 22:16c.

deliver] Read, with Syr. and Targ., דָּלַח: cf. Pss. 105:20 and 146:7 (Baethgen and others).

12. *Pay back our neighbors . . . for the taunts with which they affront thee*] The verse is elucidated by the more explicit complaints of Pss. 31:14 and 38:13 and by what has been pointed out about these above (p. 567).

C. PSALMS 13, 143, 77, 90, 94, AND 116A

PSALM 13

*

- 2 How long, O Lord?
Wilt thou forget me forever?
How long wilt thou hide thy face from me?
- 3 How long shall care fill my soul,
Sorrow dwell in my heart?
How long shall mine enemy triumph over me?
- 4 Look at me, hear my prayer, O Lord my God.
Light up mine eyes lest I be doomed to sleep the sleep
of death,
- 5 Lest the enemy say,
"I have subdued him!"
And my foes exult when I sink in defeat.
- 6 Still I trust in thy love,
My heart rejoices in the deliverance thou wilt work.
I will sing unto the Lord,
For he is sure to deal bountifully with me.

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David.

As in every one of the first group of the psalms inspired by the calamitous happenings of the year 344 B.C., so in Psalm 13 "I" is not the psalmist speaking of himself but the voice of the nation speaking through him. The psalm opens with virtually²⁰⁹ the same question—"How long, O Lord?"—with which the first strophe of Psalm 6 closes, while the more agonizing cry which follows this question—"Wilt thou forget me forever?"—is very similar to that with which Psalm 74 begins—"O God, why hast thou forever cast us off?"—and also to the entreaty, occurring in the last strophe of that psalm, "Oh, forget not forever thy poor people." Both questions are asked also in Psalm 79 (at the beginning of the second strophe), in different and less expressive language, however,

How long, O Lord, wilt thou be wroth?
Will thine anger burn forever like fire?

Since the significance of these questions has been dwelled upon in treating both Psalm 6 and Psalms 74 and 79, it needs no further discussion.

Moreover, the line,

Light up mine eyes, lest I be doomed to sleep the sleep of death,

recalls the prayer to the same effect of Psalm 79,

And by thy mighty arm deliver those that are in the throes of death,

as well as the line,

Thou hast all but laid me in the dust of the grave,

of Psalm 22 and the more elaborate figure by which Ps. 88:7, 9cG, 6, describes the deathblow which the nation suffered at the hand of Artaxerxes III Ochus. It is plain, then, that Psalm 13 is another poem inspired by this catastrophe.

The spiritual significance of the psalm is brought out by the concluding strophe. In spite of what has happened, and in spite of the fact that ever since the Restoration the nation's life had

²⁰⁹ Note that in the original the difference in expression between the two questions is more far-reaching than can be brought out by the translation: aside from the changed word order and the use of the synonymous interrogative adverb *'ad mathai* for *'ad 'ana*, in Psalm 6 the vocative *'ādōnai* has attributive *'atta*—a peculiarity which does not admit of translation.

been a ceaseless struggle for existence, the psalmist affirms his unshaken faith in God:

Still I trust in thy love,
My heart rejoices in the deliverance thou wilt work.
I will sing unto the Lord,
For he is sure to deal bountifully with me.

It but accords with this transcendent faith that he will not admit defeat, for note that, following the words,

Lest I be doomed to sleep the sleep of death,

picturing the real situation, he goes on to say in a somewhat modified tone,

Lest the enemy say,
"I have subdued him!"
And my foes exult when I sink in defeat.

In this way he leads up with masterly skill to the hope expressed in the concluding strophe—that their crushing defeat neither can nor will be final but that God in his infinite love will yet turn it into triumph. Without question, the psalm is a gem. It ranks poetically as well as spiritually with Psalm 6 and the six others of the group written by one and the same author, and so does every one of the five following psalms, each of which is the work of a different author of original genius. What a galaxy of poets they are—all imbued alike with the spirit of the great prophets and pointing the way to the light in the darkest hours of post-Exilic history!

2. *Wilt thou forget me forever?*] *Tishkakeni neṣah* is an independent interrogative sentence, not introduced by an interrogative particle, as the parallels from Psalms 74 and 79, quoted above, show. The customary rendering, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou forget me forever?" is nonsensical.

3. *care*] This meaning, with which the intensive plural *'eṣōth* is used here, follows from the parallel phrase *yagōn*: cf. I Chron. 12:19, where *bā'eṣa* means "being wary."

Sorrow dwell in my heart?] *'Āna 'ashīth* is to be construed also with *yagōn bilbabī*, as is shown by the fact that the next sentence again begins with *'āna*. This being the case, it is obvious that *yōmam* cannot be an original reading but was added later by someone who failed to recognize the sentence structure.

4. *Look at me*] The suffix of *'dnēnī* is to be construed also with *habbīṭa*, being a case of brachylogy.

5. *I be doomed to sleep*] This is the modal force with which the imperfect 'ishan is used here.

the sleep of death] Hammaweth is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun shēnath being omitted.

6. *the deliverance thou wilt work*] The pronominal suffix of yēshū'athēka has the force of a subjective genitive.

he is sure to deal bountifully] The perfect gamal is a prophetic perfect, expressing the writer's assurance in the deliverance God will bestow upon them. It lends color to the faith expressed in the verse.

PSALM 143

*

1a-b Hear my prayer, O Lord,

Hearken to my supplication;

1ca Answer me in thy faithfulness,

2 And summon not thy servant to judgment:

For in thy sight no living being can be righteous.

(1cβ) 11b O Lord, save my life in thy righteousness,

12aa, 11c And in thy love deliver my soul from misery:

3 For the enemy has hunted me down;

He has trampled my life in the dust:

He has consigned me to the dismal darkness of those
that have been long dead.

4 As my spirits droop,

As my heart within me is dead,

5 I recall the days of old,

I think of all thy deeds,

I reflect on the works of thy hand.

6a I stretch out my hands unto thee:

7a Oh, hasten to answer me, Lord;

8d, 6b, 7b For unto thee my soul turns in a weary land,

My spirit pines for thee.

7c-d Hide not thy face from me,

Lest I be like those that have gone down to the grave.

8a-c Let me soon see thy love,

For I trust in thee.

* A Psalm of David.

- Show me the way wherein to walk;†
 10 Teach me to do thy will,
 For thou art my God:
 Let thy good spirit lead me into the land of upright-
 ness
 11a For thy name's sake.

The psalm does not admit of individualistic interpretation, many commentators to the contrary; as in Psalm 13, it is Israel personified that speaks. As proof of this, note, first of all, that the psalmist's recalling the days of old and God's memorable deeds shows that he is contrasting his people's present misery with their glorious past when God was visibly with them. Still more conclusive are the lines,

He has trampled my life in the dust:
 He has consigned me to the dismal darkness of those
 that have been long dead,

the first of which expresses in different language the same thought as does verse 16c, "Thou hast all but laid me in the dust of the grave," of Psalm 22, while the second is modeled after verses 7, 9cG, 6, of Psalm 88 and, with "the enemy" as subject instead of "thou" (God) as in the pattern, tells briefly what has there been said more elaborately and more passionately. And what has been remarked above (pp. 586 f.) about those verses of Psalms 88 and 22, applies also to their parallels in the present psalm: they do not admit of the prevalent interpretation—that the writer speaks of personal danger of death—but are figures of speech describing the nation as all but swept out of existence by the implacable foe. Further, the line, "Lest I be like those who have gone down to the grave"—another figure describing the nation as overtaken by disaster—is modeled after Ps. 88:5a, with "I am counted among" changed (advisedly) to "Lest I am like" in order to make the line fit the altered case, that is, its dependence upon the supplication, "Hide not thy face from me."

† Vss. 9 and 12aβ, b-c are not an original part of this psalm but have been misplaced here from Psalm 141.

Before drawing the obvious conclusion from the dependence upon Psalm 88 of the lines, "He has consigned me to the dismal darkness of those who have been long dead" and "Lest I be like those that have gone down to the grave," we must dispose of another matter. From the verbatim recurrence of the one in Lam. 3:6 and of the other in Ps. 28:1*b* it has commonly been deduced that the writer of Psalm 143 quoted these passages, whereas in reality the reverse is the case: Lam. 3:6 and Ps. 28:1*b*, being discrepant elements within their context, are unmistakably quotations from Psalm 143. For note that the author of the late product Lamentations, chapter 3,²¹⁰ describes, in verses 5, 7-9, the disaster besetting him by the twofold figure of prison walls and heavy chains which make escape impossible, and that this figure is disrupted by the intervening line, "He has consigned me to the dismal darkness of those that have been long dead." Note also that in Psalm 28 the line, "I be like those that have gone down to the grave," is neither cogent as a continuation of "I call unto thee, O Lord, my rock, Be not silent unto me: Lest, if thou be silent," nor is it congruous with the rest of the psalm, which contains no suggestion that the nation was threatened with destruction. These discrepancies stamp Ps. 28:1*b* as a clear case of plagiarism, and Lam. 3:6 either as another such case or, what is more probable, as a later addition from Psalm 143, made originally in the margin. In Psalm 143, however, verses 3*c* and 7*d* are each coherent with the lines leading up to them. Note the climactic effect of the first of them: the psalmist tells, first, how the enemy has hunted him down, then, how he has trampled his life in the dust, and, finally, how he has consigned him to the silence of the grave. In no wise different is the aesthetic effect of the second verse. Turning to God in prayer, the poet says first,

I stretch out my hands unto thee:
Oh, hasten to answer me, Lord;

then, he pleads more fervently,

For unto thee my soul turns in a weary land,
My spirit pines for thee;

²¹⁰ See above, pp. 294 and 603.

finally, he urges that, if God ignores his cry, all hope will be gone: he and his people will be condemned to eternal oblivion.

This brings us back to our starting-point. From the figures employed in both verses it is clear that the psalm was occasioned by a catastrophe of the first magnitude, and from the relationship of the lines to Psalm 88 and its companion piece, Psalm 22, it may safely be concluded that it was the same catastrophic event that inspired them and the other five psalms of the same author. This conclusion is further confirmed by the similarity which the psalmist's reflections in verses 4-5 bear to those of Ps. 74:12-17 and Isa. 63:7-16, both of which dwell at length on the contrast between the hopeless present and the glorious deeds of God in the nation's past, and also to the like reflections in 77:6-21—another psalm called forth by the disastrous happenings of the year 344 B.C. The conclusion is, finally, borne out by the close relationship which the psalm shows also to Psalm 38, the leading idea of which looms large in it. Both writers are oppressed by their consciousness of human sinfulness and regard it as the primary evil—the real cause of the calamity which has been visited on the nation. And still more important is that, in spite of all they have in common, there is much individual difference between them. The impassioned cry with which Psalm 38 begins is mitigated in Psalm 143, given a more human touch. Instead of pleading that God judge them not in anger or chastise them in wrath, the writer of Psalm 143 prays that God temper justice with love, that, mindful of their human imperfection, he measure them not by the standard of divine perfection but grant them forgiveness as it behooves his boundless love. Above all, does he beseech God to give him the moral strength to lead the good life—a life in conformity with God's holy will and purpose. And he caps this prayer by expressing in the end his longing for a regenerated society, for a world of uprightness.

One other point of similarity between Psalm 143 and Psalm 88 remains to be mentioned: "Hide not thy face from me" (vs. 7*c*) occurs as a question in Ps. 88:15, and, further modified, the phrase is found also in other psalms of the group (cf. 30:8;

31:21; 22:25). In addition to the influence of these psalms, Psalm 143 shows also that, of the Job drama; the line, "And summon not thy servant to judgment," is a variation of Job 14:3, "And him [frail, imperfect man] thou dost summon to judgment"; and the words, "For in thy sight no living being can be righteous," resemble Job 9:2, "How can man be just in the presence of God?" or, as it is put in 4:17, "Can mortal be just in the presence of God? Can man be pure before his Maker?"

The psalm has suffered text disorder in the course of transmission, and—worse still—two verses from Psalm 141 have been misplaced into it. First, verse 3, "For the enemy has hunted me down, etc.," cannot be the original continuation of "For in thy sight no living being can be righteous," not being a motivation of it. Further, verse 11*b-c* is clearly out of place where found now, being an anticlimax; but, when it is put between verses 2 and 3, the sequence of these verses becomes perfect. We have, besides, a piece of external evidence that verse 11*b-c* stood originally here in *bešidqathēka* (found now at the end of vs. 2), which had been left behind when the rest of the verse was omitted (and put in the margin), and which was repeated after *tēhayyēnī* as a cue. (The present place of *bešidqathēka* is a subsequent erratum.) Equally plain it is that *ūbēḥasdeka* cannot be an original part of *tašmith 'ōyēbai* but must have stood in verse 11*b-c* before *tōšī'*, for "And in thy love crush my enemies" is absurd and cannot be defended by any exegetical ingenuity. This omission, too, of *ūbēḥasdeka* from verse 11*b-c* and its insertion (from the margin) at the head of verse 12 mark subsequent errata in the transmission, introduced after the verse had been omitted from its primary place between verses 2 and 3.

The present text of verses 6–7*b* in which instead of *kē'ereš* of verse 6*b*, the text read originally *נב*, as many manuscripts show, presents another such case of successive errata. Note that *naphshī bē'ereš 'āyepha* as well as *lēka* is clearly defective text. Now the Targum of verse 7*b*, reading *rgigath lak rūhī*, shows that *lēka* of verse 6*b* stood originally in verse 7*b* after *kalētha*,

being its objective. Also *naphshī bē'ereṣ 'āyepha* stood here originally, before *kalētha*, as may be seen from the fact that, with the words originally belonging to it, it forms a complete parallel stich to *kalētha lēka rūḥī*. These words are *ki 'elēka nasā'thī* of verse 8*d*: when omitted before *naphshī* they were, with *naphshī* added to them as a cue, put in the margin, whence in the next copy they were with the cue joined to verse 8 at random. The restored text of these lines, following the distich formed by verses 6*a* and 7*a*, reads:

כִּי אֵלֶיךָ נִשְׁאַחֵי נַפְשִׁי בָּאָרֶץ עִיפָה כִּלְחָה לֶךְ רוּחִי 8*d*, 6*b*, 7*b*

Finally, as to verses 9 and 12 (exclusive of *bēḥasdēka*), note that the first betrays itself at a glance as being not an integral part of the psalm by the fact that it is a break in the sequence, verse 10 being the original, immediate continuation of verse 8*c*; note also that verse 12 is commonly conceded to be discrepant with the pre-eminently spiritual prayer that precedes, though the interpreters have failed to draw the proper conclusion from this fact. But the main thing is that internal and external evidence alike show that both verses were originally omitted from Psalm 141: the further discussion of this point, however, must be deferred until we take up that psalm.

2. *summon*] Read, with Syr. and the parallel thought in Job 14:3, תִּבְּאֵה.

3. *dismal darkness*] *Maḥḏshakkīm* is an intensive plural.

4-5. These two verses of paratactic sentence structure form a composite temporal sentence: the first clause of the protasis is formed with the imperfect with *waw consecutivum* and the second with simple imperfect; of the three clauses of the apodosis, the two first are formed with perfect and the last with imperfect.

droop] Cf. the notes on Pss. 42:6-7 and 12:6.

thy deeds] Read, with some MSS and the Versions, plural *pē'alēka*.

the works] Read, with some MSS, Gr., and Hier., plural *ma'āsē*.

8. *soon*] Cf. Ps. 90:14, where *baboger* is found again with this meaning.

PSALM 77

*

- 2 I cry aloud to God,
I cry aloud to him to hear me.

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of Jeduthun. Of Asaph. A Psalm.

- 3 I seek the Lord in my hour of need,
I stretch forth my hands to him;
In the night mine eyes stream tears without cease:
My soul will not be comforted.
- 4 When I think on God, I sigh,
When I commune with him, my spirit faints.
- 5 Thou keepest mine eyes awake;†
I am too troubled to speak.
- 6 I think of the days of old,
Of the years that are long past:
- 12-13 I will recall the deeds of God,
(7aa) Yea, the wonders of old will I recall.
I reflect on all thou hast done,
And call to mind thy glorious deeds.
- 7aβ, b In the night I commune with my heart,
And my spirit goes deep into the question:
- 8 Will God cast us off forever?
Will he never again incline to us in favor?
- 9 Is his love gone for aye?
Has his promise failed for evermore?
- 10 Has God forgotten to be gracious?
Has he in anger withdrawn his mercy?
- 11 But I say,
Because of mine infirmity the right hand of the Most
High seems changed.
- 14 O God, sublime are thy ways;
What other god is as great as our God?
- 15 Thou art the true God; thou workest wonders.
Thou didst manifest thy power to the pagan world
- 16 When with thy mighty arm thou didst redeem thy
people,
The sons of Jacob and Joseph.
- 17 When the waters saw thee, O God,
When the waters saw thee, they trembled;

† Or *Thou holdest open mine eyelids.*

- Yea, the depths of the sea were convulsed.
18 The clouds streamed forth water,
The skies thundered, and thy bolts flashed.
19 Thy thunder crashed amid the whirlwind,
Lightning lit up the world,
The earth trembled and shook.
20 Thy way led through the sea,
Thy path through deep waters,
But thy footsteps were not perceived.
21 Thou didst lead thy people like a flock
By the hand of Moses and Aaron.

There cannot possibly be any doubt that common sorrow, not personal grief, inspired this psalm. Express proof of this is verse 8, where, changing from "I" and "me" to "us," the writer exclaims:

Will God cast us off forever?
Will he never again incline to us in favor?

Equally conclusive is the fact that in his despair he recalls the wondrous deeds of God in their days of old—how he delivered them from the bondage of Egypt and displayed his might at the Red Sea.

The psalm falls into two parts. The first (vss. 2-6, 12-13, and 7-11) pictures the singer's agony because of the tragic fate the nation has suffered. In vain does he stretch forth his hands to God. There is no comforting, reassuring answer from him to his despondent cry. And the more he ponders and broods, the more hopeless does his people's plight look to him. It seems as if God had cast them off forever, as if his love was gone for aye. Then in a sudden change of tone he conquers his despair and declares that it was human infirmity that made him give way to it, made him think that the right hand of God had really changed.

The two lines which describe the reaction from his erstwhile despairing mood form the transition to the second part (vss. 14-21), which in tone and diction as well as in cadence is alto-

gether different from the first elegiac part, being a spirited hymn. It shows how the poet, by calling to his mind God's "glorious deeds" at the time of the birth of the nation when he led his people out of Egypt, becomes reassured that their apparent rejection by God cannot be permanent. In that marvelous event and manifestation of their God before the eyes of the world, he finds hope for the future, however dark and foreboding the present be.

This second part ends very abruptly and gives the impression that the psalm is incomplete, that its original conclusion is missing. To this view of a number of interpreters, others, admitting that the ending is abrupt, have objected that it is intentional, enhancing the poetic effect of the psalm. Their argument is, however, not convincing, and the fact remains that

Thou didst lead thy people like a flock
By the hand of Moses and Aaron

does not read as though it were the original conclusion.

Evidence that the psalm is another product occasioned by the catastrophe of 344 B.C. is furnished, first of all, by the passage:

In the night I commune with my heart,
And my spirit goes deep into the question:
Will God cast us off forever?
Will he never again incline to us in favor?
Is his love gone for aye?
Has his promise failed for evermore?
Has God forgotten to be gracious?
Has he in anger withdrawn his mercy?

It is the same agonizing question, expressed with more passion and eloquence, which, we have seen, is typical of ever so many of the psalms inspired by the real crisis of post-Exilic history, and which finds its explanation in the fact that since the Restoration the life of the nation had been but a protracted struggle for existence, and that now, by the deathblow the people had suffered at the hand of Artaxerxes III Ochus, no hope seemed left for them. This desperate situation lends point to the line,

Has his promise failed for evermore?

by which the psalmist means to imply that it seems as if the prophecies of hope of Deutero-Isaiah and his predecessors had never been fulfilled.

As further proof of this date note that the psalmist's recalling how God redeemed Israel from Egypt and his drawing strength and hope from this recollection are a prominent feature in Psalm 74 and in Isa. 63:7—64:11. The latter piece, the opening part of which (vss. 7-16) is taken up with a very similar recollection, may be pointed out as additional proof that the second part of Psalm 77 is fragmentary: observe how much more complete and rounded out the parallel lines, Isa. 63:12-14, are than the concluding verses 20-21 of Psalm 77, and how they serve the end in view far better than these.

To get back to the date, note also the marked similarity verses 4 and 6 with 12-13 bear to verses 4-5 of the preceding Psalm 143: the wording of 77:13a, *hagīthī bēkol pa'āteka*, is identically the same as that of 143:5b; and that of 77:4b, *wēthith'atteph rūhī*, is practically the same as that of 143:4a, *wattith'atteph 'alai rūhī*; while for 77:6 we have, in 143:5a, *zakartī yamīm miqqedem*. Yet the really noteworthy feature of these two sets of verses is that their striking resemblance goes hand in hand with a pleasing variety marking their component stichs, which shows that what they have in common is not attributable to labored imitation of one writer by another but rather to the fact that both wrote under similar emotions, having gone through the same trying experience.

Note, finally, that there is some similarity also between the opening lines of Psalm 77,

I cry aloud to God,
I cry aloud to him to hear me,
. . . . I stretch forth my hands to him;
In the night mine eyes stream tears without cease,

and those of Psalm 88,

O Lord my God, I call for help in the daytime,
And at night I cry to thee.
Let my prayer reach thee,

as well as those of Psalm 22,

. . . O my God, I call in the daytime, but thou hearest not,
And in the night, but find no rest,

and that both were, like Psalm 77, written after the fatal blow had fallen.

It is of importance for the question of the authorship of Psalm 77 to point out that this point of similarity between it and Psalms 88 and 22 goes hand in hand with an interesting difference in their spiritual outlook. The author of Psalms 88 and 22, too, draws strength from the past experience of the nation, not, however, from the exodus out of Egypt but from the glorious faith of the prophets and their undying hope for a regenerate society—a world of moral perfection.

What the psalm has in common with Habakkuk is limited to a number of phrases of verses 17-18 and 20: *ra'ūka . . . yaḥilū; qōl nathēnū; ḥāṣaṣēka yithhallakū; hayyam; and mayīm rabbīm*, which occur either verbatim or somewhat modified in Hab. 3:10, 15. But, since present-day critics are generally agreed that the prayer, Habakkuk, chapter 3, is a post-Exilic addition to the prophecy of Habakkuk, it is just as possible that the writer of the prayer copied Psalm 77, and another more probable alternative, to my mind, is that both writers copied from an older source. But however this may be, one thing is certain—there is no warrant for maintaining, as many do, that Psalm 77 is dependent on Habakkuk and, least of all, that it “breathes the spirit of Habakkuk.”

Verses 12-13 where found now are not in their original place. A clue as to where they stood originally we have, first, in the identity of *'ezkēra* of verse 7 and *'ezkor*, the first word of verse 12, and, second, in the further fact that *nəgīnathī*, following *'ezkēra*, is, as the Greek and Syriac show, a corruption of original *hagīthī*, which in its turn is identical with the first word of verse 13. And, since *'ezkēra* and *hagīthī* are disjoined phrases in verse 7, the obvious conclusion is that they were left behind when in the course of transmission the rest of the present verses 12-13 were omitted thence and that, when both were put in the margin, *'ezkor* was prefixed as a cue to the

one, and *hagīthi* to the other. Cue and all were, as usual, inserted at random in the next copy. Internal evidence that these verses followed originally verse 6 may be seen in the fact that they complete the thought of this verse and in the further fact that equally plain it is that verses 14-15 are the immediate continuation of verse 11. Having confessed in this verse that his despair made it seem to him as if the right hand of God had changed, he goes on to say in a positive vein,

O God, sublime are thy ways;
What other god is as great as our God?

2. *aloud*] *Qōlī* is an adverbial accusative and, in addition, a case of ellipsis, the qualifying adjective *gadōl* being omitted: cf. the note on Ps. 3:5.

3. *I stretch forth my hands to him . . . mine eyes stream tears*] The meaning *nigrā*, "pours out" or "streams," precludes the possibility of its being the predicate of *yadī*; as the predicate of *yadī* the text read originally נגדר, as Gr. *évavriov aúroû* shows, while as the original subject of *nigrā* the text read עיני after *nigrā*, as Targ. *selgath 'ēnī dim'athā* shows; as further proof of this reading, note that the phrase recurs in Lam. 3:49, 'eni *nigrā wēlō* thidmē.

5. *keepest mine eyes awake or holdest open mine eyelids*] *Shēmūrōth* may be one of two things: either complementary object of 'ēnai or the Hebrew of Aram. *temrē* "lids"; the former seems to me more probable. As to *shamar* denoting *awake*, cf. 'ashmūra, "a watch" (in the night), Ps. 90:4; also Arab. *lailatun sammāratun*, "a wakeful night"; Nöldeke, *Delectus veterum carminum arabicorum*, p. 108, l. 5.

12. *the wonders*] Read, with many MSS and the Versions, פלאִים.

13. *on all thou hast done*] Read, with many MSS, Gr., and Syr., plural *pē'alēka*.

11. *my infirmity*] Read, with the Versions, חֲלָוִתִי. In translating the verse, I advisedly departed from the sentence structure of the Hebrew, in which the psalmist says that the change of the right hand of the Most High exists but in the infirmity of his own mind, that is, in the fact that he has despaired of God.

14. *sublime are*] The preposition *bē* of *baqqodesh* is *bē essentiae* used with the nominal predicate: cf. the notes on Pss. 16:6; 63:3; 68B:25; and pp. 35 and 533.

as our God] Read, with Gr. and Syr., אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

15. *the true God*] This is the meaning expressed by the definite article *ha'ēl*.

16. *with thy mighty arm*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., יָדְךָ.

20. *led through*] Nominal sentences are not limited as to time but can express past occurrence as well as present or future.

PSALM 90

- 1* O Lord, thou hast been our stronghold in every age:
2 Through eternity thou hast been God,
Ere the mountains were born,
And the universe and earth were created.
- 4a, b β Verily, a thousand years are in thine eyes but as yesterday,
But as a watch in the night.
3 Thou humblest men in the dust and sayest,
Turn from sin, ye sons of men.
5a Storm-swept by thy hand, they fall into a lasting sleep,
4ba, 5b β Passing away as green herbs vanish
6 Which burst into bloom in the morning
And by night are withered and shriveled.
- 7 Yea, we are consumed by thine anger,
And by thy wrath we are confounded.
8 Thou keepest our sins present before thee,
Thou bringest our secret sins into the light of thy countenance.
9 Our days vanish in the face of thy fury,
Swift as a thought our years go.
- 10 The days of our life are three score and ten,
At most four score:
They are all confusion, toil and misery.
Quickly they pass, and we fly away.
11 Who knows the force of thine anger?
Who perceives the violence of thy wrath?
12 Oh, teach us to count our days
That we may become wise of heart.
- 13 Suppress thine anger—yea, how long?
Have pity on thy servants.

* A Prayer of Moses, the Man of God.

- 14 Give us soon thy love in abundance,
That we may sing and rejoice all our days.
- 15 Gladden us in proportion to the days thou hast
afflicted us,
The years that we have seen evil.
- 16 Let thy deeds be manifest to thy servants
And thy glory to their children.

A LITURGICAL ADDITION

- 17 May the favor of the Lord our God rest on us,
Establish the work of our hands.
Yea, the work of our hands establish thou it.

Evidence that Psalm 90 also is a product of the fatal year 344 B.C. may be seen in the ironic question,

Yea, how long?

with which the poet continues his impassioned cry to God,

Suppress thine anger,

as well as in the lines following it,

Have pity on thy servants,
Give us soon thy love in abundance,
. . . . Gladden us in proportion to the days thou hast afflicted us,
The years that we have seen evil.

All these lines find their explanation in the tragedy that had just happened and which was but intensified by the memory of the dark centuries that had gone before. It accounts also for the deep gloom that marks every line of the psalm.

The historical background makes the spiritual significance of the psalm stand out more prominently than ever and stamps the elegy as a work of the distinctive genius of Israel. The tragedy of his people has taught the poet the true vision of life. He knows that life is nothing but a flitting shadow—a breath of nature annihilates us. But more valuable than this negative thought is the positive reasoning that goes with it. It is borne in on the psalmist that man can conquer nature by penetrating beyond her medley of circumstance to the changeless and the eternal. The reality of God, of a fatherly, loving God, is the

rock that upholds him in the storm-swept sea of life which threatens to engulf him and his people.

O Lord, thou hast been our stronghold in every age:
Through eternity thou hast been God,
Ere the mountains were born,
And the universe and earth were created—

these are the significant words with which he begins the psalm. In a similar strain the writer of Psalm 22, when he sees all his hopes shattered, sees that in vain had he hoped that God forsake him not, declares,

Yet thou art enthroned as the Holy One,
Art the glory of Israel.
... Thou hast been my prop from my birth,
Thou hast imbued me with hope from the days
When I lay *an infant* at my mother's breast:
... Ever since I came from my mother's womb
Thou hast been my God.

And the author of Psalm 90 shows his kinship of spirit with the writer of Psalm 22 and the six other psalms belonging to the same group by still another leading thought. Like him (see Psalm 38) he is weighed down by his consciousness of human sinfulness as the greatest evil of life and seeks to rouse his people to the realization that they have been chastised by God so that they may turn from their evil ways. He tells them that, in order to escape "the confusion, toil and misery" of his earthly existence, man must learn "to become wise of heart"; he must transmute suffering into triumph, must turn it to his spiritual good by accepting it as a divine discipline, meant to purify and ennoble his soul:

Thou humblest men in the dust and sayest,
Turn from sin, ye sons of men.

It is also of importance to note the marked resemblance between the line,

Give us soon thy love in abundance,

and that of Ps. 143:8,

Let us soon see thy love—

a resemblance which is enhanced by the fact that in both psalms *babboqer* is used with the meaning "soon." Another such striking detail is the elliptical phrase *shūba*, "suppress thine anger" (vs. 13), which the psalm has in common with Ps. 6:5, the first of the group of seven psalms of common authorship, to which Psalm 90 is so closely related in spirit.

1. *stronghold*] Instead of *ma'ōn*, read, with some MSS. and Gr., מַעֲזֵר.

4a, bβ, 3. Vs. 4, as has been observed by others before, is the original continuation of vs. 2, being supplementary to it: *a thousand years are in thine eyes but as yesterday* is the biblical poet's way of saying that time (a function of finite intelligence) does not exist for the infinite, eternal mind.

but as yesterday] *Ki ya'ābor* cannot be an original part of vs. 4, for "are but as yesterday when it is past" would be worse than a tautology—it would obscure the very thought conveyed: the fact of the matter is that *ki* is dittography of *ki* of the first stich and *ya'ābor* has been misplaced into the verse from vs. 5, as we shall see presently.

5a. *Storm-swept by thy hand*] *Zeramtām* requires no emendation, being a denominative verb, derived from *zerem*, the primary meaning of which is "storm": the literal translation of the verse is "Thou sweepest them away as if by a storm." Nor does *shena yihēyū* require an emendation, but means *they fall into a lasting sleep*, as may be seen from Job 14:12, "They will not awake nor stir (*mishshēnathām*) out of their sleep," and also from Dan. 12:2, *rabbīm miyēshenē 'adēmāth 'aphar*, "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth": the expression finds its explanation in the fact that death is universally spoken of as sleep.

4ba, 5bβ. *Passing away as green herbs vanish*] As already mentioned, *ya'ābor*, reading יַעֲבֹר, stood originally in this stich, before *kēḥašir*; the preceding *babboqer* is to be omitted as dittography of the same word of the following verse. With the meaning *vanish ḥalaph* occurs again in Isa. 2:18 and Ps. 102:27.

6. *Which burst into bloom*] *Ḥalaph* is a complementary verb to *yašīš*; cf. Job 14:7, *wē'ōd yaḥāliph*, "It will sprout anew": this verb must not be confused with *ḥalaph* of the preceding verse, being of another root.

9. *Swift as a thought our years go*] Read, with Syr., כָּלִי: cf. the parallel expression, Job 17:11, *yamai 'aberu zimmōth* (without pronom. suffix, as Syr. reads), "Swift as a thought my days vanish"; the abstract *zimmōth* is an accusative of comparison.

10. Omit, with Targ., *bahēm* as dittography of final *b* of *rahab* and the following *hēm*.

They are all confusion] Read רַבָּה הֵם; note that the verb *rahab* means "be agitated, be perturbed."

they pass] Read, with Targ., נָזַר, which was written without a final vowel letter and hence read as singular.

11. *perceives the violence*] *Ukēyir'athēka* is corrupt; the text read origi-

nally יָכִיר אֱתֹן, as Halévy has discerned: cf. Job 12:19, 'ēthānīm, "the mighty."

13. *Suppress thine anger*] The customary translation of *shūba* has failed to recognize that it is a case of ellipsis, the prepositional phrase *meḥārōn 'appēka* being omitted: the full phrase occurs in Exod. 32:12.

17. This verse is clearly not an original part of the psalm, being in a different vein and also in style strikingly different from it. It is doubtless a later liturgical addition.

PSALM 94

- 1b O God, to whom vengeance belongs, reveal thyself.*
 2 Arise, thou Judge of the earth,
 Render to the haughty their deserts.
 3 O Lord, how long shall the wicked triumph?
 4 How long shall they speak arrogantly,
 Shall evildoers vaunt themselves?
 5 They crush thy people, O Lord,
 And oppress thy heritage.
 6 They slay the widow and the stranger
 And murder the fatherless.
 21 They attack the righteous,
 And condemn innocent blood.
 23 May the Lord repay them for their iniquity and wicked-
 ness,
 May the Lord our God destroy them.
 7 The people say,
 "The Lord sees it not,
 The God of Jacob pays no heed:
 20 Has the throne of terror thee for an ally,
 The throne that frames evil without limit?"
 8 Acquire understanding, ye dull-minded people!
 When will ye become wise, ye fools?
 9 Can he who made the ear not hear?
 Can he who made the eye not see?
 10 Will he who instructs nations
 And teaches men wisdom not judge them?

* 1a O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongs.

- 11 The Lord knows the minds of men,
 Knows that they are engaged in vain pursuits.
- 12-13 Blessed is the man whom thou trainest
 And by thy discipline teachest not to be troubled
 About the evil days when the pit will yawn for the
 wicked.
- 14 Yea, the Lord will not cast off his people,
 Nor abandon his heritage:
- 15 The righteous will yet receive justice;
 There is a future for all who are upright of heart.
- 16 Who will stand up for me against the wicked?
 Who will defend me against the evildoers?
- 17 If God were not my help,
 I would soon lie in the silent grave.
- 18 When I think, "My foot is slipping,"
 Thy love, O Lord, upholds me.
- 19 When my heart is drowned in cares,
 My soul takes comfort in thy consolation.
- 22 The Lord is a tower of strength to me,
 My God is the rock whereto I retreat for refuge.

The psalm was clearly written when the nation had suffered a ruinous blow at the hand of a ruthless enemy. Proof of this is the description the writer gives of the people's reaction to the disaster. In their despair they cry out,

"The Lord sees it not,
The God of Jacob pays no heed;
Has the throne of terror thee for an ally,
The throne that frames evil without limit?"

Further evidence of this is the fact that, though the author has composed the psalm for the avowed purpose of rescuing his people from the slough of despond, yet is he unable to conceal his own desolate heart, "drowned in cares," but confesses that were it not for his faith in God, he, too, would succumb to despair:

If God were not my help,
I would soon lie in the silent grave.

This utterance shows that the nation had indeed been laid in the dust, as does also the assurance which he gives the people in the lines that precede:

Yea, the Lord will not cast off his people,
Nor abandon his heritage:
The righteous will yet receive justice.

Like the prayer with which the psalm opens—that God reveal himself to wreak vengeance on the wicked enemy who has crushed his people—these lines are direct evidence that the opposite of what they say had in reality happened. They tell the same story as do the preceding psalms, say implicitly (though in nearly the same words) what a number of them said explicitly—that the Lord had cast off his people, had abandoned his heritage. This being the case, it is clear that Psalm 94 is another product having for its historical background the deathblow Artaxerxes III Ochus dealt Judaea in 344 B.C. This is borne out also by the lines,

Has the throne of terror thee for an ally,
The throne that frames evil without limit?

The words, "The throne of terror—the throne that frames evil without limit," describe Artaxerxes III Ochus with masterly brevity. He was a cruel monarch, reigning with iron hand and unscrupulous in the means he chose to obtain his end. To secure the throne he put to death almost all his relatives; and the revolt of Western Asia, which had broken out under his predecessor, he crushed with utmost cruelty. At Sidon, we have seen, he ordered five hundred of her citizens, who had come out to implore his mercy for the city, to be massacred on the spot and then destroyed the city. With the same ruthlessness he dealt with rebellious Egypt, to whose population he made *vae victis* thoroughly clear. Psalm 94 shows, as do also Psalms 22, 74, and 79, and Isa. 63:7—64:11, that, in Judaea, Orophernes rivaled Artaxerxes Ochus in frightfulness.

THE "WICKED"

As has been pointed out above in discussing the similar case of Psalm 9/10, Psalm 94, in common with a goodly number of

other psalms, uses "the wicked" and "the evildoers" to designate the country's foreign oppressors. As far as the present psalm is concerned, we have, apart from everything else, express proof of this use of the two terms in the lines,

They crush thy people, O Lord,
And oppress thy heritage,

and again in the assurance the psalmist gives the crushed nation,

Yea, the Lord will not cast off his people,
Nor abandon his heritage.

VIEW OF RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

The description the psalmist gives of how the masses reacted to the calamity, how in their misery they despaired of justice, nay, of God, is of extreme importance in still another respect. Like the similar description in Psalm 9/10 (10:10-11) it shows that the orthodox belief in retributive justice, as set forth in Psalms 37 and 92 and defended as unassailable by the friends of Job, cannot have been as generally accepted in those days, as one is inclined to judge on first thought, but that there must have been many that questioned its validity. It is also noteworthy that the psalmist does not himself seem to share the belief in rigid individual retribution, as fathered by Ezekiel, though he is by no means as explicit on this point as the writer of Psalm 9/10; with him and the great prophets he holds instead that in society as a whole the reign of righteousness will ultimately be established. It is then that "the pit will yawn for the wicked." Another still more noteworthy point is that by the lines which precede the words just quoted—that is, by

Blessed is the man whom thou trainest
And by thy discipline teachest not to be troubled
About [these] evil days—

he shows that, like the author of Psalm 90, he regards suffering as a divine dispensation, as the most efficacious means through which the human soul can rise to light and freedom.

TEXT DISORDER

The psalm has not come down in its original order. Verse 21, which is another part of the description of the wicked doings of the enemy, must originally have followed verse 6. Further, the wish expressed in verse 23 for the destruction of the enemy is conspicuously out of place as the continuation of verse 22, marring its effect. The place where one logically expects this wish—where it carries force—is after verses 1–6 and 21. Finally, it is equally obvious that the despondent question of verse 20 is out of place as a continuation of the psalmist's own staunch faith in God as affirmed in verses 17–19: the verse must originally have followed verse 7 as a part of the people's cry of despair. Gunkel has observed that verse 20 marks a break in the sequence, but, instead of drawing from it the conclusion that the verse cannot be in its proper place, he has chosen to subject it to arbitrary emendation.

I shall leave it to the reader to judge for himself how the poetic effect of the psalm is immeasurably enhanced by this rearrangement and how the psalm is enriched in spiritual content. I consider it imperative, however, to draw attention to the meaning and beauty of the concluding verses 18–19 and 22 and to emphasize how the poet's unshaken faith in God in the face of the overwhelming catastrophe now stands out as the high point of the psalm—as the climax toward which all that goes before converges.

16. 'Ēl nēqamōth 'āḏōnai (1a) was originally a marginal variant of 'ēl nēqamōth.

reveal thyself] Read, with Hier., הוֹפִיעָה (as generally emended); the omission of the final *hē* is due to homocoteleuton.

3. O Lord, how long shall the wicked triumph?] Omit the first 'ad mathai rēsha'im as dittography.

4. How long shall they speak] Omit yēdabbērū as a gloss: 'ad mathai of the preceding stich is to be construed also with yabbī'ū and yith'ammērū; 'athaq is an adverbial accusative.

21. They attack] I can see no reason for questioning either the text or the meaning of yagodū: the *scriptio plena* of the editions is an irrelevant inaccuracy.

23. May the Lord repay them] With a number of codd. of Gr. (listed in Rahlfs's *Septuaginta*, X) read 'āḏōnai after wayyasheb, which expresses a wish

and functions as a subjunctive: cf. the related case of Ps. 7:16b, where the imperfect with *waw consecutivum* functions as an emphatic future.

and wickedness] With a number of codd. of Gr. (listed in *ibid.*) omit the preposition *bē*.

May the Lord . . . destroy them] Omit, with some MSS and Gr., one *yašmithēm* as dittography.

7. *The people say*] There are a number of cases of the third plural of 'amar being so used: cf. Jer. 12:4, *ki 'amērū*. "The people say" (the verse stood originally in chap. 14, before vs. 7); *ibid.*, 17:15, *hinne hēma 'ōmērīm 'elai*, "Behold, the people say to me."

20. *without limit*] The preposition 'al often signifies "excess": cf. Ps. 138:2, 'al kol, "beyond anything"; Lev. 15:25, 'al niddathāh, "beyond the time of her impurity"; Deut. 25:3, 'al 'ēlē, "in excess of these"; cf. also Prov. 8:29, *bēšūmō layyam ḥuqqō*, "When he set to the sea its bound," and Isa. 5:14, *libli ḥoq*, "beyond measure."

11. *Knows that they are engaged in vain pursuits*] *Ki hēma habel* is a nominal objective clause, also depending on *yōde'a*; *hēma* refers back to the collective 'adām; cf. Ps. 120:7, 'āni shalōm, "I care but for peace"; *hēma lamilḥama*, "They want war."

12-13. *by thy discipline teachest*] This meaning of *mittōrathēka* (and not "out of thy law" as it is generally translated) follows from the parallel phrase *tēyassērennū*: cf. Prov. 1:8, where *tōra* occurs again with this meaning, being used as a synonym of *mūsar*; as to the force of the preposition *min*, cf. Job 36:21, *ki 'al zē boḥarta* (instead of *baḥarta*) *me'onī*, "Yea, for that thou hast been tried with affliction."

not to be troubled] *Hashqīl* is intransitive, as again in Isa. 7:4, 57:20, *et al.*, and *lō* is reflexive: cf. Ps. 12:6.

When or, more accurately, when at last] 'Ad is so used again in Judg. 16:2; I Sam. 1:22; *et al.*

14-15. *Yea*] *Ki* functions as an emphatic particle, as it does again in vs. 15.

The righteous] Read, with Sym. and Syr., צדיק.

yet] 'Ad, functioning as an adverb, occurs again with this meaning in Job 8:21.

There is a future] Read ואחרית לכל, as Schlögl and others have emended.

17. *in the silent grave*] *Dūma* is a case of ellipsis, the *nomen regens* 'areš being omitted: *She'ol* is meant by it, as Gr. and Jerome, rendering it, respectively, as Hades and Infernum, in fact understood it. The ellipsis occurs again in Ps. 115:17.

18. *When*] Cf. the note on Ps. 63:7.

19. *When my heart is drowned in cares*] This free translation seems to me to convey best the meaning of the original, which is very poetic. As to *sar'ap-pim*, which in Ps. 139:23 connotes "inmost soul," denoting *cares*, note that Arab. *shaḡafa*, the root of *sar'appim* as well as of *sē'ippim*, which in Job 4:13 denotes "reverie" and in 20:2 "reason," means "fire" (the imagination), "inflame" (with passion), and the *Fa'ila* means "be agitated, be disquieted."²¹¹

²¹¹ Cf. Brūnow-Fischer, *Arabische Chrestomathie*, *shaḡafa* (s.v.), and Barth, *Etymologische Studien* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 56, n. 1.

PSALM 116A + 118:25

- 1 I love the Lord, for he will hearken to my supplication;
 2 Yea, he will incline his ear unto me when I call.
 3a-b While the sorrows of death beset me,
 And the pains of hell assail me,*
 4a I pray to the Lord:
 4ba, 118:25 O Lord, help me, O Lord, rescue me,
 116:16aβ, b For I am thy servant, the son of thy handmaid:
 Loose thou my bonds,
 4bβ Save my life.
 5 Gracious is the Lord and just,
 Yea, our God is merciful.
 6 The Lord guards them that are without guile.
 I am brought low, but he will help me.
- 7 Be at rest, my soul,
 For surely the Lord will deal bountifully with thee.
 8a-b Yea, he will save my soul from death,
 Mine eyes from tears,†
 9 That I may walk before the Lord
 In the land of the living.
 10 I have faith in him,
 Though in truth I am sorely afflicted,
 11 And have said in my dismay:
 "All men labor under illusions.
 15 Can the death of his faithful servants
 Be precious in the eyes of the Lord?"

Psalm 116A, in the "I" of which the nation is personified, as in a goodly number of the preceding psalms, is another elegy inspired by the deathblow the nation suffered in 344 B.C. This may be deduced, first, from the lines,

While the sorrows of death beset me,
 And the pains of hell assail me;

* 3c *While I meet with trouble and sorrow.*

† 8c *My feet from falling.*

then, from the prayer,

Save my life;

and, finally, from the fervid hope which the psalmist expresses,

Yea, he will save my life from death,
That I may walk before the Lord
In the land of the living—

by which he evinces his unshaken faith in God in spite of all that has happened:

I have faith in him,
Though in truth I am sorely afflicted.

By the lines with which he concludes, in which he refers again to the destructive blow dealt to the nation, he shows that for a while, as was but natural, his faith was at strife with despair.

Psalm 116A, as it has come down to us, has suffered considerable disorder in the course of transmission. In the first place, there has been combined with it Psalm 116B, which formed originally a separate psalm, as the Greek, in fact, shows, though the division between the two psalms in the Greek is clearly erroneous. Further, verse 25 of Psalm 118, the original text of which has been preserved by the Syriac, *ō mārīā p̄ro-qaini ō mārīā paṣīni*, reading אֱנִי יְהוָה אֱנִי יְהוָה, and which is clearly out of place in that psalm, stood originally in Psalm 116A after verse 4a. Except for its first two words, the line was omitted from Psalm 116A, and, with 'anna' 'ādōnai prefixed to it as a cue, was put in the margin at the bottom of the page, the last line of which presumably was verse 24 of Psalm 118. This explains how in the next copy the omitted line with the cue was mechanically taken into the text where it is now found. This omitted line (following vs. 4a) was in its turn originally followed by the words, *ki 'ānī 'abdēka ben 'āmatheka p̄ttaḥta lēmōserai*, of verse 16, but at some subsequent time, after *hōshī'enī*, etc., of 118:25 had been omitted from 116:4, these words in their turn were omitted from this verse and, with 'anna' 'ādōnai prefixed to them as a cue, were evidently put in the margin lower down on the page, whence in the next copy they were with the cue mechanically inserted in Psalm

116B. As additional proof that 'anna' 'āḏōnai of verse 16 is not a genuine part of the text, note that as an introductory phrase to "For I am thy servant, the son of thy handmaid," it is point-less as well as contrary to usage, being employed invariably to introduce a prayer.²¹² As further evidence that Ps. 118:25 as read by the Syriac is the original text, note that the second part of it is the reading also of Vetus Latina and *Psalterium Gallicanum*: *saluum me fac*.

Verse 15, which cannot be an original part of Psalm 116B, being unrelated both to the preceding and to the following verses, fits excellently as continuation of verse 11 of 116A, rounding it out. Note that, in order to make the verse fit where it is found at present, a number of interpreters have forcibly rendered *yagar* as *zu schwer ist*.

The prevailing interpretation, which has failed to recognize the precativ and prophetic perfects of verses 16, 7, and 8, and also the force of the perfects of the temporal sentences, verses 2-4a, and of those of verses 6 and 10, has obscured the psalm, mistaking it for a hymn of thanksgiving, even though by the alternation of these perfects either with imperatives or with imperfects their force is made absolutely clear, and the psalm is stamped beyond a shadow of a doubt as a cry of despair. A further serious result of this misinterpretation is the rendering of the imperfects of verses 3, 4, and 6 as past tenses, contrary to all rule.

1. *I love the Lord*] Transpose 'āḏōnai after 'ahabtī.
to my supplication] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Hier., *qōl*, omitting the suffix.

2. *Yea, he will incline his ear*] The apodosis is formed with the perfect.
when I call] Read, with Syr., בִּירוֹם.

3c. *While I meet with trouble and sorrow* is, to my mind, not an original part of the psalm but a later marginal addition, since it is inconceivable that the writer could have marred the effect of the highly poetic vs. 3a-b by such a prose addition and anticlimax as is vs. 3c.

16. *For I am thy servant, the son*] Omit the second 'ānī 'abdēka as dittography.

6. *I am brought low*] The perfect *dallōthi* denotes an existing state of things.

²¹² Cf. II Kings 20:3; Isa. 38:3; Jonah 1:14; 4:2; Dan. 9:4; Neh. 1:5, 11, in addition to the present case, 118:25; cf. also Gen. 50:17 and Exod. 32:31.

8a-b. *he will save*] Read, with Gr., Hier., and Syr., פָּלֵץ.

8c. *My feet from falling* is to be considered a later addition for the same reason as in the case of vs. 3c. These words were in all probability added from Ps. 56:14 (q.v.).

10. *Though in truth*] *Ki ddabber* is a concessive clause, meaning *Though I am constrained to say*, which I have purposely paraphrased.

11. *And have said*] *'Ānī 'amartī* is another concessive clause, as *'ānī* shows.

labor under illusions] Note that a very common meaning of Arab. *kaḏaba* is "finding one's hopes false" or "vain."²¹³

15. *Can the death . . . precious*] *Ha of hamawetha* is interrogative *ha*.

PSALM 116B

A FRAGMENT

- 12 How can I repay the Lord
 For the good he has done for me?
 13a I will lift up the cup of salvation,
 17a Will offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving to thee,
 13b (= 17b) And proclaim the name of the Lord.
 14 (= 18) I will redeem my vows to the Lord
 In the presence of all his people,
 19 In the courts of the house of the Lord in Jerusalem.
 Praise ye the Lord.

From what is left of the psalm, it seems to be a liturgical hymn. It is, however, too fragmentary to permit any inference whatever as to either the date or the occasion. Verse 17b is a mistaken repetition of verse 13b, as verse 18 is of verse 14.

13. *I will lift up the cup of salvation*] This means to say, "I will pour out a libation as thankoffering [or as a part of it]," as the following verse 17, *Will offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving to thee*, shows.

PSALM 49

*

- 2 Hear this, all ye people,
 Give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world,

²¹³ See Lane, *op. cit.*, *kaḏaba*, s.v.

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of the Korahites. A Psalm.

- 3 Both lowborn and highborn,
Rich and poor alike.
- 4 My mouth desires to speak of wisdom,
And my mind is in quest of understanding.
- 5 I shall turn to wise sayings,
I shall prelude my poem with music of the lyre.
- 6 Why must I see the days when evil is enthroned,
When the iniquity of my insidious foes compasses me
round?
- 7 They trust in their might,
And boast of their great wealth.
- 8 Yet man cannot redeem himself,
Nor give ransom to God for his life,†
- 10 That he may live forever,
And not behold the engulfing pit.
- 11 Rather he sees wise men die,
As fools and ignorant people perish,‡
And they must leave their wealth to others.
- 12 Their graves will be their houses for eternity,§
Their abode through the ages,
Even though they called countries their own.
- 13 Man's glory is fleeting,
Man is like the brutes that perish.
- 14 This is the fate of them that are self-confident
And of their followers that fawn on their lips:
- 15a-c They are struck down like sheep and are committed to
She'ol.
Death will shepherd them;
Their bodies will rot,
And their frames be reduced to dust—
- 16 Only God can redeem me,
Yea, from the grasp of She'ol can he bring me back.

† Marginal gloss: 9a. *Too costly is the ransom for their life.*

‡ Marginal gloss: 9b. *And he ends forever.*

§ Marginal gloss: 15d. *She'ol will be their dwelling.*

- 17 Worry not when a man grows rich,
 When the glory of his house waxes great;
18 For when he dies he can take nothing with him,
 His glory will not follow him to the grave.
19 Though he deems himself happy while he lives,
 And though men admire him who prospers,
20 He must join his fathers that have gone before,
 That see the light nevermore.
21 Man's glory is fleeting,
 Man is like the brutes that perish.

The fact that the question of retribution looms large in Psalm 94 makes this seem to be the logical place for the treatment of Psalm 49, which has this question for its theme, and which, like verses 7 and 20 of Psalm 94 and their parallel reflections in Psalms 9/10 and 14 shows that the orthodox belief in material retribution was far from being generally accepted in those days—that the writer of the Job drama and Psalm 73 did not stand alone in his revolt against this shallow doctrine. Like the parallel thought in Psalms 94, 9/10, and 14, Psalm 49 shows further what a live problem the question, “Why does the reign of wickedness go on unchecked?” was in the writer’s day and how much it must have been debated. This explains the lines with which he introduces what he has to say: his appeal to “Both lowborn and highborn, to rich and poor alike,” nay, to the world far and wide, to listen to his words.

His solution of the problem is pessimistic in the extreme and shows how hopeless life then was. He tells the downtrodden masses of his day to consider that earthly glory is short-lived, that death is the common lot of all—the wise man and the fool alike. Why then worry when some grow rich and wax mighty? “Their glory will not follow them to the grave.” This hopeless view of life is the all-engrossing thought of the psalm. I have not overlooked that there is, to be sure, mention of another thought:

Only God can redeem me,
Yea, from the grasp of She’ol can he bring me back.

But this is thrown out only as a parenthetical thought, left undeveloped, and is completely overshadowed by the idea that

Man's glory is fleeting,

which dominates the psalm from beginning to end. It recalls the lines from Burns's poem, "On Nithside":

Life is but a day at most,
Sprung from night, in darkness lost.

The writer of Psalm 49 lacks the penetrating mind and spiritual depth of the author of Psalm 73 and of the Job drama, but, considering that the belief in material retribution continued to hold sway over the minds of men down even to our own days, it is refreshing to find in those centuries another independent thinker who discerned that the belief was contradicted by experience.

3. *lowborn and highborn*] Hebrew *bēnē 'adām* is almost identically the same term as Lat. *plebei*, "the common people," while *bēnē 'ish* is the Hebrew equivalent term of Lat. *patricii*, "the aristocracy." This signification of *bēnē 'ish* presents no difficulty when it is remembered that in Rome the patricians constituted the *populus Romanus* or body politic before the growth of the plebeian order. With this universal social order in ancient times, it accords that in II Sam. 20:1 the collective *'ish* is used to denote "the body politic," and that in Ps. 4:3 *bēnē 'ish* means "fellow-citizens" or "fellow-men."

4. *desires to speak*] This, as the context shows, is the modal force with which *yēdabber* is used.

5. *I shall prelude my poem with music of the lyre*] In ancient and medieval times every poet was also a composer and musician: he set his poem to music himself and, singing it publicly, was his own accompanist. Thus I Sam. 16:18 says of David that he was "a skilled musician," and Amos 6:5 shows that he was still remembered as such in the days of Amos.

As to *hīda*, denoting "poem," specifically "didactic poem," note that in Ezek. 17:2 it denotes "allegory" and in Prov. 1:7, "aphorism."

6. *must I see the days*] Read אִנִּי, the direct object of which is construed with *bē*, as again in Ps. 64:9 and Job 3:9.

when evil is enthroned] *Ra'* is a qualificative genitive.

of my insidious foes] *'Aqeb* is a verbal adjective.

8. *Yet*] Read, with eight MSS, אַךְ, as generally emended.

cannot redeem himself] Vocalize פָּדָה—another generally accepted emendation.

ransom for his life] The pronominal suffix of *kophrō* has the force of an objective genitive.

9, 10. Vs. 10 is the original, immediate continuation of vs. 8; vs. 9a, *Too*

costly is the ransom of their life, is a prosaic comment on *Nor give ransom to God for his life*, made originally in the margin; and vs. 9b is another such marginal comment on vs. 11a-b.

12. *Their graves*] Read, with the Versions, קברם.

their houses for eternity] The stereotyped, common Semitic form of the phrase, as found in Eccles. 12:5 later and in Egyptian as early as the third millennium (in the pyramid texts) is *bēth 'ōlām* and (with pronominal suffix) *beth 'ōlāmō*. By his deviation from this form—that is, by *bātēmō lē'ōlām*, as well as by its parallel phrase *mishkēnōthām lēdōr wadōr*, which intensifies it, and which he coined himself—the writer lends the phrase a flavor which is strikingly different from the sentiment ordinarily associated with it.

Even though they called countries their own is the exact English equivalent of the Hebrew idiom *karē'ū bishēmōthām 'ālē 'ādāmōth*. The writer has reference to the well-known practice, universally in vogue in ancient times, of a conqueror's calling the capital of a country he had conquered by his own name. Thus II Sam. 12:28 tells that Joab sent word to David to muster all the people and lay siege himself to Rabbath, the capital of Ammon, and conquer it, and that he added to his message, "Lest I conquer the city, and it be called by my name."

13. *Man's*] Omit the connective *waw*, in accordance with vs. 21.

is fleeting] I have rendered positively what in Hebrew is expressed negatively: *bal yalīn*, "does not abide."

14. *of their followers*] This meaning of *'aḥārēhēm*, which not a few exegetes have arbitrarily emended, admits of no doubt, being established by the phrase *hayā 'aḥar*, oftener *hayā 'aḥārē*, governing a *nomen personae*, and meaning "follow" a person or "be his follower": cf. Exod. 23:2; I Sam. 12:14; II Sam. 2:10; I Kings 12:20.

fawn on their lips is the exact English (idiomatic) equivalent of the Hebrew idiom *bēphihēm yiršū*, which, too, many have unwarrantedly emended.

15a-c. *They are struck down*] Since only men, not animals, were believed to go down to She'ol after death, it is obvious that at the beginning of the verse a word must have dropped out. This word, reading ירדו, is however not entirely lost but was in the course of transmission misplaced into the second part of the verse and, with *wa* prefixed to it, was misread *wayyirdū*. *Yarad* with the meaning "to be struck down" and "to be thrown down" occurs again in Isa. 34:7 and Hag. 2:22.

Their bodies will rot] *Bam yesharim labboqer*, which is corrupt, has been convincingly emended by Gunkel to בשרם לרקב, *lirqob* being an emphatic infinitive.

And their frames] Read ויצרם, which occurs again with this meaning in Job 17:7.

be reduced to dust] *Lēballōth* is another emphatic infinitive.

15d. *She'ol will be their dwelling*] With Targ., *bēth mēdōr*, read *zēbul*, omitting the preposition *min*, and, on the strength of Gr., Aq., and Sym., read *lamō* instead of *lō*. Since *shē'ol zēbul lamō* has no point here, and since, moreover, it is of the same character as the glosses we have in vs. 9a-b, it seems to me certain that it originally was a marginal gloss on *qibrām bātēmō*

of vs. 12a, which was taken into the text at random; an indication of this may be seen in the *pasek* after *bātēmō*.

16. *Yea, from the grasp of She'ol can he bring me back*] Contrary to the accents, construe *miyyad shē'ol* with *ki yiqqahēnī*. *Ki* functions as an emphatic particle: other examples of the position of the emphatic *ki* in the body of the sentence are Ps. 118:10 ff. (thrice) and Gen. 18:20 (twice); and of other examples of *laqaḥ* denoting *bring back*, a very pertinent one is Amos 9:2, "Though they dig down into She'ol, thence shall my hand bring them back" (*tiqqahēm*); another occurs *ibid.*, vs. 3, and a third in Gen. 27:45.

17. *Worry not*] This meaning of '*al tīrā*' follows clearly from the context.

19. *Though he deems himself happy*] *Yēbarek* is a nice example of a declarative Pi'el: cf. Amos 6:3, *hamēnaddim lēyōm ra'*, "Who deem the day of evil to be far off," and Job 7:17, *ma 'enōsh ki thēgaddlēnnū*, "What is man that thou shouldst consider him worthy of esteem?" *Ki* functions as a concessive conjunction.

though men admire him who prospers] Both the third plural and the second sing. and also the pronominal suffixes of the second sing. are used impersonally: other such examples are Isa. 7:25, *lō' thabō' shāmma*, "One will not go thither for fear of thorns and briars"; Jer. 4:18, *ki naga' 'ad libbek*, "It touches one's heart"; and Job 7:8, *'enēka bī*, "while one's eyes rest on me."

20. *He must join*] Read יבִּיחֵ—a reading which is borne out as the original by 'ābōthaw.

21. *is fleeing*] Since vs. 13 is repeated as refrain, בל ילין is obviously the original reading, as many MSS, in fact, read instead of *lō' yabīn*.

PSALM 130

*

- 1 Out of the depths I cry to thee, O Lord:
- 2 Lord, hear my voice, give ear unto my prayer.
- 3 If thou wert mindful of iniquities,
Who, O Lord, would endure?
- 4 But there is forgiveness with thee:
Wherefore thou art held in awe.
- 5a I await the Lord,
- 5b And hope for the fulfilment of his word:
- 5aβ, 6 My soul awaits the Lord
More ardently than watchmen await the dawn.
- 7 Trust, O Israel, in God,†
For with God is love,
And with him is plenteous redemption.
- 8 He will redeem Israel from all its iniquities.

* A Song of Ascent.

† Gloss: 131:3 *Now and forevermore.*

Psalm 130 is another psalm which strikes notes familiar from not a few of the preceding psalms. Crushed by his consciousness of human sinfulness, the author in his anguish of spirit cries to God for forgiveness. He realizes that, were it not for the grace of God, sinful man could not endure. He would in despair sink ever deeper into the morass of sin. But his hope is the boundless mercy of God and his unfailing forgiveness held forth to the repentant sinner. They give to frail man the moral strength to conquer his evil nature and strive evermore for the life divine, the life in conformity with the holy will of God, or in the simple words of the psalm:

But there is forgiveness with thee:
Wherefore thou art held in awe.

Through his faith in God as a God of love and pardon, the poet finds peace of soul, so that he exclaims trustfully,

I await the Lord,
And hope for the fulfilment of his word,

by which he means the promise God has made through his prophets that the process of world-history was to end in the triumph of good over evil, in the realm of moral freedom and spiritual perfection—the life of heaven upon earth.

He then endeavors to elevate Israel to the luminous heights of his own faith by exhorting her people to put their trust in God so that they may realize that

With God is love,
And with him is plenteous redemption.

Concluding, he tells them that there is but one thing which they need—God's redemption of them from all their iniquities. The gospel of the pardon of sin is proclaimed in this profound psalm with a noble simplicity that cannot be surpassed. The psalm transcends Psalms 38, 143, and 90, with which it has in common the psalmist's being overwhelmed by his consciousness of sinfulness, and stands out as *sui generis* because there is no mention whatever in it of physical suffering and misery, whether personal or general, though we may be sure that there was no lack of these at the time it was written.

The psalm is the ripe fruit of the message of consolation which, in the name of God, Deutero-Isaiah announced to the Israel of the Exile:

It is I, yea I, who blots out thy transgressions,
Who will not remember thy sins.

I will make thy transgressions to vanish like a mist,
And thy sins to disappear like a cloud.²¹⁴

It also calls to one's mind the post-Exilic prophecy, Isa. 57:14-21, being related to it in thought:

Cast up, cast up the highway, clear the path,
Take up the stumbling block out of the way of my people.
Thus says the High and Sublime One,
Who is enthroned through eternity,
Whose name is Holy.
I abide as the Sublime and Holy One,
Even as I abide with him that is contrite and humble in spirit,
To revive the spirit of the humble
And to reanimate the heart of the contrite ones.
Yea, I will not chide forever, nor will I always be wroth:
For the spirit would faint before me, the souls which I have made.
Because of their iniquity was I wroth for a moment,²¹⁵
And smote them, hiding my face in wrath,
And they strayed, following the way of their heart.
I have seen their ways, and I will heal them
And give them rest:
Yea, I will restore rich comfort unto them,
And make their mourning lips loud with thanks.
Peace, peace will there be when I heal them,
Both to them that are far and to them that are near,
Says the Lord.

Another older antecedent is found in the ineffable words of Exod. 34:6-7:

The Lord, the Lord is a God full of mercy,
Gracious, and long-suffering,
A God of boundless love and truth,
Who keepeth love for thousands,
Who forgives iniquity, and transgression, and sin.

As final proof that the idea treated in Psalm 130 was a prominent tendency in the religious thought of those post-Exilic

²¹⁴ Isa. 43:25 and 44:22.

²¹⁵ Read, with Gr., *ba'šwōnō rega'.*

centuries, the Story of Jonah is to be mentioned. Written in the second half of the fifth century B.C. as a protest against the intolerance and narrow-mindedness of Ezra and Nehemiah and as an exemplification of the religious spirit of the prophets, who, looking beyond the confines of nation and country, hoped for the redemption of all mankind, it seeks to achieve its end by showing how even the king and people of wicked Nineveh were stirred to repentance by the prophets' message and how they were granted the pardon of God, who rejoiced to save his erring, penitent children. A noteworthy feature of the story is that it quotes the great words of Exod. 34:6-7, as does also Psalm 103 (vs. 8), written around 332/331 B.C. This fact shows how popular these words must have been in those days. And for our purpose it is also important to note that neither the writer of the Story of Jonah, nor the writer of Psalm 103, nor even the writer of Psalm 78 (700 B.C.), in verse 38 of which we have the earliest citation of the utterance in Exod. 34:6-7, seems to have known as a part of it the words, "And who will by no means clear the guilty, etc.," which are a downright contradiction to it. Psalm 78 is especially conclusive in this respect, for by reason of the very subject matter of the psalm it is unlikely that the writer would have ignored these words had he known them as a part of the utterance.

3. *If thou wert mindful of]* Cf. Gen. 37:11, *wē'abiw shamar'eth haddabar*, "His father kept the matter in his mind."

Who, O Lord] Omit *Yah* as a variant of *'ādōnai*.

5, 6. *I await the Lord, And hope . . . My soul awaits]* *Qjwweṯha* of vs. 5 stood originally at the beginning of vs. 6 before *naphshī*, whence in the course of transmission it was omitted and, with *naphshī* added to it as a cue, was put in the margin, and the omitted word with the cue was in the next copy inserted at random into vs. 5.

More ardent than watchmen await the dawn] The repetition of *shōmērīm labboqer* has no *raison d'être* but is clearly dittography.

Ps. 131:3 illustrates excellently how ancient texts often fared in the course of transmission, and to what strange additions they were sometimes exposed because of the fact that copyists were in the habit of copying manuscripts in a mechanical, uncritical way—a procedure which seems to us who live in a critical age almost incomprehensible. Yet this fact cannot be emphasized enough in the interest of methodical text criticism. Thus in the present instance a number of interpreters have observed that "Trust, O Israel, in the Lord, now and forevermore" cannot be a genuine part of Psalm 131, as the

subject matter of the psalm leaves no room for it. But they have argued that it is a liturgical addition made by priests for the purpose of adapting the psalm to the needs of the congregation. However, if one looks into the matter more carefully, one readily sees that *me'atta wə'ad 'ōlām*, "now and forevermore," must originally have been a marginal gloss on 130:7a, "Trust, O Israel, in the Lord," which words were prefixed to it as a cue in order to show the text words to which the gloss pertained. The gloss with the cue was in all probability put in the margin at the bottom of the page, where the ending of Psalm 131 happened to come. This explains how in the next copy cue and all came to be joined to this psalm.

PSALM 32

*

- 3 I keep silent
 My body is worn out from constant groaning,
 4 For day and night thy hand lies heavy on me.
 My strength is sapped as . . . in the summer heat.
 5 I acknowledge unto thee my sin,
 I will not cover up mine iniquity;
 I am determined to confess my transgressions unto God:
 Oh, forgive my wicked sin.
- 1 Blessed is the man whose guilt is forgiven,
 Whose sin is pardoned.
 2 Blessed is the man against whom God finds no iniquity
 to charge,
 In whose mind there is no guile.
 6 Let every pious man pray this blessedness of thee
 When he comes to search in his heart.
 Though mighty waters surge around him,
 Verily they will not touch him.
 7 Thou, O Lord, art my haven of refuge who wilt protect
 me amidst peril,
 And compass me about with security.
- 8 Let me instruct thee, let me teach thee the road to follow,
 Let me counsel thee—thou upon whom I have mine eye:
 9 Be not like a horse or mule that has no sense,

*Of David. A *Maskil*.

Whose pride must be curbed with the bridle and the bit,
Or he will not come near you.

10 Many are the torments of the wicked,
But love surrounds him who trusts in the Lord.

11 Rejoice in the Lord and exult, ye righteous,
Shout for joy all ye that are upright of heart.

Psalm 32 has come down to us neither in its original order nor even in its complete form. Verses 1-2 cannot be in their proper place, for it is inconceivable that the psalmist could have weakened his declaration,

Blessed is the man whose guilt is forgiven,
... More blessed still is the man against whom God
finds no iniquity to charge,
In whose mind there is no guile,

by continuing with the agonized cry,

I keep silent,
My body is worn out from constant groaning,
For day and night thy hand lies heavy on me.

To my mind, there cannot be any doubt that the two verses followed originally verse 5, since they are the antecedent of

Let every pious man pray this blessedness of thee,

which in the present order of the verses has no antecedent.

It is also plain that the first part of the psalm is defective, the original opening lines being lost. Another gap seems to be after "I keep silent," and some words are missing also in the second stich of verse 4, for "as in the summer heat" cannot be taken as "a comparison cut short," as it is commonly interpreted, but rather it is obvious that the word referring to the object perniciously affected by the summer heat, with which the psalmist compares either his own or the country's condition, has been lost in the course of transmission. Because they have overlooked the mutilated condition of verses 3-4, the interpreters have generally mistaken the perfects in them for statements of a past occurrence, even though the alternation with the imperfect *tikbad* shows that these describe an enduring state of things. Being fragmentary, the two verses convey, of

course, no definite idea as to the cause of the psalmist's agony. Least of all do they permit the inference many have drawn from them that he was bodily afflicted by a disease that was sapping his strength, for it must be remembered that in Psalm 6 the phrase "My body is worn out" or "is shattered" is employed as a figure of speech, describing the life of the nation as ebbing away and threatened with extinction, and further that in Psalm 38:3, where the words, "Thy hand lies heavy on me," recur verbatim, they are a part of the psalmist's description of how he and his fellow-men are crushed because of the ruin which is imminent.

Fortunately, the rest of the psalm, which, spiritually considered, is the essential part, is intact and lucid throughout. This part reads as if Psalm 32 had been written as a companion piece to Psalm 130, though there is no evidence of literary relationship between them. It ranks with Psalm 130 in spiritual depth, though it does not equal it in poetic beauty. It is as if, supplementing that psalm, the writer, speaking from the fulness of his own experience, seeks to make his people see that

Blessed is the man whose guilt is forgiven,
Whose sin is pardoned;
And more blessed still is the man against whom God finds
no iniquity to charge,
In whose mind there is no guile.

He tells them that if they would search in their heart, if they would but learn to know their true, inmost self, they could not help realizing that this blessedness is to be craved of God above everything else, that it is man's only beacon of hope, which can safely guide him through the tempestuous sea of life. Then he reasons and pleads with them to give up their ruinous pride and stubbornness of heart and to heed his counsel and follow the road he has shown them. In conclusion, he contrasts the torments of the wicked—that is, their uneasy conscience and wretchedness of soul—with the love which surrounds him who trusts in God and is upright. This conclusion has, strange to say, been misunderstood by many interpreters, who maintain that in the end the psalmist condescends to the shallow, ortho-

dox doctrine of retribution, even though the very terms "torments" and "love surrounds" show that, with the author of Job and Psalm 73, he believes in retribution of a spiritual, not of a material, nature.

The two psalms, together with the many related to them in thought, specifically Psalms 8, 51, 62, 27, 16, 63, 36B, 73, 139, and 143, call for another, summary remark. They bring home to us the great verity that, although life is a deep mystery, there is one thing that is real, absolutely real—the moral law within us. If this certainty were, as many believe, a delusion, it would be an illusion worth while clinging to, for it satisfies the soul and lends dignity and purpose to human existence. Who can tell what promise life would hold for us, what vision would be opened before our eyes, if this supreme arbiter within us should be universally heeded and obeyed? Then life might indeed cease to be a riddle of the sphinx, and the human race might soar to such heights that, in the words of the psalmist, it would truly lack but little of God.

4. *My strength*] *Lashad*, which in Num. 11:8 denotes "luscious dish," connotes here, as the Targ. understood it, "marrow, sap" or "vigor."

is sapped] Cf. Jonah 3:4, *N. nehpeketh*, "Nineveh shall be destroyed," and Ps. 78:57, *nehpekū*, "They rotted."

5. *I will not cover up . . . I am determined to confess*] *Lō' kissīthī* and *'amartī* have not the force of past tenses but denote a frame of mind, a fixed trait of character or mental habit; as to the meaning of *'amartī*, cf. Pss. 27:8 and 39:2. The imperfect *'ōdē* is not co-ordinated but subordinated, being a final clause: cf. Pss. 107A:6, 13, 19; 107B:28.

Oh, forgive] *Nasā'tha* is a precative perfect.

6. *When he comes to search in his heart*] Though the traditional translation of *mēšō*, "when thou mayest be found," has rightly been questioned by a number of exegetes, their emendation of the word is wholly unwarranted. They have overlooked the all-important fact that *mēšō* is a case of ellipsis, the object *'eth libbō* being omitted. There can be no doubt about this, since for the full phrase *mašā' 'abdēka 'eth libbō*, II Sam. 7:27, used with the same meaning, the ellipsis is found again in the parallel text, I Chron. 17:25, *mašā' 'abdēka*. What lends additional weight to the two examples is the fact that, like the phrase of the psalm, they are used with *lēhithpallel 'elēka*. Cf. also Ps. 36A:3, *limšō 'awōnō lisnō*, "He is loathe to probe his own guilt."

Though mighty waters surge around him, Verily] I have rendered somewhat freely the preposition *lē*, used here with reference to time, as again in Pss. 9:10 and 10:1 or as in Job 21:30, *lēyom 'ēd*, "on the day of calamity"; *'elaw*

is to be construed both with *lēsheleph m. r.* and with *yagī'ū*, being a case of brachylogy, *raq* having emphatic force.

7. *And compass me about with security*] Omit *ranne* as dittography of the three last letters of *tiššēreni* (Hitzig and others).

8b. *Let me counsel thee—thou upon whom I have mine eye*] Vs. 8, which has unwarrantedly been emended, is perfect text: '*alēka 'ēni* is a nominal relative clause, the pronominal suffix *ka* of which is to be construed as object also with '*i'aša* and is besides the antecedent of '*alēka 'ēni*, being a case of brachylogy: cf. Jer. 20:11, *wa'ādōnai 'ōthi kēgibbōr 'ariš*, "But since God is with me, I triumph like a hero," in which example the pronoun of the nominal predicate '*ōthi* of the first clause is to be construed also as subject with the nominal predicate '*ariš* of the second clause; cf. also the last stich of the next verse.

9. *that has no sense . . . must be curbed . . . Or he will not come near you*] *Habin*, *liblom*, and *qērob* are three interesting examples of the emphatic infinitive: with the last of these *sūs* or *pered* is to be construed as subject, being another case of brachylogy; so taken, *bal qērob 'elēka*, with which the interpreters, and grammarians as well, have struggled in vain, presents no difficulty whatever.

PSALM 131

- 1* O Lord, my heart is not proud,
Nor are mine eyes lofty;
Neither am I engaged in things too great for me
Or things mysterious to me.
- 2 Truly, I have calmed and quieted my soul
Like an infant—an infant in his mother's arms.†

A place may be assigned to Psalm 131 here, though it is not directly related in subject matter to the preceding psalms. The author avows to God that he knows no pride or craving for worldly greatness. To conquer these he has found comparatively easy. More difficult has it been to calm the nobler passion agitating him in the stormy years of his life when, possessed by thirst of knowledge, he sought to outsoar his human limitations, strove to penetrate into the mystery of life and to find out "how in its innermost being the world is held together." But he has quieted even this high-minded human urge by resigning himself with filial trust to the holy will of God and so has found peace and repose "like an infant in his mother's arms."

* A Song of Ascent. Of David.

† As to vs. 3, see Ps. 130:7 and also the note on it there.

The unknown author of this exquisite epigram belongs to the galaxy of creative minds which those dismal post-Exilic centuries of ceaseless struggle for existence produced as an eloquent monument of Israel's indomitable will to endure. He was akin in spirit to the writer of the Job drama, who with infinite pathos describes in chapter 28, with which the dramatic discourse between Job and his friends originally concluded,²¹⁶ that, although man "lays open the bowels of the earth" and "penetrates to the farthestmost bounds of darkness and the shadow of death," yet with his finite vision he can never succeed in "penetrating the limits of the Godhead," and that absolute wisdom is not within his power to attain but rests with God alone.

2. *Truly, I have calmed and quieted my soul like an infant—an infant in his mother's arms*] Instead of 'alai naphshi, the text read originally עַלִי נַ, as Gr. and Sym. show, and kaggamūl 'ālē, read now after 'immō, stood originally after wēdōmamti: the two words were omitted in the course of transmission and put in the lateral margin to the left of the line, with the following word naphshī added to them as a cue, and in the next copy the omitted words with the cue were mechanically joined to the end of the line. So taken, the verse makes good sense, whereas the customary renderings of the second part, "My soul is even as a weaned child" or "My soul is with me" or "within me like a weaned child," are meaningless. The verse has become obscured because gamūl has generally been taken as meaning "a weaned child" and because, as a result of this mistake, 'ālē 'immō has forcibly been rendered "of his mother" or "with his mother." When gamūl is taken for what it means—*infant*—kaggamūl 'ālē 'immō is clear and simple. Conclusive proof that this is the meaning of gamūl is (1) Isa. 11:8, *we'al mē'ūrath šiph'ōni gamūl yadō hadā*, "And an infant will poke his finger in the bright eye of the basilisk," where the writer has in mind the well-known habit of infants of poking the finger into a person's eye; and (2) the fact that the Hebrew phrase for "a child that has been weaned" is either gamūl mehalab or attiq mishshadayim: cf. Isa. 28:9.

²¹⁶ Cf. my *The Book of Job*, pp. 145-46.

V. PSALMS INSPIRED BY THE APPEARANCE
OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

A. PSALM 118

- 1 Give thanks unto the Lord.
He is good, his love is everlasting.
- 2 Let Israel say,
His love is everlasting.
- 3 Let the house of Aaron say,
His love is everlasting.
- 4 Let them that fear the Lord say,
His love is everlasting.
- 5 In my distress I cried to the Lord;
He heard my prayer: he has given me free soil.
- 6 The Lord is with me, I will not fear:
What can man do unto me?
- 7 I have the Lord as my helper;
I can glory over mine enemies.
- 8 It is better to trust in the Lord
Than to rely on man.
- 9 It is better to trust in the Lord
Than to rely on princes.
- 10 Though all nations surround me,
In the name of the Lord will I cut them to pieces;
- 11 Though they surround me, yea close in on me,
In the name of the Lord will I cut them to pieces;
- 12 Though they swarm around me like bees,
Blazing like fire among thorns,
In the name of the Lord will I cut them to pieces.
- 13 I was hard pressed, about to fall,
But the Lord has helped me.
- 14 The Lord is my strength, of him I sing:
He has brought me deliverance.
- 15a Hark, the shouts of joy and triumph in the tents of
the righteous!

16*a* The right hand of the Lord has been triumphant,

15*b* (16*b*) The right hand of the Lord has won the victory.

17 I shall not die, but I shall live
 To tell of the deeds of the Lord.

18 The Lord has chastened me sore,
 But has not given me over to death.

19 Open to me the gates of righteousness,
 That I may enter through them to give thanks unto
 the Lord:

20 They are the gate to God,
 Which only the righteous can enter.

21 I thank thee, for thou hast answered my prayer,
 And hast brought me deliverance.

22 The stone which the builders rejected
 Has become the cornerstone.

23 This is God's doing,
 It is wonderful in our eyes.

24 This is the day the Lord has made;
 Let us be glad and rejoice in it.*

27 Our Lord is God, he has shown us light.

 With green boughs in your hands, link the dance
 Up to the horns of the altar.

28 Thou art my God, I will praise thee,
 Thou art my God, I will extol thee.

29 Give thanks unto the Lord.
 He is good, his love is everlasting.

Verse 25, whether as the Massoretic text reads it—"O Lord, help, I pray, O Lord, give success, I pray"—or as it read originally—"O Lord, help me, O Lord, save me"—is clearly not genuine, being contradictory to the rest of the psalm, which is taken up from beginning to end with the wonderful deliverance which God has brought about. The line, as we have seen above, has been misplaced into the psalm from Psalm 116*A*. Verse 26 is

* Vs. 25, belongs to Ps. 116*A*:4 and vs. 26 to Psalm 134.

another spurious line, incoherent with the rest of the psalm. It got in here in all probability from Psalm 134 (*q.v.*).

Psalm 118 figures prominently among those psalms the "I" of which is a personification. Although "I" runs through verses 5-27, the interpreters are agreed, with but one exception (Gunkel), that "I" is not the author speaking of himself but the voice of his people speaking through him. He utters what moves and stirs the hearts of all of them. With this it accords that he begins by bidding all Israel, priests and people alike, and even the proselytes (who are meant by "them that fear the Lord") to join in singing of the everlasting love of God that has been manifested to them. Then he goes on to make plain that it is the country's freedom, come at last, that has inspired his ode of thanksgiving:

In my distress I cried to the Lord,
He heard my prayer: he has given me free soil.

So marvelous has been their deliverance wrought of God, without recourse to arms on their part, that the psalmist's faith in the future destiny of Israel knows no bounds. He is confident that henceforth they can defy a whole world of enemies—not, to be sure, by the might of the sword but by trust in God. Therefore, he exclaims exultingly:

Though all nations surround me,
In the name of the Lord will I cut them to pieces;
Though they surround me, yea close in on me,
In the name of the Lord will I cut them to pieces;
Though they swarm around me like bees,
Blazing like fire among thorns,
In the name of the Lord will I cut them to pieces.

Has God not saved Israel that was about to fall, nay, that was in the throes of death?

But there is another, more essential feature than the elation with which the psalmist tells of "the shouts of joy and triumph heard in the tents of the righteous" because

The right hand of the Lord has been triumphant,
The right hand of the Lord has won the victory.

This significant feature is the singer's certainty as to the purpose for which God must have preserved Israel. He is convinced that it can be for none other than that they may "tell" men "of the deeds of the Lord"—tell them that "the gates of righteousness . . . are the gate to God." The customary interpretation of these lines, by disregarding the qualificative phrase "of righteousness" and taking "Open to me the gates" and "that I may enter through them" literally, as referring to the gates of the Temple, has missed the thought expressed in them. It has failed to see that it is the profound prophetic truth that righteousness is the bond that can bring man close to God²¹⁷ which the singer voices. By adding the words,

Which only the righteous can enter,

to the line,

They are the gate to God,

he has made this so clear that one is at a loss to see how the plain meaning of the words can escape anyone.

Dwelling further on the larger end God has in view for Israel, he emphasizes that, though spurned by the world, it is destined to become the cornerstone in the foundation of the future kingdom of God on earth:

The stone which the builders rejected
Has become the cornerstone.

So assured is he of this that he declares,

This is God's doing,
It is wonderful in our eyes,

which in turn he caps with the triumphant exclamation,

Our Lord is God, he has shown us light.

By "he has shown us light," he has reference to the spiritual insight which has come to them rather than to their deliverance from death and oblivion.

Analysis shows, then, what prominence the missionary idea occupies in the psalm—how it is in the foreground of the singer's mind. The psalm has this tendency in common with Deutero-

²¹⁷ Cf. above, pp. 442 and 521-23.

Isaiah's great hymn (Psalms 93, 97, 98, 96) in which he sings of Israel's redemption in its broader aspect—how it will affect humanity far and wide, lead the world to salvation. It has this tendency in common also with some of the six other psalms inspired by the nation's rebirth, specifically Psalms 65A, 113, 47, and 66, as also with Psalms 102 and 46, and finally with Psalm 22. We shall see later that this eagerness for making converts to the faith of Israel did not express itself in words only but that missionary activity was carried on in post-Exilic times from the very beginning of the period, and on a large scale from the time of Alexander the Great on. Evidence of this in Psalm 118 is the fact that, in addition to Israel and the priests, the singer addresses himself to the *yirē'ē 'ādōnai*, "them that fear the Lord," which occurs as usual term for proselytes as early as Psalm 66, written in the very year of the Restoration.

I shall not undertake any detailed refutation of the generally prevailing interpretation of Psalm 118, which, misled by the fanciful, insipid comment made on it chiefly in Talmud *Pesachim* 119a and in the Targum, not only considers the psalm as designed to be sung antiphonally but has also gone so far as to tell of each line by whom it was sung and the exact moment and exact place when and where it was sung at the time of the festive celebration in the Temple for which the psalm was composed.²¹⁸ Suffice it to say that Psalm 118 is a finished poem of

²¹⁸ One has but to read the comment of Targ. or Pes. to see that it is utterly worthless for the question. Equally valueless are the comments in Yalkut Tēhillim, "The men of Jerusalem inside say, 'O Lord, help, I pray,' and the men of Judah outside say, 'O Lord, give success, I pray,'" and the additional comment there, found also in Mishna *Sukka* iv.4 and the Gemara on it, that, when on the Feast of Tabernacles the people placed branches of willows around the altar and walked around it in procession, they shouted vs. 25a and 27 of Psalm 118. As to the statement made in a number of commentaries that, according to talmudic tradition, vs. 1-19 of the psalm were sung by the company of pilgrims as they walked in procession up to the Temple and that vs. 20-27 were sung by the chorus of Levites that received the pilgrims at the gates of the Temple, there is no such tradition anywhere in talmudic sources. Whoever has in the first place been responsible for this erroneous statement must have had in mind (as far as I am able to make out) Mishna *Bikkurim* iii. 2 ff. and must have read it very carelessly. This Mishna describes how the firstlings are brought to the Temple in Jerusalem from other places in the country: when the people approach Jerusalem, they festoon their animals and are met by the prefects of the Temple, the priests of superior rank, and the Temple treasurers, who conduct them to the Temple to the sound of music; and when with their escort they enter the courts of the Temple, the

such signal beauty and depth of emotion that the effect it has on the unsophisticated mind is extraordinary. Genuine poetry, however, and such artistry as has been read into Psalm 118 by interpreter after interpreter are as wide apart as the poles. Luther loved and prized the psalm more than any other, and the interpreters all mention that it was his favorite psalm. Yet they have failed to take their cue from his estimation. This shows how a biased approach may becloud the judgment.

DATE

When was the psalm written? The interpreters are agreed that it is post-Exilic, but they differ widely as to the particular occurrence which inspired it. Some think that it was composed either for the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles in the first year of the return from the Exile or for the laying of the foundation stone of the Temple in the following year, the first of which events is related in Ezra 3:1-6, and the second in verses 8-13. Others hold that it was written for the dedication of the Temple in 516 B.C., recorded in Ezra 6:15 ff., while many are of the opinion that it was occasioned by the great celebration, told of in Neh. 8:13-18 and 12:27 ff., of the Feast of Tabernacles in 444 B.C. when the walls of Jerusalem had at last been restored. And there are not a few who consider the psalm as inspired by the Maccabaeen victories, either by the rededication of the Temple in 164 B.C., after the first victory of Judas Maccabaeus, or by his signal victory over Nicanor three years later. A careful analysis of the psalm shows, however, that these events are all alike excluded as the occasion of the hymn. It cannot have been written in the first year of the return from the Exile, or in the following year, not, however, because verses 19-20 presuppose, as is generally argued, the existence of the Temple but rather because, unlike Psalms 107A, 93, 97, 98, 96, and the six other psalms dating from the same time, this psalm

chorus of the Levites begins to sing, "I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast raised me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me." It will thus be seen that it is the opening lines of Psalm 30 and not of Psalm 118 which the chorus of the Levites would sing on this occasion.

makes no mention of the nation's redemption from the enemy's land or of her rebirth. Nor is there any allusion to the laying of the foundation stone of the Temple. Considering that this event is the all-absorbing theme of the record, Ezra 3:8-13, one might reasonably expect that there would have been some reference to it, be it direct or indirect, had the psalm been written in celebration of this event. For much the same reason the dedication of the Temple in the year 516 B.C. cannot be regarded as the date, since the psalm makes not even a veiled allusion to that event. Nor can the psalm be in any way connected with the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah and Ezra's reading of the Book of the Law of Moses, which preceded the celebration, nor even with Nehemiah's rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, carried out at the same time in the face of the opposition with which the undertaking met; for there is nothing of all this reflected in the psalm. The argument which has repeatedly been advanced as especially valid in favor of this date²¹⁹—that Nehemiah in his prayer (1:11) quotes *haṣṣīḥa-na'* of verse 25 of the psalm—falls to the ground, since, as we have seen above, the verse read originally *haṣṣīlenī*, instead of *haṣṣīḥa-na'*, and since, moreover, the verse is not an original part of the psalm. But more decisive than this is the fact that what the psalm does speak of does not fit the social and political situation of the days of Nehemiah. The visible elation which rings out of every line of the psalm is due altogether to the freedom that has come at last (or seems to have come) to the nation. The singer makes this plain from the very outset:

In my distress I cried to the Lord;
He heard my prayer; he has given me free soil.

But in the days of Nehemiah the country's relation to Persia had undergone no change whatever. Nehemiah governed Judaea in the name of Artaxerxes I, and he could carry out only what his king had empowered him to. Least of all had there been effected such a complete change of fortune by Nehemiah's

²¹⁹ By Baethgen, Kirkpatrick, Kittel, and others.

achievements that, drunk with victory, the people might have felt that the nation was built on a rock, able to defy a whole world of enemies. Still more conclusive is the fact that by the lines,

I shall not die, but I shall live,
 The Lord has chastened me sore,
 But he has not given me over to death,

the writer makes it clear that their deliverance is the more wonderful, since the very existence of the nation was hanging by a thread. But such a crisis did not exist in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The point just made shows also that the psalm cannot be a Maccabaeian product, for, much as the Jews suffered from the persecution of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, at no time of the conflict was the life of the nation in jeopardy. Aside from this, the successes of Judas Maccabaeus and his brother Simon, were all obtained through military valor, while the writer of Psalm 118 emphasizes that deliverance came to the country not through recourse to arms but through the wonderful doings of God. Another reason why Maccabaeian authorship of the psalm is excluded is that the psalm is of such literary perfection that it can have been written only while Hebrew literature was still at its height. However, as early as 200 B.C., we have seen, Hebrew had ceased to be a spoken language and was used only as a book language. Jesus ben Sira, writing at 190 B.C., who was esteemed by his age as a man of great literary fame and attainments, was unable to write idiomatic, faultless Hebrew.²²⁰ In the Maccabaeian age, Hebrew, being a dead language, lacked the prime requisite for creating anything as classical as Psalm 118.

The psalm was written when, twelve or thirteen years after the deathblow Artaxerxes III Ochus had dealt Judaea, the Jews thought that, because of the attitude of Alexander the Great toward them, they had reason to believe that a new era of political freedom had at last dawned for them. We shall see in a moment what awakened such sanguine hopes. For the

²²⁰ See above, pp. 11-17.

present it should be noted that this date explains the poet's exultant declaration,

I shall not die, but I shall live,

as well as his absolute confidence in the safety of the nation as guaranteed forever and the exalted future in store for her. It explains also his repeated affirmation that their wonderful change of fortune has been God's doing, brought about without armed interference on their own part. In further elucidation of this, specifically of the declaration,

I shall not die, but I shall live
 . . . The Lord has chastened me sore,
 But he has not given me over to death,

let us recall that not only Psalms 88 and 22, employing figurative language, describe the tragic fate the nation suffered in 344 B.C. by the words,

Thou hast consigned me to infernal darkness,
 Like the dead that lie in their graves,

and

Thou hast all but laid me in the dust of the grave,

but that some of the other psalms inspired by this catastrophe also refer to it in similar language. Thus Psalm 143 says,

The enemy . . . has trampled my life in the dust:
 He has consigned me to the dismal darkness
 Of those that have been long dead,

while the writer of Psalm 79 prays to God to

Deliver those that are in the throes of death,

and the author of Psalm 13 implores him:

Light up mine eyes
 Lest I be doomed to sleep the sleep of death.

There is ample evidence of Alexander the Great's tolerant attitude toward the Jews and of the fact that he accorded them special privileges. First of all, there is the record which Josephus²²¹ quotes from Hecataeus of Abdera, which tells that Alexander "honored our nation to such a degree that for the equity and loyalty which the Judaeans manifested to him, he

²²¹ *Contra Apionem* ii. 43.

permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free of tribute." The loyalty mentioned in this record, it seems to me, has reference to the fact that the Judaeans (as we learn from the contemporary record, Isa. 14:29-32) declined to take part in the revolt which after Alexander's conquest of Gaza broke out against him in Palestine in 332 B.C. while he was in Egypt. The main item of information in Hecataeus' record, the cession of Samaria to the Judaeans, may be taken to have been the result of the further fact that the Samaritans evidently took a prominent part in the revolt, assassinating Andromachus, the prefect of Coele Syria, and that Alexander, returning from Egypt, conquered Samaria and meted out severe punishment to her citizens.²²² And, since he ceded Samaria to the Judaeans free of tribute, it follows as self-evident that he must have granted them similar exemption from tribute with regard to the tenure of their own province, in other words, that he must have made Judaea a free country, fulfilling what had been the people's aspiration ever since the return from the Exile. This conclusion is, in fact, confirmed by the express statement in Psalm 118:

The Lord has heard my prayer; he has given me free soil.

Further evidence that he must have bestowed his favor on them in a marked degree are certain legends clustering around Alexander the Great.²²³ The oldest records of the Alexander saga are found in Josephus *Bellum Judaicum* vii. 7. 4 and *Antiquitates* xi. 8. 4-5. The former consists of a fragmentary reference to the apocalyptic notion that Alexander shut up the nations of Gog and Magog behind iron gates, while the latter contains the well-known story about Alexander's visit to Jerusalem. The story is in substance as follows.

When Alexander, after conquering Gaza, was on his march to Jerusalem to conquer it, the people of Jerusalem, with the high priest Jaddua in his priestly robes at their head, went out to meet him in order to offer to him their peaceful submission.

²²² See Curtius Rufus iv. 8; Eusebius, *op. cit.*, II, 114.

²²³ In what follows, I repeat, with some changes and additions, what I wrote on this subject twenty years ago in "Are There Any Maccabean Psalms?" pp. 238-44.

Alexander, seeing the festive procession from a distance, ran ahead of his army and prostrated himself before Jaddua in worship of the God to whom Jaddua ministered. To his generals, who expressed their astonishment at his action, Alexander declared that, when at Dios in Macedonia he had been deliberating how he might conquer Asia, this very priest appeared to him in a dream, promising to conduct his armies and to give him dominion over Persia and that now, beholding this man in the flesh, he felt assured that he was under divine guidance and that he would succeed in defeating Darius and conquering the empire of the Persians. Having spoken these words, Alexander proceeded with the high priest and the people to Jerusalem, where in the Temple he sacrificed in person unto Yahweh. On being shown the Book of Daniel, where it was declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, Alexander took this revelation as referring to himself and, well pleased, dismissed the people. The following day he gave them full religious liberty and also granted their petition that they might be exempt from taxes every seventh year.

This story, it has rightly been concluded, is only an excerpt from a more elaborate apocryphal work about Alexander, elements of which reappear some centuries later in Pseudo-Callisthenes, and in various offshoots of this work, as also in several apocalyptic writings.²²⁴ Proof of this is to be seen in the fact that the story of Alexander's dream of future world-dominion and of his visit to the Temple in Jerusalem, though not found in Pseudo-Callisthenes, recurs in a later offshoot of this work—in the Himjaritic version of the Alexander legend by Ibn Hisham.²²⁵ The story of the dream as told in Ibn Hisham is, however, at such variance with that in Josephus that it cannot possibly have been derived from the latter, and there is no

²²⁴ See F. Kampers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage* (Freiburg, 1901), pp. 51 ff.

²²⁵ The Himjaritic text of this Alexander legend has been published by Lidzbarski in *Z. f.* VIII, 278–311; and in *ibid.*, p. 272 and also in VII, 107, he discusses briefly Ibn Hisham's story of the dreams, in which Alexander dreams on successive nights. These dreams are treated at greater length by I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 194 ff.

other conclusion possible than that both stories go back to a common source. This conclusion is borne out also by the version of Alexander's visit to the Temple in Jerusalem as found in two apocalyptic works—in the so-called Syriac Alexander legend and in a poetic product closely related to it, the Alexander Homily of Jacob of Sarug, dating from 514 or 515 A.D.²²⁶

These later offshoots of the legends which were at one time current among the Jews about Alexander interest us for our purpose only in so far as they show that Alexander the Great must have possessed for the Jews of his day and of subsequent times a fascination similar to that which Cyrus had for Deutero-Isaiah. He is not only declared to have confessed Yahweh but, like Cyrus, he is proclaimed the God-sent Messiah or, more accurately, the precursor of the Messiah.

The explanation of this glorification of Alexander is found in the untoward conditions which prevailed in Israel during the Persian period, conditions which, we have seen, grew steadily worse, until they reached their culmination in the crushing blow Artaxerxes III Ochus dealt the people in 344 B.C., and in the further fact that the world-rule and the munificence of Alexander the Great brought them for a brief space enjoyment of liberty. In addition to the many psalms, there is another contemporary source which bears this out, and which is besides especially illuminating for our purpose. It is the post-Exilic prophecy, Isa. 14:29-32, the heading of which is spurious.²²⁷ In this *vaticinium ex eventu* the apotheosis of Alexander is met with for the first time in a Jewish source. Since in verses 30-31 Gaza is described as bewailing her fate, it is clear

²²⁶ The Syriac Alexander legend is found in all the MSS of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, to which it is appended. It has been published and translated into English by Budge in *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Cambridge, 1889), pp. 144-58, 255-57, where also a translation of the Alexander Homily of Jacob of Sarug is given (pp. 163-200); the Syriac text of the homily has been published by Knös, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, pp. 66-107. With regard to the date of this apocalypse and its relation to the legend, see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans* ("Denkschriften d. Akad. d. Wissensch. i. Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl.," Vol. XXXV, No. 5 [1890]), p. 30 f.

²²⁷ Cf. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, pp. 96 ff.; Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, p. 132; and my *The Prophets . . .*, pp. 276 f.

that this prophecy in disguise was written after the conquest of Gaza. The occasion for it is cryptically referred to in the last verse.

The Philistines, that is, Gaza, the writer tells us, have sent messengers to those in Zion to ask that they join the opposition against Alexander—the revolt which had broken out against him while he was in Egypt is doubtless referred to—but their messengers have met with a refusal, being given the answer, “The Lord has founded Zion, and in her shall his afflicted people take refuge.” This answer is supplemented by the further declaration: “The firstborn of the poor shall pasture in safety,²²⁸ the needy shall lie down in security.” The words, “the needy” and “his poor” or “afflicted people,” are not used with the religious connotation they occasionally have but are used literally, as the phrase, “the firstborn of the poor,” that is, the poorest, the most miserable, shows. Nor is there anything ambiguous or obscure (as is thought) about the last term, but, like the two other terms, it finds its explanation in the existing conditions and in the catastrophe which had happened twelve years before. Yet the author of the prophecy is convinced that the change for the better has arrived, and what gives him such confidence is the fact that

Out of the root of the serpent has issued a basilisk,
A flying dragon is its fruit.

The hero referred to in these enigmatic words is none other than Alexander the Great. To take the second part of the verse first: “A flying” or “a winged dragon is its fruit” finds its explanation in the historical fact that, at the time of the conquest of Egypt, Alexander was declared to be the son of Jupiter-Amon by the priests of the god and that in this same period Jupiter-Amon and his son Horus were represented by the winged dragon.²²⁹ Thus in the story in Pseudo-Callisthenes i. 6–7, 10, about Amon’s intercourse with Olympias, the mother

²²⁸ *Labetaḥ*, the word order shows, is to be construed with *ra’ū* as well as with *yirbašū*.

²²⁹ The winged dragon has always been the foremost attribute of Amon-Re and his son Horus (cf. Erman, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 13, 246).

of Alexander, the god appears mainly in the form of the dragon. It should be added that this identification of Alexander with the solar deity not only forms a prominent feature of the later legends but receives due emphasis even in the works of the contemporary writers.²³⁰ This reference, then, to Alexander's deification by Egyptian priests is additional evidence that the pseudo-prophecy was written after the conquest not only of Gaza but also of Egypt.

The first part of the verse, "Out of the root of the serpent has issued a basilisk," is but another expression of the belief of that age in Alexander's divinity. Proof of this I find in Pseudo-Callisthenes, where, after the story just referred to of Alexander's divine descent from Jupiter-Amon, it is related (i. 11) that some time prior to Alexander's birth an egg was laid by a bird in the lap of Philip and that this egg, dropping to the ground, broke open: whereupon a serpent crept out, encircled the egg, and then died before it could creep back into it. The serpent that came out of the egg was interpreted by the magician as representing Alexander, who, after conquering the universe, should die before he could get back to his native country.²³¹

²³⁰ Cf. the description, in Diodorus i. 15. 6-8, 17-20. 5, of Dionysus-Alexander's victorious conquest and rule of the universe, which Diodorus took from an old source and put in among his excerpts from Hecataeus of Abdera: the incomparable hero, the ancient writer declares, is everywhere acknowledged as a god, and especially after his death is he shown the highest honors (see Wendland, *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur* [1907], p. 69, n. 3 [2d ed., 1912], p. 117, n. 4; Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, V, 1039 and also 674). Even more conclusive are the resolutions passed in 324 B.C. by the Athenians that Alexander be worshiped as Dionysus (Dioarchus i. 94; Hyperides i, fragm. viii; Diogenes Laertius, vi. 63) and the fact recorded by Arrian vii. 23. 2 that in 323 B.C. deputations from Greece arrived in Babylon to worship Alexander as a god (see Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenistischen Zeitalters* [Leipzig, 1901], I, 389 ff.; Kamper, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. 3, and Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, V, 1040). The worship of Alexander as Dionysus explains to my mind why in Pseudo-Callisthenes i. 6 f. one of the changing forms in which the god Amon appears and holds intercourse with Olympias is that of Dionysus—a feature common to all the versions. Similarly Nöldeke (*Beiträge zu . . . Alexanderromans*, p. 3) points out the fact that the tale in Pseudo-Callisthenes of Amon's appearing in the form of the dragon and holding intercourse with Olympias is found in Plutarch's "Life of Alexander" and in Justin xi. 11. 3; xii. 16. 2, and he concludes from this that the tale must have been circulated during the lifetime of Alexander, probably at the monarch's own request.

²³¹ See Carolus Müller (ed.), *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Paris, 1846), Version A; and "Are There Any Maccabean Psalms?" pp. 242 f., n. 35, where I have quoted the Greek text of the story of this portent.

At bottom of this oracle is the primitive notion held by the Greeks that their national heroes, just like the Chthonic gods and local heroes, manifested themselves in the form of the serpent. There is frequent reference to this notion in Greek writers, but it will suffice to quote from Plutarch: "The ancients associate the serpent above all other animals with their heroes."²³² As a matter of fact, this notion, it will now be seen, is expressly referred to in the interpretation of the portent of the egg and the serpent by the words, "For the serpent is the royal animal," or as the Syriac version puts it, "is the token of royalty." The first part of the verse, Isa. 14:29, is then clear: "The root of the serpent" is the egg that dropped from the lap of Philip, that is to say, in its last analysis, Philip himself; and the basilisk, the more formidable serpent that issued therefrom, is Alexander. The parallel second part of the verse tallies with this exactly: "Its fruit—the fruit of the root of the serpent—is the winged dragon," Alexander deified.

I deem it in place to add that the view of Willrich and others that the entire excerpts in Josephus *Contra Apionem* i. 184–204, ii. 43–47, are from Pseudo-Hecataeus²³³ is opposed by Wendland²³⁴ and also by Elter²³⁵ and Mendelssohn²³⁶—two other distinguished Hellenistic scholars—further, that Willrich's treatises suffer from a grave error in approach. He regards the excerpts from Hecataeus and the Alexander story of Josephus as mere fabrications of Maccabaeian and post-Maccabaeian writers, composed for the purpose of glorifying Judaism in the eyes of the non-Jewish world. His method may be judged by the fact that he considers the story of Alexander's visit to the Temple

²³² *Cleomenes*, p. 39. For other references to this notion, see E. Rohde, *op. cit.*, I, 196, 242 (n. 3), 244 (n. 4), and 254 (n. 2).

²³³ *Juden und Griechen vor der makk. Erhebung* (Göttingen, 1895), pp. 20 ff., and *Judaica* (Göttingen, 1900), pp. 86 ff.

²³⁴ In his review of Willrich's *Judaica* in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, XX (1900), 1199 ff.

²³⁵ *De gnomologiorum Graecorum historia atque origine* (Program IX [Bonn, 1895]), pp. 247 ff.

²³⁶ *Aristeas quae fertur ad Philocratem epistolae initium* (Acta universitatis [Dorpat, 1897]), V, Part I, 37.

in Jerusalem as modeled after Agrippa's visit to Judaea (15 B.C.), as described in Josephus *Antiquitates* xvi. 2. 1-4 and Philo *Legatio ad Gaium* § 37.²³⁷ He has overlooked the fact that the central idea of the Alexander story in Josephus is Alexander's dream of future world-dominion—a feature which could not possibly be explained if the story were modeled after the account of Agrippa's visit to Judaea. This feature stamps the story as part and parcel of the Alexander legend, which, we have seen, was already in the process of formation during the lifetime of Alexander the Great. No other conclusion would be possible even if we had not Isa. 14:29-32 to show that the Jews shared with the rest of the world the belief in Alexander's exalted position. This may seem a startling statement on first thought, but it ceases to be in the light of the confession the author of Psalm 82 makes (*q.v.*).

AUTHORSHIP

Our findings regarding the date of Psalm 118 are clinched by the fact that it is another poem written by the author of Psalms 6, 31, 71, 30, 38, 88, and 22. For, as I have pointed out previously, it bears close resemblance to these psalms in style, language, and spirit, although in subject matter it is the direct opposite of them, singing of deliverance and liberty instead of dreading or bewailing disaster. Attention has already been drawn to the lines, "I shall not die, but I shall live" and "But he has not given me over to death," as the antithesis of the figures by which in Psalms 88 and 22 the deathblow, which the nation suffered in 344 B.C. is described. In addition to the figures quoted above in this connection from these two psalms, it should be noted that in Psalm 88 the author refers to the nation laid prostrate as "the dead" in his query,

Wilt thou do wonders for the dead?
Will the dead arise to praise thee?

and also speaks of her as "having sunk in the grave" (vs. 4). Of the many other phrases and ideas Psalm 118 has in common with these two psalms and the five others of the group, note that

²³⁷ *Juden und Griechen*, pp. 9-13.

in Psalm 118 the author bids the proselytes, the *yirē'ē 'āḏōnai*, together with Israel, to join in singing the praise of God for his everlasting love, and, in his prayer for Israel's preservation offered in the second part of Psalm 22, he exhorts them:

Praise him, ye that fear the Lord (*yirē'ē 'āḏōnai*)
Glorify him, all ye of the stock of Jacob,
Stand in awe of him, all ye of the race of Israel.

The phrase *qarā'thi*, used of course with the force of the present tense instead of the past, as in Ps. 118:5, occurs, with the pronominal suffix *ka*, "to thee," as its object instead of "to the Lord," in Pss. 31:18 and 88:10, while in Pss. 30:9 and 22:3 the imperfect *'eḡra* is found instead. In addition to them, note the synonymous expressions *'āḏōnai 'eṭḥannan*, "To the Lord I pray" (30:9); *wa'anī 'elēka 'āḏōnai shiwwa'tī*, etc., "But I, O Lord, I invoke thee, Zealously do I offer prayer unto thee" (88:14); *bēshawwe'ī 'elēka* (31:23); and *beshawwē'ō 'elaw* (22:25). It is clear, then, that when in verse 5 of Psalm 118 the singer says, "In my distress I cried to the Lord," he has in mind his fervid prayers to God both when the blow dealt by Artaxerxes III Ochus was impending and when it had fallen. Further, the phrase *'anānī*, "He heard my prayer," of the same verse is a similar counterpart to the precativ perfect *'anīṭhanī*, "Hear my prayer," of Ps. 22:22 and to the imperfect *'atta tha'ānē 'āḏōnai 'ēlōhai*, "Thou wilt surely hear me, O Lord, my God," of Ps. 38:16, as well as to the synonymous *shamē'a*, "He will hearken," and *shama'ta qōl taḥānūnai*, "Thou wilt hear my prayer," both of which are likewise precativ perfects of Pss. 22:25 and 31:23, respectively. And the phrase *bammerḥab*, following *'anānī*, occurs verbatim in Ps. 31:9, where he hopes and prays, "But thou wilt make my feet to stand on free soil," while here he tells exultantly that his hope has been fulfilled.

These are not by any means all the points of similarity between Psalm 118 and this group of seven psalms: their common vocabulary extends much further. "I have the Lord as my helper" and "But the Lord has helped me" of verses 7 and 13 of Psalm 118 are the antithesis of the psalmist's impassioned prayer, "O Lord, be thou my helper," and his cry of despair,

"And no helper is at hand," of Ps. 30:11 and Ps. 22:12, respectively. The affirmation, 'ēlī 'atta, "Thou art my God," Psalm 118 (vs. 28), has in common with Psalm 22 (vs. 11), which besides begins with 'ēlī 'ēlī; and 'ōdekka, which follows this affirmation in Psalm 118, occurs in Ps. 30:13, and 'ānī 'ōdēka in 71:22, while the third singular and plural, with *ka* or *lak*, are found in Pss. 6:6, 30:10, and 88:11; and 'ārōmēmekka, "I will extol thee," of the same verse of Psalm 118 is practically identical with 'ārōmimēka of Ps. 30:2. For "Let us be glad—or exult—and rejoice in it" (*nagīla wenismēḥa*) of Ps. 118:24 we have in Ps. 31:8, "I shall rejoice and exult in thy love" (*'agīla wē'esmēḥa*). Corresponding to *lahāsōth ba'ādōnai* of both verse 8 and verse 9 of Psalm 118, Psalms 31 and 71 begin with *bēka 'ādōnai ḥasīthī*, and the thought emphasized in all three is re-expressed twice more in Ps. 31:7 and 15, the author employing both times the synonymous verb *baṭaḥtī*, the infinitive of which he uses in Ps. 118:8-9 in the antithetic parallel stichs *mibbētoah ba'adām*.

Note, finally, that the leading idea of Psalm 118—that Israel has been preserved in order that it may "tell (*wa'āsapper*) the deeds of God" and be instrumental in the founding of the Kingdom of God among men—looms large in the prayer for the preservation of the nation in Ps. 22:25-32, and is touched also in Pss. 6:6, 30:10, and 88:11-13. And not only in thought but also in language is Ps. 118:17b related to the prayer of Psalm 22: it tells succinctly what in 22:31-32 is stated more fully:

My race will serve him,
Will tell (*yēsapper*) of God to future generations,
They will make known his righteous ways to a people yet unborn,
Will declare that he has done it.

Note that (*ki*) 'asā of the last line occurs verbatim in 118:24. It will be seen that not only does Psalm 118 bear pronounced similarity in language to these seven psalms but also that the same spirit breathes through all eight of them.

5. *he has given me free soil*] The preposition *bē* denotes the end in view: cf. the note on Ps. 71:16 and Job 34:23, "For not to man has he given the right," *lahālok 'el 'ēl bamishpaṭ*, "to approach God to demand tribunal." Cf.

also the discussion on *bamerhab* of Ps. 31:9. Omit *yāh* at the end of the verse as dittography.

7. *as my helper*] The customary translation "among my helpers" has overlooked, first, that *bē* is *bē essentiae* and, second, that 'ōzērē is intensive plural: cf. the similar example *bēsōmēkē* of Ps. 54:6; cf. also 'āḏōnīm of I Kings 22:17 as well as 'āḏōnai and 'ēlōhīm.

10-12. *In the name of the Lord will I cut them to pieces*] *Ki* is emphatic *ki*, used in the apodosis: another such example is Job 31:33-34, *ki 'ē'ēroš*, "Truly, I should have to dread"; as to its position in the body of the sentence, cf. the note on Ps. 49:16.

Blazing . . . among thorns] Read, with Gr., בערו . . . בַּקִּי (Graetz and others).

13. *I was hard pressed*] Read, with Gr., Hier., and Syr., נִדְרִיתִי (Graetz and others), which is further borne out as the original reading by *But the Lord has helped me* of the parallel stich. The Massoretic reading, *daḥōh deḥithanī*, is a contradiction in terms.

about to fall] *Linpol* is a nice example of the emphatic infinitive.

14. *of him I sing*] Read *wēzimrathī*, the omission of the pronominal suffix being due to homoeoteleuton.

15a. *Hark*] As often, *qōl* is used as an interjection.

16a, 15b (16b). The verbatim repetition of vs. 15b after vs. 16 is to be explained as follows: in the course of transmission *yēmīn 'āḏōnai rōmema* was omitted from vs. 15 after *šaddiqīm* and, with the following stich, *yēmīn 'āḏōnai 'ōsā ḥayil*, added to it as a cue, was put in the margin to the left of the text line, whence in the next copy it was with the cue mechanically joined to the end of vs. 15 or, more accurately expressed, to the end of the line from which *yēmīn 'āḏōnai rōmema* had been omitted; for verse numbers did not exist in the manuscripts, nor does even the first edition of the Old Testament, printed at Venice and known as the Bromberg Bible (after the name of the publisher), have them.

19. *That I may enter through them to give thanks*] 'Abō' bām 'ōdē yāh are not co-ordinated sentences but nice examples of final clauses.

27. *With green boughs in your hands, link the dance up to the horns of the altar*] The verse presents no difficulty, its meaning being very plain. *Ḥag* is the "sacred dance" around the altar. As to the idiom 'isrū ḥag meaning *link the dance*, cf. the similar idiom, I Kings 20:14, *mī ye'sor hammilḥama* "Who shall lead the attack?" Further, as to 'āḇōthīm, meaning *green boughs*, note that for the celebration of the Sukkoth festival, which is throughout biblical literature, pre-Exilic as well as Exilic and post-Exilic, spoken of simply as the *ḥag* because the sacred dance or procession forms the chief feature of the celebration (cf. Judg. 21:19; I Kings 8:2, 25; Hos. 9:5; Ezek. 45:25; Lev. 23:39; Num. 29:12), Lev. 23:40-41 prescribes that the people take branches of the palm, the myrtle, and the river willow, and that from later sources, namely, Josephus *Antiquitates* iii. 10. 4; 13. 5 and Mishna *Sukka* iii. 4, we know the people carried these branches in their hands while walking in procession around the altar on each of the seven days of the festival. Finally, note that *bē* of *ba'āḇōthīm* is *bē concomitantiae*, meaning *carrying branches* or *with branches in your hands*.

B. PSALM 103

- 1* Praise the Lord, O my soul!
From mine inmost soul let me praise his holy name.
- 2 Praise the Lord, O my soul,
Forget not all that he has done for thee:
- 3 He has forgiven all thine iniquities,
And has healed all thine infirmities;
- 4 He has saved thy life from destruction,
And has surrounded thee with love and mercy;
- 5 He has satisfied thee with plenteous good,
So that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's.
- 6 The Lord will bring justice and righteousness
To all who are oppressed.
- 97:10b He has preserved the lives of his faithful servants,
He has delivered them from the hand of the wicked.
- 103:7 He revealed his ways unto Moses,
His deeds unto the sons of Israel.
- 8 The Lord is merciful and gracious,
Long-suffering, and full of love.
- 9 He will not always chide,
Nor will he cherish his anger forever.
- 10 He has not treated us according to our sins,
Nor has he dealt with us according to our iniquities.
- 11 As high as are the heavens above the earth,
Even so boundless has been his love toward those who
fear him.
- 12 As far as the East is from the West,
So far has he removed our transgressions from us.
- 13 As a father has mercy on his children,
So the Lord has mercy upon those who fear him;
- 14 For he knows our nature,
Knows that we are but dust.
- 15 Man's days are as grass;
He blooms like a flower in the field:

* Of David.

- 16 When the wind sweeps over it, it is gone;
Its place will not behold it any more.
- 17 But the love of God is everlasting;
His righteousness is shown to the children's children
- 18 Of those who keep his covenant
And remember to observe his commandments.
- 19 The Lord has established his throne in the heavens;
The range of his kingdom is the universe.
- 20 Praise the Lord, ye his angels of mighty power,
Who do his bidding;†
- 21 Praise the Lord, all ye his hosts,
Ye ministers who carry out his will;
- 22 Praise the Lord, all his works,
Wherever ye be in his dominion.
Praise the Lord, O my soul.‡

The psalm is not the hymn of an individual who thanks God for his recovery from a dangerous sickness, as not a few present-day interpreters take it to be,²³⁸ but it is, as others hold, a national ode, offering the thanksgiving of the people for what God has done for them. The second strophe, where the psalmist says "us" and "Israel" instead of "me" and "my soul" is proof of this.

The psalm was written when the nation had recovered from a catastrophic blow, as the words,

He has saved thy life from destruction,

expressly state. The tone of the ode also shows this. The writer, who is a minor poet, cannot find words enough to tell of the wondrous deliverance which God has wrought for his people:

As high as are the heavens above the earth,
Even so boundless has been his love toward those who fear him,

† 20c *Who hearken unto his word.*

‡ 104:35 *Let sinners disappear from the earth,
And let the wicked be no more,
(Praise the Lord, O my soul.)*

²³⁸ Staerk, Gunkel, Kittel, Barnes, Schmidt.

he exclaims. In a similar strain, the author of Psalm 138, singing of the same event, declares,

Verily, thou hast made great thy holy name beyond anything.

From this central thought it might seem that the psalm, as some interpreters hold, was inspired by Israel's deliverance from the Babylonian Exile were it not that the words,

Its place will not behold it any more,

are copied verbatim from Job 7:10. They present a clear case of an inferior writer's copying a superior poet, without realizing what a curious turn he has given the words. What in Job is said with regard to a man who has passed away, he says insipidly with regard to a flower that has faded. Another example of his slipshod imitation of other writers, in the manner characteristic of a plagiarist, is the immediately preceding lines,

Man's days are as grass;
He blooms like a flower in the field:
When the wind sweeps over it, it is gone.

He has modeled these lines after Isa. 40:6-7 and Job 14:1-2, the first of which reads,

All flesh is as grass,
And its glory is like the flowers of the field:
The grass withereth, the flowers fade,
When the breath of God strikes them;

and the second,

Man is born of woman,
Few are his days and full of trouble.
Like a flower he unfoldeth and fadeth away.

What a difference between his perfect models and his own production! "All flesh is as grass" of the passage of Deutero-Isaiah he has changed to "Man's days are as grass," the faulty "days" of which he has without doubt taken thoughtlessly from the passage of Job. Further, he has ignored the essential words of both passages, that is, "and fadeth away," of the one, and "The grass withereth, the flowers fade," of the other, and as a result of this there is undue stress on "He blooms," which is very disturbing. However, it is not in the stylistic defects of verses 15-16 but in their bearing on the date of Psalm 103 that

we are primarily interested. The dependence of these verses upon the Job drama, which dates from around 400 B.C., precludes the deliverance from Babylonia as the occasion of the psalm and shows that, like Psalm 118, it must have been written in 332/331 B.C. when, as a result of the privileges which Alexander the Great granted Judaea, the nation recovered from the blow which Artaxerxes III Ochus had dealt twelve years before.

Further evidence for this date is found in the lines,

He has not treated us according to our sins,
Nor has he dealt with us according to our iniquities:
. . . . As far as the East is from the West,
So far has he removed our transgressions from us,

which call to mind what prominence the thought—that the calamitous blow the people suffered in 344 B.C. had been visited upon them because of their sinfulness—occupies in Psalms 38, 143, and 90, and also in Isa. 63:7—64:11; how the authors of these psalms are weighed down by the knowledge of this, and how they seek to make the people understand God's call,

Turn from sin, ye sons of man.

The writer of Psalm 103 for a time doubtless shared their fear and their view. However, now that God has saved them, he reasons that, knowing human nature, knowing that man is but dust, God in his boundless love has forgiven the transgressions of the people, nay, has put them out of existence. His reasoning shows that he was influenced also by Psalm 130 and the contemporary piece, Isa. 57:14—21, related to it, from which he copied the lines,

He will not always chide,
Nor will he cherish his anger forever;²³⁹

and that he was furthermore influenced by the great utterance, Exod. 34:6—7, the first part of which he quotes practically verbatim:

The Lord is merciful and gracious,
Long-suffering and full of love.

²³⁹ Instead of *yittor* of the second stich, the text may originally have read *yiqşoph*, which is the verb of the second stich in Isa. 57:17: as evidence, note that (present) Gr. reads this verb in the first stich.

EXCURSUS: THE LOVE AND FATHERHOOD OF GOD

The lines,

As high as are the heavens above the earth,
Even so boundless has been his love toward those who fear him.
. . . . As a father has mercy on his children,
So the Lord has mercy upon those who fear him,

are not by any means "rare" utterances, as they are commonly considered to be,²⁴⁰ but express a familiar thought of Old Testament literature—the older and younger alike. Thus as early as the time of David, in one of the two psalms which he wrote, Psalm 57B/60B, we find the declaration,

Thy love transcends the heavens,
Thy faithfulness towers to the skies.

Psalm 89A, another pre-Exilic psalm, contains the lines,

I will sing of God's deeds of love forevermore,
. . . . Love is built for eternity,
Constant as the skies is thy faithfulness.
. . . . Justice and righteousness are the foundation of thy throne,
Love and truth go before thee.

Then there are the surpassing words, Exod. 34:6-7, which, as already mentioned, are quoted in part in verse 8 of Psalm 103, and the pre-Exilic origin of which is established by the fact that the author of Psalm 78 (written 700 B.C.) cites them.²⁴¹

Further, the writer of the post-Exilic Psalm 36B sings:

O Lord, thy love reaches to the heavens,
Thy faithfulness mounts to the skies;
. . . . Most precious, O God, is thy love:
Wherefore men seek refuge under the shadow of thy wings.

The last of these lines are excelled by the words of the contemporary Psalm 63,

Of thee my lips shall sing,
Sing that thy love is more precious than life.

And the post-Exilic writer of Psalm 62 declares (vs. 13) that the only thing that avails is to realize that

With thee, O Lord, is love!

²⁴⁰ See, among others, Staerk and Kittel.

²⁴¹ See above, p. 652.

Moreover, this is the central thought of the psalm, toward which all that precedes converges. This thought looms large also in the great Psalm 130, where the line,

With God is love,

is followed by the words,

And with him is plenteous redemption.

Another variation of Ps. 62:13 is the line in Psalm 32,

Love surrounds him who trusts in the Lord.

Most conclusive are the words surcharged with emotion of Jer. 31:2,

Far off I behold the Lord appearing to me *and saying*,
With everlasting love do I love thee;
Therefore I draw thee *to me* by *the power of* love,

in which *'ahāba* and *hesed* are used as synonymous terms, as they are in Jer. 2:2.

As another piece of evidence that *God is love* was a most familiar thought in ancient Israel, it should be noted that the lines,

Give thanks unto the Lord
He is good, his love is everlasting,

occur with such frequency that there cannot be any doubt that they are an old liturgic formula. The earliest example of this formula, to my mind, is found in the pre-Exilic liturgic Ps. 100:4b-5, where its first part has not yet the later stereotyped form, and the second part has "And his faithfulness endures throughout generations" for a parallel stich, which, it is noteworthy, lends the formula a certain resemblance to the lines quoted above from Psalm 89A. Another pre-Exilic example is Jer. 33:11, which, like that of Psalm 100, has in the second part *ki tōb 'ādōnai* (instead of only *ki tōb* of the later examples), but which is in the first part—*hōdū la'ādōnai šēbā'ōth*—much closer than Ps. 100:4b-5 to the later stereotyped form. Of post-Exilic examples, note that Deutero-Isaiah's hymn of thanksgiving, Psalm 107A, fittingly begins with it, and that the ode, Psalm 118, composed two centuries later, both begins and closes with it, the second part of it, moreover, being repeated like a

refrain in verses 2-4. Psalms 106 and 136 also begin with it. Outside the Psalms, it is found in the account given in Ezra 3:10-11 of the ceremonies attending the laying of the foundation of the Temple in the second year of the Restoration and in I Chron. 16:34 and 41.

Finally it should be noted that the conception of God as infinite love is not only the central idea of Hosea's preaching but also a prominent thought in the prophecies of Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah. As we have had occasion to dwell on this point more than once before,²⁴² I shall limit myself here to the quotation of one eminently tender utterance of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 49:15):

Can a mother forget her babe,
Cease to love the child of her womb?
Even were they to forget,
Yet will I not forget thee.

By the last quotation we have touched the other side of the concept, the complementary idea of the fatherhood of God. This idea, it cannot be emphasized strongly enough, is just as fully developed in the Old Testament as the conception of God as love. Thus, Hosea says (11:1, 4),

When Israel was young, I loved him;
From Egypt I called him as my son.
... With human bonds I drew them to me,
With the bonds of love.

Jeremiah, envisioning the future, regenerate Israel, represents God as addressing the people as follows (3:19):

I promise to set you up as children,
And give you a pleasant land,
The most beautiful heritage of the nations,
Provided that ye call me "Father,"
And turn not away from me any more.

Another such utterance put in the mouth of God, and marked by the same tenderness and warmth of feeling, is found in his lengthy vision of the ideal future:

Is Ephraim my dear son?
Is he a darling child?

²⁴² Cf. pp. 276, 522-23.

No matter how often I chide him,
 I remember him fondly.
 Therefore my heart goes out to him;
 I am constrained to have mercy upon him [31:19].

Though these utterances speak of the relation between God and the people of Israel, they are in essence pre-eminently personal, revealing the inmost soul of the prophet, whose relation to God was of a conscious personal nature. In a word, they are the outgrowth of his own spiritual experience. This feature lends them their ever fresh appeal and universal significance. Another characteristic of these utterances is that they make it plain that, in order to feel himself in filial relation to God, man must ever heed the Divine presence within him. As the writer of Psalm 18 puts it:

To a loving man thou showest thyself full of love.

Finally there are the familiar words of Malachi (2:10),

Have we not all one Father?
 Has not one God created us?

followed by the trenchant question,

Why then does each of us deal treacherously with his brother?

It is obvious that by this question the prophet seeks to stress the point that the thought of God as the All-father should inspire us to brotherly concern for our fellow-men.

5. *He has satisfied thee with plenteous good*] Read עֲלֵי טוֹב עֲדַרְיָהּ.²⁴³

97:10b. *He has preserved his faithful servants, he has delivered them from the hand of the wicked*] This distich, which in Psalm 97 mars the poetic unity, may be recognized as having been originally a part of Psalm 103, by its syntactical structure with the participle, which is the same as that of vss. 3-5 and 6, and, what is still more conclusive, by its content. It supplies in the second stich the necessary reference, missing in the present form of the psalm, to the foe from whom the nation has been delivered. As in Psalm 94 and others, the Persian world-power is meant by "the wicked" of this stich. This stich is not co-ordinated with the first but subordinated to it, being a circumstantial clause: *delivering them from the hand of the wicked* is the more exact translation.

9. *Nor will he cherish his anger*] *Yitkor* is a case of ellipsis, the object 'appō being omitted.

²⁴³ Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler i. Alt. Test.* (Berlin, 1920), p. 161.

14. *Knows that* or—more literally—*being mindful that*] As in 'āhūbath *rē'a*, Hos. 3:1, the passive participle is used with the force of the active: cf. above, p. 591, n. 196.

16. *will not behold it*] Cf. Gen. 31:32, 37:22, *et al.*

17. Omit 'al *yērē'aw* as dittography.

19. *the universe*] Cf. Jer. 10:16, *yōšer hakkol hū*, "He is the Creator of the universe."

20c. *Who hearken unto his word*] *Lishmo'a bēqōl dēbarō* is a variant of 'ōsē dēbarō; *lishmo'a* is an emphatic infinitive.

C. PSALM 138

- 1* I will give thee thanks with all my heart;
Before the gods will I sing praise unto thee.
- 2 I will worship at thy holy Temple,
And give thanks unto thy name for thy love and for thy
faithfulness:
Verily, thou hast made great thy holy name beyond
anything.
- 3 When I called, thou didst hear my prayer:
Thou hast made room for me and freed me;
Power has come to me.
- 4 All the kings of the earth will praise thee
When they hear the words thou hast spoken.†
- 5 They will sing of the ways of the Lord,
Will sing that the glory of God is great.
- 6 Sublime though he is,
The Lord heeds the lowly;
And the haughty he knows from afar.
- 7 When I walk through the thick of trouble,
Thou preservest me:
Thy might stills the fury of my foes,
And thy right hand delivers me.
- 8 The Lord will make all end well for me:
Thy love is everlasting, O Lord;
Forsake not the work of thy hand.

* Of David.

† 2c *Thy words.*

As in Psalm 118, the "I," which runs through the entire psalm, is collective, and the singer is the mouthpiece of the nation, voicing the sentiments that move every soul throughout the confines of the land. Proof of this are verses 3-4, in which he says that the news of what God has done will make the kings of the whole world recognize and extol the glory of God. Only an extraordinary happening in the life of a nation, and not a happy turn of things in the private life of an individual, no matter how prominent a person he may be, can possibly have, or be expected to have, such a world-wide effect.

The points of contact which Psalm 138 has with Psalm 118 are so striking that it is obvious that it is another psalm inspired by what happened in 332/331 B.C. Note that the first stich of 138:3, "When I called, thou didst hear my prayer" (*bēyōm qarā'thī watta'ānēnī*), is in thought identical with "In my distress I cried to the Lord; he heard my prayer" (*min hammešar qarā'thī Yāh 'anā'nī*), of 118:5, and differs from it but little in language. And, what is still more conclusive, the specification following 138:3a, "Thou hast made room for me and freed me," speaks of identically the same thing of which "He has given me free soil" of 118:5 does, expressing by the Hiph'il *hirḥabta* what there has been expressed by the verbal noun *merḥab* of the ground form of this verb. It is plain, then, that, like verse 5 of Psalm 118, verse 3 of Psalm 138 has reference to Alexander the Great's ceding Samaria to the Judaeans free of tribute and, to what follows from this as self-evident, his perforce granting them similar exemption from tribute with regard to the tenure of their own province, making Judaea a free country.

Though nothing further is needed to establish the date of the psalm, yet it should likewise be noted that the phrases 'ōdē and 'ōdēka are conspicuous in both psalms, occurring twice in Psalm 138 (vss. 1 and 2) and three times in Psalm 118 (vss. 19, 21, and 28), and that *yōdūka* is found once in the former (vs. 4) and *hōdū la'ādōnai* twice in the latter (vss. 1 and 29). As another common feature of the two psalms, note that the writer of Psalm 138 declares with emphasis in the last verse, "Thy love is everlasting, O Lord"; that, repeating 'ōdē, with which he

begins, in verse 2, he says, "And I will give thanks to thy name for thy love"; and that the author of Psalm 118 both begins and ends his ode with "Give thanks unto the Lord . . . his love is everlasting" and, in addition, repeats "His love is everlasting" three times (vss. 2-4).

Finally, though the writer of Psalm 138 was unable to produce a song which can approach Psalm 118 in poetic beauty and imaginative fervor, yet, like the author of that ode, he has succeeded in showing that it was the tragedy that went before which made the event of the year 332/331 B.C. wonderful "beyond anything." Because of this circumstance, he cherishes the sanguine hope that the marvelous turn in Israel's fortune can but make the world at large realize the greatness of its God. Even so did Deutero-Isaiah hope two hundred years before that Israel's deliverance from Babylonia was bound to make all men "hail the Lord King."²⁴⁴

The words,

The Lord heeds the lowly;
And the haughty he knows from afar,

do not state a general truth; the singular *shaphal*, the force of which is lost in the translation, is a fitting designation of Israel, which twelve years before had been prostrated to the ground, and "the haughty"—*gaboah*, which is another singular—doubtless refers to Artaxerxes III Ochus, whose mighty empire had just been overthrown. Furthermore, in the line which follows,

When I walk through the thick of trouble,

the psalmist is speaking of the catastrophe that had gone before.

There is another noteworthy difference between Psalms 138 and 118. Psalm 118 is a product of the people's immediate reaction to the generous act of Alexander the Great, being written when their joy was exuberant and their hopes were running high, while Psalm 138 was evidently written some short time later when the erstwhile boundless enthusiasm had given way to a more sober view, and they realized how much there still

²⁴⁴ Ps. 98:6.

remained to be achieved to make the change of fortune complete. This explains the words with which the psalm concludes:

The Lord will make all end well for me:
Thy love is everlasting, O Lord;
Forsake not the work of thy hand.

2. *thy holy name beyond anything*] (1) Omit, with the Masora, Gr., and Hier., the Maqqeph and vocalize פֶּל; (2) with Gr. τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιόν σου, which is excellently attested, read שֵׁם קדשׁךָ; (3) omit 'imratheka as being originally a variant of 'imrē phika of vs. 4b.

3. *Thou hast made room for me and freed me*] Read, with Aq. and Hier., הִרְחַבְתָּ : cf. what has been remarked on *hirḥabta* of Ps. 4:2 and on *bamerḥab* of Ps. 31:9; cf. also Gen. 26:22.

Power has come to me] Read לָבָא : as often, *bā'*, being written phonetically, was not recognized by the Massoretes, and as a result *lē* of *lēnaphshī* was eliminated; note that the reading *lēnaphshī* has been preserved by Sym. τῇ ψυχῇ μου, and cf. Gen. 30:11, *bāgad*, "Good fortune has come."

5. *Will sing that*] *Yashīrū* is a case of zeugma.

7. *When*] See Ps. 63:7.

8. *the work*] Read, with many MSS and Syr., the sing. יָדָה.

D. PSALM 149

- 1 Praise ye the Lord!
Sing unto the Lord a new song;
Sing his praises in the assembly of the faithful.
- 2 Let Israel rejoice in her Maker,
The sons of Zion exult in their King.
- 3 Let them praise his name, joining in the dance,
Let them sing his praises to the music of the tambourine
and the lyre;
- 4 For the Lord has delighted in his people,
He has crowned the humble with victory.
- 5 Let the faithful rejoice at the glory that has come,
Let them burst into song on their beds at night,
- 6 Their mouths filled with paeans of praise to God,
Their hands wielding a two-edged sword,
- 7 To wreak vengeance on the nations,
To mete out punishment to the peoples;
- 8 To put their kings in chains,

- 9 Their nobles in irons;
 To administer to them the judgment that is written *in*
 the book.
 It is a triumph for his faithful servants.
 Praise ye the Lord!

Psalm 149 is usually considered Maccabaeian, though it is admitted that "we do not know the [particular] historical occurrence [of the Maccabaeian struggle] which occasioned it."²⁴⁵ The admission shows on what shaky evidence many pieces of literature have commonly been assigned to the Maccabaeian period, whether of the Psalms or of other biblical writings. It is the current, inadequate treatment of pre-Maccabaeian post-Exilic history which is responsible for this error. The tone and content of Psalm 149 point to the conclusion that it must be a fourth hymn occasioned by the marvelous turn which affairs in Israel took in the year 332/331 B.C. It does not, however, rank high, being spiritually valueless. Unlike the authors of the three preceding and the following psalms, neither has the writer of this psalm caught a spark of the prophetic spirit nor has his soul been chastened by the long night of affliction. Uppermost in his mind is the desire to wreak vengeance on the pagan nations for the wrongs Israel has suffered from them those many years.

It should be emphasized that by "their King" of verse 2 God is meant and not, as some have taken it, an earthly king: "her Maker" of the parallel stich shows this, and still more so does the following verse 3, for note that "their King" is the antecedent of the possessive in both "Let them praise his name" and "let them sing his praises."

5. *at the glory that has come*] The phrase *bēkabōd* admits of no other interpretation. Baethgen, who disputes this meaning and says that the phrase is to be interpreted in accordance with Pss. 30:13 and 29:9, has overlooked that these examples are altogether different cases: in 30:13 the text read originally *kēbōdi*, which is the subject and means "the land of my glory"; and in 29:9, *kabōd* is the direct object of 'ōmer.

²⁴⁵ Staerk, *op. cit.*, p. 28; see also Kittel, p. 437.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PSALM 40

Though it is generally admitted that the second part of Psalm 40 (vss. 13-18) is inconsistent with the first (vss. 2-12), many interpreters have argued that the two parts are a unit. However, equally as many hold that they are clearly two separate psalms, combined by a compiler, or—more probable—through some vagaries in the transmission. They differ radically not only in tone and content but also in literary character. The singer of Psalm 40A is visibly elated because of the wonderful deliverance God has brought about, whereas the writer of Psalm 40B, beset by sorrows without number, prays for speedy deliverance. Further, while Psalm 40A is highly original, Psalm 40B is largely pieced together by quotations from other psalms, and verses 14-18 recur, moreover, a second time as Psalm 70. The simplest explanation of its twofold transmission seems to me to be that in the course of transmission (either of the entire Psalter or of one of the earlier collections of which the Psalter is made up) the first verse was omitted from Psalm 70 and, with the rest of the verses added to it as a cue, was put in a blank space of the manuscript, which happened to be directly after the present Psalm 40A, and that, when later this manuscript was recopied, the omitted verse with the cue was mechanically joined to that psalm.

E. PSALM 40A

= VERSES 1-12

*

- 2 Patiently did I wait for the Lord;
He inclined his ear unto me and heard my prayer.
- 3 He has brought me back from the yawning grave,
Has drawn me out of the miry slough,
And has set my foot upon a rock, and made firm my steps.
- 4 He has put a new song in my mouth—
Words of praise unto our God.

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of David. A Psalm.

Many will see, and they will fear the Lord
And trust in him.

- 5 Blessed is the man who puts his trust in the Lord,
Who turns not to shadow gods and lying visions.
- 6 O Lord our God, thou hast done great things for us:
Thy wondrous plans are beyond compare.
Were I to declare and relate them,
They are more than could be told.
- 7*a, c* Thou desirest not offering and sacrifice,
Holocaust and sin offering thou dost not demand.
- 7*b* Thou hast provided me with ears:
- 9 I delight to do thy will;
Thy law is graven in my heart.
- 10*a*, 11*aa* I will declare thy righteousness before the great as-
sembly of people,
- 10*b* Yea, I will not restrain my lips:
Thou, O Lord, knowest
- 11*aβ* I will not conceal thy faithfulness and salvation
within my heart.
- 8 (> 'az) I promise to deliver a writ which shall bind me
- 11*b* Not to withhold thy love and faithfulness from the
great assembly of people.
- 12 Thou, O Lord, wilt not withhold thy love from me:
Thy love and faithfulness will ever watch over me.

DATE AND OCCASION OF PSALM 40A

It is not of his own rescue but of the preservation of the nation that the poet sings. Proof of this is verse 6, where he expressly says,

O Lord God, thou hast done great things for us.

This is clear also from verses 4-5, in which he speaks of the effect their preservation will have on the people of the surrounding pagan world. Realizing that they have believed in shadow gods and cherished lying visions, many of them, he hopes, "will fear the Lord and trust in him." Note that the

words, "will fear the Lord" (*yīrē'ū 'ādōnai*), call to mind how in Psalms 118 and 22 the psalmist bids "them that fear the Lord" (*yīrē'ē 'ādōnai*), that is, the proselytes, to join in singing the praise of God. Note, further, that what has been said of Psalm 138 applies also to this psalm: a remarkable happening in the life of the nation only, not in the private life of an individual, can possibly be productive of such a world-wide effect as is looked for in these two verses.

As proof that Psalm 40A is another song inspired by the hopes which the bounty of Alexander the Great awakened in the people of Judaea, note, first,

Patiently did I wait for the Lord:

These words have point because the two centuries that had gone before were characterized by a continuous struggle for existence. They would be pointless had the psalm been written, as some think, after the return from the Exile, considering that only fifty years had elapsed since the fall of the nation in 586 B.C. Note further that the figure,

He has brought me back from the yawning grave,

recalls the similar figure by which the writer of Psalm 118 describes the preservation of the nation:

I shall not die, but I shall live,
 . . . The Lord has chastened me sore,
 But he has not given me over to death;

and, like the latter, it recalls also the antithetic figures by which the writers of Psalms 88, 71, 79, 13, and 143 describe the tragic fate which the nation suffered in 344 B.C.,²⁴⁶ and note the prayer, Ps. 71:20,

Recall us to life and bring us back from the infernal regions,

uttered while the fatal blow was impending, with which the words,

He has brought me back from the yawning grave,

have in common not only much the same figure but also the same verb *wayya'ālēnī*, used, as demanded by the altered situa-

²⁴⁶ See above, pp. 667 and 674.

tion, in the third singular of the imperfect with *waw consecutivum*, instead of the second singular of the simple imperfect. "The miry slough" of the parallel stich is a very expressive figure for the wretched lot of the nation in the two preceding centuries. Finally, the lines with which the psalm concludes,

Thou, O Lord, wilt not withhold thy love from me,
Thy love and thy faithfulness will ever watch over me,

read as if they had been written as a direct antithesis to the despairing cry in Ps. 77:9-10,

Is his love gone for aye?
Has he in anger withdrawn his mercy?

uttered when the nation had succumbed to the onslaught of Artaxerxes III Ochus.

SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE

Verses 7-11 are spiritually the most significant part of the psalm. In these verses the singer declares that God desires not sacrifices but demands that man do his will by obeying the divine law graven in his heart. And he vows not to withhold this truth from the great assembly of people, by which he doubtless means the people assembled from all over the country for the purpose of offering thanksgiving, according to rite and custom, for what God has done for them. These worshipers he will make to understand that there is only one way by which man can respond to the love and faithfulness of God—by following his example. The lines,

Thou desirest not offering and sacrifice,
Holocaust and sin offering thou dost not demand.
Thou hast provided me with ears:
I delight to do thy will;
Thy law is graven in my heart,

are elucidated by Jer. 7:21-23 and 31:31-34. In the first passage the prophet declares:

Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel,
Add your holocausts to your common sacrifices,
And eat the meat yourselves:
For on the day I brought your fathers out of Egypt
I did not give them any command

Nor say aught unto them about holocaust and sacrifice.
 Only this did I command them,
 Obey my voice:
 Then shall I be your God, and you will be my people;
 And walk ye in the way that I command you ever anew—

that is, by the divine voice within. And in the second he says:

Verily, days shall come, says the Lord,
 When I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and
 the house of Judah.
 . . . This will be the covenant which I shall make with them:
 I will engrave my law in their minds,
 And write it in their hearts.
 Then shall I be their God,
 And they will be my people.
 Then will they no longer have need to teach one another, saying,
 "Know God":
 For they will all know me,
 The meanest and the greatest of them.

In another post-Exilic psalm (69:30-32) written two decades later, the psalmist, after beseeching God to heed his people's misery and set them on high, says with a touch of sarcasm,

Then will I praise the name of God in song
 And magnify him with thanksgiving:
 This will please the Lord more
 Than an ox or bullock that has horns and hoofs.

It may be asserted with emphasis that, the prevailing view to the contrary,²⁴⁷ it is not in the least surprising to find this prophetic truth voiced as late as 332 B.C. and even later. Most of the psalms composed between 538 and 300 B.C., we have found, show that the spirit of the prophets was a living force throughout these post-Exilic centuries.

TEXT DISORDER

It has generally been observed that the second stich of verse 7 and also of verse 8 interrupt the sequence. As usual in such cases, many exegetes have resorted to text emendation, though the solution of the difficulty is much simpler, as it is to be found in the disorder the psalm has suffered in the course of transmission. (1) Since verse 7c is the parallel stich to 7a, it is evi-

²⁴⁷ For the latest statement of this view see H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen*, p. 76.

dent that it must originally have followed 7*a* and that 7*c* in its turn must have been followed by 7*b*. External evidence of this we have in 'az, with which verse 8 begins. This is not an original part of verse 8, for it is not the adverb 'az but the first two letters of 'aznayīm which were left behind when the rest of 'aznayīm karītha lī was omitted at the end of verse 7 and put in the margin (with 'az repeated to serve as a cue). For another piece of external evidence of this original order of verse 7, note that the Greek as quoted by Cyril of Alexandria²⁴⁸ reads 'aznayīm karītha lī at the end of the verse. (2) Verse 8 (without 'az) stood originally in verse 11 after 'amartī, which had been left behind when the rest of the verse was omitted, and which was prefixed to it as a cue when it was put in the margin. As usual, both omissions were taken into the text at random in the next copy. (3) *Ṣidqathēka* at the beginning of verse 11 was originally not a part of this verse but a marginal correction of the mistake *ṣedeq* of verse 10. External evidence of this is that the original Greek (as preserved by Boh., R, and Vet. Lat.) read *ṣidqathēka* in verse 10 as did also the Syriac. The correction was mechanically joined to verse 11 in the next copy. It will be seen that the sequence of verses 7-11, as rearranged, is perfect. Note that the parallel parts of 7*b* are not 7*a* and *c* but the two stichs of verse 9, which with 7*b* form a tristich and are a nice example of synthetic parallelism.

2. *He inclined his ear*] *Wayyeḷ* is a case of ellipsis, the governing object 'oznō being omitted.

3. *the yawning grave*] *Bōr sha'ōn* is a synonym of *bē'ēr shaḥath*, Ps. 55:24: see the note on Ps. 70:20.

4. *they will fear the Lord*] *Ba'ādōnai* of the following stich is to be construed also with *yīrē'ū*, being a case of brachylogy.

5. *shadow gods*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., *הַבְּלִים* instead of *rēhabīm*.

lying visions] *Sālē kasab* does not admit of translation, as the various renderings given of the phrase show: "such as turn aside to lies," "false apostates," *Lügendienern*, and *abtrünnigen Lügern*. *Sālē* is clearly not the original reading: Gr. rendering *μavias*, "frenzy" or "inspired frenzy," read a derivative of *shalā'*: as proof, note that in II Kings 9:11 (and similarly in Jer. 29:26) Syr. renders *mēshugga'* with *shālēyā'*, which does not, however, mean *stultus* (as Payne Smith and Brockelmann say) but "ecstatic" or

²⁴⁸ See Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, III (Oxonii, 1823), Critical Apparatus.

"visionary," and note further that Syr. renders with the same word—*shālēnan*—also ἐξέστημεν, II Cor. 5:13, said (as often in classical Greek) of prophetic ecstasy or sacred delirium. *Kasab* is a qualificative genitive: cf. *shopheṭ sedeḡ*, "righteous judge."

6. O Lord our God, thou hast done great things for us: Thy wondrous plans are beyond compare] Transpose 'elēnū from 6b into 6a after 'atta, and read כִּנִּי instead of 'ēlōhai, with one MS and Syr.; in 6b omit 'elēka, with codd. B, S, A, 1219, and 55 of Gr.; *niphlē'ōthēka ūmaḥshēphōthēka* is a case of hendiadys.

10, 11aβ. Thou, O Lord, knowest I will not conceal, etc.] Vs. 11aβ is an objective sentence dependent on *yada'ta*: the psalmist calls on God, who reads man's mind, as a witness that he has courage of conviction.

8. (> 'az). I promise to deliver a writ which shall bind me] Vs. 8 presents no difficulty: as to *bā' bē* meaning *deliver*, cf. the notes on Pss. 71:16 and 66:13; the perfect, like those of vss. 10a and 11, expresses resolution, as the imperfect 'eklē, with which they alternate, shows. As to *which shall bind me* or *by which I shall be bound*, note that *kathūb 'al* or *'al* alone denotes what is incumbent or obligatory on a person or what he is bound to: of other such examples note Ps. 56:13; II Kings 22:13, *la'āsōth kakol hakkathūb 'alēnū*, "To do as we are bound to"; II Sam. 18:11, *wē'alai latheth lēka*, "then would it have been incumbent on me to give to thee"; Prov. 7:14, *sibḥe shēlamīm 'alai*, "Votive offerings are obligatory on me" (said frivolously); note also that Arab. *mā laka* means "What do you own?" and *ma 'alaika* means "What do you owe?"

12. This verse is not a petition, as it is generally interpreted, but a declarative statement. So taken, it is a conclusion which is consistent with the rest of the psalm.

PSALM 40B

= VERSES 13 AND 14-18 = 70:2-6

- 13 For sorrows without number beset me;
My sins overwhelm me, darkening my vision:
They are more numerous than the hairs on my
head.
I have lost heart.
- 14 = 70:2* In thy grace, O Lord, deliver me;
Hasten, O Lord, to my help.
- 15 = 70:3 May they that seek my life†
All be shamed and confounded;
May they be driven back in dismay,
They that desire my ruin.

* 70:1 For the Hymnal. Of David. At the offering of the *Azkara* (?).

† To take it.

- 16 = 70:4 Let them be stunned by their shame—
 Them that call out at me, Ha, ha!
 17 = 70:5 But let all those that seek thee
 Rejoice and be glad in thee;
 Let those that love thy salvation ever say,
 Exalted be the Lord.
 18 = 70:6 I am poor and wretched,
 Hasten to me, O Lord:
 Thou art my help and my deliverer;
 Tarry not, O God.

Psalm 40B is a fragment, the original beginning being lost. Since verses 15–17 are copied from Ps. 35:4, 21, 25, and 27, and verses 14b and 13c from Pss. 22:20 and 38:23 and 11, the psalm must have been written later than 344 B.C., which is the date of these two psalms. Being incomplete, it furnishes no further clue to determine its date more exactly. What is left shows how desperate conditions were at the time.

13. *darkening my vision*] Note that *rō'ē* means "seer" and, in Isa. 28:7, "vision" and that the verbal noun *mar'ē* often means "vision."

15 = 70:3. *Lispōthah* in 40:15 was originally a marginal gloss, as the parallel text, which does not have it, shows.

18 = 70:6. *Hasten to me*] *'Al tē'aher* of the parallel stich shows that *hūsha li* of 70:6 is the original reading and not *yahashab li* of 40:18, the meaning of which is uncertain.

POST-EXILIC JUDAISM AS A MISSIONARY RELIGION

We have seen earlier how the universalism of spiritual prophecy reaches its height in Deutero-Isaiah and how, as a result of this, the missionary idea receives great prominence in his prophecies as well as in his psalms. In the former he declares that God has chosen Israel for the sake of his covenant with humankind, has destined it to be a light to the Gentiles so that his salvation may be world-wide,²⁴⁹ and in the latter he tells redeemed Israel,

Day by day spread abroad the salvation God has wrought;
 Declare his glory among the nations,
 His wonderful works among all peoples.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Isa. 42:5–6; 49:6.

²⁵⁰ Ps. 96:2–3.

We have also seen that his idealism fired the souls of others both of his age and of the following ages. Thus the outstanding thought of Psalm 65A, written by a contemporary of Deutero-Isaiah, is

Let all mankind come to thee,
Hope of the ends of the earth and the far-distant sea shores.

Another of his contemporaries, the author of Psalm 47, celebrating Israel's rebirth, concludes his song with the words,

Let the princes of the world be gathered,
To become one with the people of the God of Abraham.

The same broad universalism marks Psalm 113—another song inspired by the redemption from Babylonia—and Psalm 102, written about twenty years later. So swayed is the author of the latter by Deutero-Isaiah's idea of the mission of Israel that he affirms that the name of God will be truly

. . . . declared in Zion,
His praise be sung in Jerusalem,
When nations and kingdoms gather there to worship God.

We have seen further that the larger end God has in view with Israel is the leading idea of Psalm 118 and is the dominant note also of the concluding part of Psalm 22, composed by the same author. These two psalms, written, respectively, in 344 and 332/331 B.C., are of extreme importance also in another respect, for they provide the earliest dated evidence that not only in word but also in deed was post-Exilic Judaism a missionary religion; for, since in these two psalms the proselytes are spoken of as a component part of the community of Israel, they must have existed in Israel in large numbers at that time. This presupposes, however, that the conversion of the Gentiles to the faith of Israel was going on long before the second half of the fourth century B.C. To find this the case is not surprising when one considers that more even than in the Song of Redemption (Psalms 93, 97, 96, 98) does Deutero-Isaiah in the songs of the servant emphasize that only through patient, faithful work and willing submission to suffering and abuse will Israel succeed in leading the world to God. Thus in the first of

these songs he says that the servant of God, filled with the spirit of God,

Will faithfully set forth religious truth:
He will not tire nor lose courage,²⁵¹
Till he have set forth religious truth on earth,
And the far strands long for his revelation.²⁵²

In the second he represents the servant as declaring,

I have turned my back to them that smite it,
And my cheeks to them that tear my beard out:
I hide not my face from insult and being spit in.²⁵³

Though Deutero-Isaiah vividly describes how he beholds Zion shaking herself from the dust and rising to glory and power, yet it is as if he had foreseen the bitter struggle that was to fall to Israel's lot in the post-Exilic centuries. His followers, the evidence shows, must have zealously acted upon the spiritual legacy of their master.

Evidence, which is probably earlier than Psalms 22 and 118, that missionary activity was already being carried on with success in the two first centuries after the Exile, is Isa. 56:1-8, which seeks to regulate the religious status of the proselytes. The broad-minded spirit which breathes through it presents such a wholesome contrast to the narrow separatism of Ezra and Nehemiah that it must antedate their activity. This conclusion is in keeping with the date assigned to it by a number of critics. It rules that "if the foreigners who attach themselves to the Lord, to worship him and to love his name, to be his servants," observe the Sabbath and keep the covenant, they shall enjoy the same status as the born Israelites. Then will God bring them to his holy mountain, and gladden them in his house of prayer, and accept their sacrifices on his altar,

For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples.

Since the words in verse 4, "Neither let the foreigner who has attached himself to the Lord say, The Lord has surely separated me from his people," show that the measure was dictated by a need for it, it is obvious that the proselytes must have been numerous at that time.

²⁵¹ Vocalize *yeroš*.

²⁵² Isa. 42:1-4.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 50:6.

The majority of biblical students are agreed that the proselytes are meant by *yīrē'ē 'ādōnai*, "those who fear the Lord," of Psalms 22 and 118 and also of Psalms 115 and 135. There cannot be any doubt about this, since there is abundant evidence in the New Testament, in Josephus, in Roman tomb inscriptions, and in rabbinic literature that converts to Judaism were commonly designated as "those who fear God," that is, as *οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν*, *οἱ σεβόμενοι τ. θ.*, or *οἱ σεβόμενοι* simply, in the New Testament and in Josephus, as *Deum metuens*, or *metuens* simply, in Roman inscriptions, and as *yērē' shamayīm* in rabbinic writings, in accordance with the custom in these of substituting *shamayīm* for *'ādōnai*. The evidence has been fully presented by Bertholet, who has also refuted the widespread view that Judaism recognized different categories of proselytes.²⁵⁴ It will therefore suffice to give one or two examples. Acts 13:16, 26, tells that, when Paul went into the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia on the Sabbath day, he addressed his audience with the words,

Men of Israel, and ye that fear God,
Give audience;

Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham,
And those among you who fear God,
To you is the word of this salvation sent—

which are an excellent parallel to Ps. 22:24,

Praise him, ye that fear the Lord;
Glorify him, all ye of the stock of Jacob,
Stand in awe of him, all ye of the race of Israel;

to Ps. 118:2-4,

Let Israel say, His love is everlasting,
Let the house of Aaron say, His love is everlasting,
Let them that fear the Lord say, His love is everlasting;

to Ps. 115:9-11,

Israel trusts in the Lord
The house of Aaron trusts in the Lord
They that fear the Lord trust in the Lord;

²⁵⁴ *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (Freiburg, 1896), pp. 325-37.

and to Ps. 135:19-20,

Praise the Lord, O house of Israel;
Praise the Lord, O house of Aaron;
Praise the Lord, O house of Levi;
Ye that fear the Lord, praise the Lord.

How familiar a term it was may be seen from the fact that of the five Roman and one Numidian tomb inscriptions of proselytes which we have, in one the proselyte is designated as *Deum metuens*, by the full phrase, that is, in another as *religionis iudeicae metuens*, while in the rest he is designated as *metuens* simply, that is, by the ellipsis, the object *Deum* being omitted as so well known in those days that the reader could readily supply it. Note that in Acts 17:17 the proselytes are similarly designated by the ellipsis *οἱ σεβόμενοι*, as again in 13:43, where it is an attributive of "proselytes."²⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that the first to apply the term *yĕrē' 'ādōnai* to (expectant) converts was Deutero-Isaiah, who, addressing himself to the world at large to listen to the message of the servant of the Lord, says, "Whoso among you fears the Lord (*yĕrē' 'ādōnai*) let him listen to his servant" (Isa. 50:10).

Another important psalm bearing on the missionary activity of post-Exilic Judaism is Psalm 87, which tells of the success with which the propaganda met in the surrounding world and the keen hopes awakened in the psalmist as a consequence.

PSALM 87

*

1-2 On his holy mountain the Lord has reared the gates of Zion—

More dear to him than all the dwellings of Jacob.

3 Glorious things are spoken of thee, city of God.

4a-b Of them that know me, I will mention
Rahab and Babylon, yon Philistia and Tyre,
Also Ethiopia.

²⁵⁵ Cf. J. Bernays, "Die Gottesfürchtigen bei Juvenal," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Berlin, 1885), II, 71-80; Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (3d ed.; 1898), III, 123 f., n. 66. Bertholet (*op. cit.*, p. 392) gives two of these inscriptions.

* A Psalm. Of the Sons of Korah. A Song.

- 6 In the book of the nations the Lord writes
 This man as a citizen of one place,
 4c That man as a citizen of another.
 5 But of Zion it is said,
 Every man is her citizen.
 Yea, the Most High will establish her.
 7 Then will they sing and dance—
 Every one who has his home in thee.

The psalm is a messianic vision only in part. The lines,

Glorious things are spoken of thee, city of God.
 Of them that know me, I will mention
 Rahab and Babylon, yon Philistia and Tyre,
 Also Ethiopia.

But of Zion it is said,
 Every man is her citizen,

speak of facts—the results of the Jewish propaganda in the post-Exilic centuries. Historians are agreed that the enormous growth and propagation of the Jews throughout the countries of the Mediterranean world, and beyond these in Mesopotamia and in Babylonia in the Hellenistic and Roman time (their number is estimated to have been four or four and a half million, about 7 per cent of the general population of these countries) cannot be explained by their deportation and emigration from the mother-country, or even by unusual fertility, but only by the great masses of Gentiles who were converted to the Jewish faith in the Diaspora.²⁵⁶ The astonishing success of this intensive propaganda the writer of Psalm 87 describes with admirable brevity—in the narrow compass of four distichs. He mentions first the largest center of the Diaspora, Egypt, which is meant by Rahab. For proof of this identification, note that in a later editorial addition to Isa. 30: 1-7, Egypt is styled “the subdued²⁵⁷ Rahab.” As the second largest center he mentions

²⁵⁶ Of the literature on the subject, cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, III, 1-38, 102-22; Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* (4th ed.; Leipzig, 1924), I, 5-23; Wendland, *op. cit.* (2d ed.), pp. 192-211; G. Rosen, *Juden und Phönizier* (“neu bearbeitet von F. Rosen und G. Bertram” [Tübingen, 1929]).

²⁵⁷ Instead of the meaningless *hem shabath*, read, with different word division, *hammoshbath*, as Hensler has convincingly emended a century and a half ago.

Babylonia. The nucleus of this center was composed of the many exiles of Judah who never returned to the home country. He mentions then Philistia and Tyre. Tyre stands in all probability for the Phoenicians as a whole, who, Rosen thinks, were converted to Judaism en masse. Last he mentions Ethiopia, which calls to one's mind the remark of Philo that the Jews inhabited Egypt "as far as the borders of Ethiopia."²⁵⁸

He then goes on to say,

But of Zion it is said,
Every man is her citizen,

finding that the prophetic dream about Zion as the spiritual metropolis of the world, described in Isa. 2:2-4; 11:9-10, and Jer. 3:17, was in the process of being realized. The lines are elucidated by the letter of Agrippa to Caligula, which has been recorded by Philo, and reads:

Jerusalem is the capital not only of Judaea but also of most countries because of the colonists whom on opportune occasions it has sent out to the surrounding countries, such as Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Coele Syria, and the more distant Pamphylia and Cilicia, to most parts of Asia, . . . and even to Europe.²⁵⁹

What has been accomplished fills the psalmist with hope that still greater glory awaits Zion. Then will all they who look upon Zion as their spiritual home sing and dance.

Psalm 87 is another illustration that the spirit of the prophets, breathing through the psalms of Deutero-Isaiah and those of his many followers, was the impelling force back of the propaganda which was carried on in the Diaspora. This fact accounts for its great success. The pagan world was drawn to Judaism by the lofty monotheism of spiritual prophecy with its simple creed addressed to every man of whatever clime or race,

He has told thee, O man, what is good;
And what does the Lord require of thee,
But to do justice, and to love mercy,
And to walk humbly with thy God.

Nothing definite can be said about its date, but inasmuch as the psalm shows no sign of literary decadence it must have been

²⁵⁸ *In Flaccum* § 6.

²⁵⁹ *Legat. ad Gaium* § 36.

composed prior to the second quarter of the third century B.C., when the Hebrew language entered on a stage of rapid decomposition.

It is generally admitted that in the present order of the verses the psalm shows a patent lack of sequence. The sequence is restored when verse 6 is put before 4c. In the course of transmission it was omitted from 4c and put in the margin, whence it was in the next copy taken into the text at random.

2. *On his holy mountain the Lord has reared*] Read, with Syr., בְּהַר קֹדְשׁוֹ . *Yēsūdathō bēhar qodshō* is in apposition to *sha'are šīyōn* and has for emphasis been put in anteposition: the pronominal suffix of *yēsūdathō* has the force of a subjective genitive. To express their meaning adequately I have rendered the verses freely. A literal translation, "being his foundation on his holy mountain, the Lord loves the gates of Zion more than" is for stylistic reasons out of the question.

5. *Every man*] The repetition of a word to express "every" or "all" is unusually common in Hebrew: cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 123d; the translation "this one and that one" of R.V. and others is grammatically untenable and obscures the meaning. Surprising also is the emendation of the verse by a number of interpreters on the strength of Gr. *μήτηρ* Σ., since this reading, as Field has pointed out, is a mistake in Gr. for original *μήτηρ*.

7. *will they sing and dance*] As often, the plural of the participle is used impersonally: cf. the note on Ps. 122:2; the meaning of *kēhōlēlīm* is not altogether certain.

who has his home in thee] Read, with Gr. *ἡ κατοικία*, בֵּיתֵנוּ , as Baethgen has emended: *mē'ōnō bak* is a nominal relative clause the antecedent of which is *kol*.

VI. PSALMS OF THE TIME AFTER THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

CONDITION OF PALESTINE IN THE YEARS 318-300 B.C.

The autonomy which Israel enjoyed during the reign of Alexander the Great was short-lived, coming to an end with Alexander's death. In the stormy years that followed, Palestine was for two decades the battleground for the rival armies of Ptolemy and his allies and of their opponent, Antigonos. In 318 B.C. Ptolemy invaded Palestine, took captive the satrap Leomedon, and annexed the entire country, occupying it until the spring of 315, when Antigonos, opening his attack on Palestine, compelled him to withdraw into Egypt. Antigonos on his part now occupied northern as well as southern Palestine, including Gaza; then began the siege of Tyre, which it took him thirteen months to reduce. When Tyre had fallen, he left his son Demetrius at Gaza to hold Palestine, while he returned to the West. In the spring of 312 Ptolemy, assisted by Seleucus, attacked Demetrius at Gaza and won a complete victory over him. He then overran the whole of Palestine, reducing it to submission and conquering all its important cities, including Jerusalem.

Josephus²⁶⁰ and Pseudo-Aristeas,²⁶¹ who both draw from Hecataeus of Abdera, tell that on that occasion Ptolemy carried away many Jewish captives including the high priest from Judaea and Jerusalem as well as from Samaria and took them to Egypt. In these two records of the forcible deportation of the people at the time of the conquest of Jerusalem "after the battle of Gaza" we have the true account of things, whereas Josephus' discrepant statement,²⁶² alleging that, captivated by Ptolemy's "kindliness and humanity, they desired to accompany him to Egypt," is, as Wendland has pointed out,²⁶³ clearly fictitious, being an attempt on the part of Josephus to paint matters in more pleasing colors. Also the account given by

²⁶⁰ *Ant.* xii. 1.

²⁶¹ §§ 12-13, 35.

²⁶² *Contra Apionem* i. 186.

²⁶³ In Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.* (Tübingen, 1900), II, 2, nn. a and c.

Agatharcides²⁶⁴ that Ptolemy, taking advantage of the Sabbath rest, entered Jerusalem with his army, unopposed by the people, is utterly fantastic and disproved by Psalm 55A.

Ptolemy's reoccupation of Palestine was short-lived. A few months later Antigonus re-entered the country with force and drove Ptolemy out. He held Palestine this time until 302, when the coalition of Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus against him was renewed. In that year Ptolemy, joining the coalition, invaded and occupied Palestine a third time. Then, on some false report that Lysimachus had been crushed, he made haste to evacuate the country once again. But when news came that Antigonus had fallen in the battle at Ipsus in Asia Minor (301 B.C.), he occupied Palestine for the fourth time.

This condition of Palestine in the two last decades of the fourth century makes another statement which Josephus quotes from Hecataeus of Abdera, the importance of which has escaped biblical historians, stand out in the full light of history. It reads: "After Alexander's death myriads more [of the Jews] migrated to Egypt and Phoenicia because of the disturbed condition of Syria."²⁶⁵ The conditions and events of these troublous years are reflected in as many as twelve psalms, which can best be treated by dividing them into two groups. The first group comprises Psalms 55A, 59, 57A, 140, 69, 142, 141, 109A, and 44; and the second, Psalms 56, 61, and 64.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PSALM 55

Psalm 55 is not a unit but consists of three unrelated pieces: (a) verses 1-12, 17-20, Psalm 55A, (b) verses 13-15, 21-22, Psalm 55B, and (c) verses 16 and 24. The passages composed of verses 13-15 and 21-22, in which the writer complains about the treachery of a trusted friend, must originally have belonged together, and, being contradictory to Psalm 55A, they must have been misplaced into it from somewhere else in the course of transmission. Note that both parts of Psalm 55A describe a fierce war waged on the country by an enemy people, specify-

²⁶⁴ Quoted by Josephus C. *Apion*. i. 209 ff.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* §§ 194 f.

ing that "the city," the capital, that is, is under siege and that "terror and misery reign in her," whereas the author of Psalm 55B expressly says that it is not an enemy from whom he must suffer abuse and bodily attack.

Another foreign element in Psalm 55A is the imprecations, verses 17 and 24, for neither can the psalmist have prefaced his prayer to God, which begins

I call to God to save me:
Night and morning and at midday
I pray and cry to him to hear me,

with the wish in verse 17 for the enemy's undoing, nor is there room for such a wish after the exhortation he addresses to his fellow-citizens to commit their fate to God, who will surely save them. Neither can these verses be considered another part of verses 13-15 and 21-22, since these refer to only one traitor, whereas verses 16 and 24 speak of many murderers and traitors. The two verses stood originally in Psalm 57A, forming its conclusion.

A. PSALM 55A

- 2 Hear my prayer, O God;
Do not hide thyself from my supplication,
- 3-4 Pay heed unto me and answer me.
I am harassed with misery,
Maddened by the cries of the enemy,
By the screams of the impious foe.
Wickedly they hold me under the yoke,
Fiercely they assail me.
- 5 My heart throbs within me,
And terrors of death seize me.
- 6 Fear and trembling fall upon me,
And shudders creep over me.
- 7 Oh, for the wings of a dove,
That I might fly away and be at rest!

* 1. For the hymnal. With string music. A *Maskil*. Of David.

- 8 Yea, that I might flee afar off,
 And dwell in the wilderness!
- 9 Oh, how I crave a haven of refuge from the raging storm!
- 10 Confound, O Lord, their designs,
 Thwart their schemes;
 For I see a fierce struggle being waged in the city:
- 11 Day and night her walls are besieged;
 Terror and misery reign in her,†
- 12b-c Oppression and perfidy depart not from her midst.
- 17 I call to God to save me:
- 18 Night and morning and at midday
 I pray and cry to him to hear me.
- 19 May he deliver me from the war
 Which is waged on me and bring me peace,
 Even though they that assail me are many.‡
- 20 May God hear my prayer,
 May he who is enthroned through eternity
 Subdue them that are beyond change,
 That fear not God.
- 23 Commit thy fate to God;
 He will sustain thee:
 He will not suffer the righteous to fall.

Psalm 55A, as reconstructed, is a harmonious whole and ranks high poetically as well as spiritually. It was the common misery, not personal suffering, that inspired it. Proof of this are the lines,

For I see a fierce struggle being waged in the city:
 Day and night her walls are besieged;
 Terror and misery reign in her,
 Oppression and perfidy depart not from her midst.

The psalm gives a realistic portrayal of the despair that must have filled the people's heart when, after the country had been overrun by hostile armies three times within the brief space of six years, Ptolemy laid siege to Jerusalem, which, as in Ps.

† 12a *Destruction is in her midst.*

‡ Variant: 56:3b *Even though they that fight against me are many.*

31:22, is meant by "the city" in the verses just quoted. As in 344 B.C., so now, thirty years later, Jerusalem was still the only city in the ancient sense of the term, surrounded by walls and fortifications, of post-Exilic Judaea. Furthermore, the lines,

Oh, for the wings of a dove,
That I might fly away and be at rest!
Yea, that I might flee afar off,
And dwell in the wilderness!
Oh, how I crave a haven of refuge from the raging storm!

assume a new meaning when read in the light of the brief record from Hecataeus of Abdera, referred to above, that after the death of Alexander a great many Jews left the country because of the disturbed condition of Syria. They will thus be seen to describe faithfully how the people in Jerusalem felt at that time.

Moreover, the words "them that are beyond change," said of the attacking enemy, receive a very definite meaning when it is remembered what hopes the bounty and tolerant attitude of Alexander the Great toward them had awakened in the people—how they believed that a new day had dawned for them. We can understand then why, disillusioned by the doings of Alexander's successors in the country, the psalmist should have said, "They are beyond change," and have exclaimed bitterly,

Oppression and perfidy depart not from her midst.

Yet, despite all this, he does not lose faith. Throwing himself on God, he prays:

May he deliver me from the war
Which is waged on me and bring me peace,
Even though they that assail me are many.
May God hear my prayer,
May he who is enthroned through eternity subdue them.

More than this, he exhorts his weary-laden fellow-citizens,

Commit thy fate to God;
He will sustain thee:
He will not suffer the righteous to fall.

Written as late as 312 B.C., Psalm 55A is another eloquent testimony of Israel's unconquerable faith. It is of extreme value

also as a historical source, showing as it does that Ptolemy conquered Jerusalem by force. It disposes definitely of Agatharctides' fantastic description of the occurrence, referred to above.

3-4. *I am harassed*] This meaning of 'arīd, following from the context, is supported by Ethiopic *rōda*, which means "harry," "raid," "attack."

with misery] Cf. Job 7:13, where *śiaḥ* occurs again with this meaning.

Maddened] Note that Arab. *hāma* means "to be excited with passion," "be infatuated."

By the screams] On the strength of *qōl* of the parallel stich read מִצַּעַק (Olshausen and many others).

Wickedly they hold me under the yoke] *Yamītu* cannot possibly be the verb *mūl*, "totter, shake," but must be a denominative verb from *mōl*, "yoke"; 'awen is an adverbial accusative.

6. *And shudders creep over me* accurately renders the Hebrew idiom *wat-ṭēkasenī pallašūth*.

7-8. *Yea, that I might flee, etc.*] *Mī yitten* is to be construed also with *hinne 'arḥiq . . . 'alīn*.

9. *Oh, how I crave!* 'Aḥisha is not derived from *ḥūsh*, "hasten," but from *ḥūsh*, meaning "feel," "care for," "be solicitous."

from the raging storm] Omit *missa'ar*, which is a gloss on the uncommon phrase *merūaḥ so'ē*.

10. *their designs*] Read, with Targ., עֲצָתָם after 'āddōnai.

Thwart their schemes] This meaning of *pallag lēshōnām* follows not only from the parallel phrase *balla' aṣathām, lēshōnām* being a case of metonymy, but is supported also by the fact that Arab. *phalaḡa*, in addition to "split, divide," means "defeat" (see Freytag, *Lexicon*).

A fierce struggle] *Ḥamas warīb* is a case of hendiadys.

11. *her walls are besieged*] Omit, with Syr. and Vet. Lat., the pronominal suffix *ha* of *yēsōbābū*, the subject of which is, of course, the enemy referred to in the preceding verse; as to its construction with 'al, cf. Gen. 19:4, *nasabbū 'al habbayith*, "They beset the house."

terror] Omit, with Gr. and Syr., the connective *wē* of *wē'awen*.

12a. *Hawwōth* was originally a marginal gloss on 'awen *wē'amal*, to which *bēqirbāh* had been added as a cue to indicate the text words to which the gloss pertained.

17. *to save me*] Omit, with Vet. Lat., 'āddōnai, and read 'יִרְשֶׁ, which is a final clause: 'āddōnai was originally a marginal variant of 'ēlōhīm.

18. *to hear me*] *Wayyishma' q.* is another final clause.

19a. *May he deliver me*] *Padā* is a precativ perfect; *naphshī* functions as a paraphrastic pronoun.

and bring me peace] *Bēshalōm* is an appositive to *naphshī*, construed with *bē essentiae*: cf. the notes on Pss. 16:6, 63:3, and 68B:25.

19b, 56:3b. *Even though they that assail me are many*] *Ki* functions as concessive conjunction; *bē* of *bērabbīm* is another *bē essentiae*, used with the nominal predicate, and 'immaḍ expresses opposition, as again in Job 10:17, *ka'aska 'immaḍī*. Conclusive proof that this is the meaning of 'immaḍī is fur-

nished by the variant, *Even though they that fight against me (lōḥāmīm lī) are many*, which in the course of transmission was misplaced into Ps. 56:3. The word *marōm*, which follows the variant, has presented insuperable difficulty to the ancient and modern interpreters alike, and naturally so, since it was never intended to be any sort of text but is to be explained as follows. The variant was obviously put in the margin at the bottom of the page, and *marōm* was added to it to indicate that the text to which it pertained was higher up on the page. There are other examples of this use of *marōm* or *ma'ala* as a technical sign, in the sense of our "see above," and of the converse use of *maṭṭa*, in the sense of our "see below," when the text to which the marginal pertained was lower down on the page. This practice was in no wise peculiar to biblical scribes but was universal. Thus, in Greek manuscripts, evidence is found of the use of ἀνω and κάτω in exactly the same way. I shall go more fully into this point in a treatise on the transmission of biblical texts which I expect to publish soon.

20. *May he who is enthroned through eternity subdue them*] With Gr., Syr., and Hier., join the *waw* of *wēyōsheb* to the preceding word and read *wī'annemō yōsheb*.

that are beyond change] That the pronominal suffix of *wī'annemō* is the antecedent of *'āsher 'ēn ḥāliphōth lamō* is established by the parallel clause *That fear not God*.

23. *thy fate*] This meaning of *yēhabēka* is etymologically well founded, as Kautzsch²⁶⁶ has pointed out.

PSALM 55B

A FRAGMENT

- 13 For it is not mine adversary that reviles me—
That I could bear;
It is not mine enemy that lifts his foot to kick me—
From him I could hide my face.
- 14 It is thou, my comrade and trusted friend,
15 With whom I was wont to take pleasant counsel
And to walk to the house of God in awe.*
- 21 He has laid hands on his friends,
He has broken the faith, violated his covenant.
- 22 His face is smoother than butter,
But in his mind he harbors war;
His words are softer than oil,
Yet are they daggers.†

²⁶⁶ *Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament* (Halle, 1902), pp. 36-37.

* Or in ecstasy.

† As to vss. 16 and 24, see Psalm 57A.

Psalm 55B is a fragment. Both the beginning and the end are lost, and there seems to be a gap also after verse 15. What is left furnishes no clue to identify the traitor described in the psalm.

13. *that lifts his foot to kick me*] See the notes on Pss. 35:27 and 38:17.

14. *trusted friend*] 'Allūphī ūmēyudda'ī is a case of hendiadys.

15. *in awe*] The customary rendering of *bēragesh* "in company" or "amidst the throng" is etymologically untenable; the meaning *in awe* follows from the fact that the verb *ragash* means "to be agitated" or "to be stirred." Another possible meaning of *ragesh* is *in ecstasy*, with which it occurs in Ps. 68B:28.

21. *his friends*] *Shēlōmaw* is a case of ellipsis, the *nomen regens*, 'anshē, being omitted: cf. Ps. 41:10 and Jer. 20:10, where the full phrase occurs.

22. *His face*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., פָּנָיו—a reading borne out also by the plural of the verb *halēqu*.

than butter] Vocalize, with two MSS, Sym., Hier., and Targ., *meḥāmā'ōth*. *is smoother, etc.*] The perfects of vs. 22 have not the force of a past tense but describe traits of character.

B. PSALM 59

*

- 2 My God, deliver me from mine enemies,
Protect me from my foes;
3 Deliver me from these workers of evil,
Save me from the murderers.
4 For lo, they lie in wait to take my life:
A cruel mob attacks me for no wrong or sin of
mine;
5a Though I have not offended against them,
They rush at me and take aim.
5b-6 Awake and behold, O Lord of hosts;
God of Israel, arise to punish all the heathen;
Give no mercy to the evil traitors.
7 (= 15), 16 At night they come back, like dogs they howl
And rove through the city, prowling for food.
If they do not get their fill, they curse;

* 1. For the Hymnal. *Al tashheth. A Mikdam. Of David. When Saul sent messengers to watch the house and to kill him.*

- 8 Their mouths utter abuse, their lips are dag-
 gers—
 Who, they say, hears?†
- 9 Do, thou, O God, laugh them to scorn,
 Heap derision upon all the heathen.
- 17 Then will I sing of thy might,
 Will chant of thy love at dawn:
 I will sing,
 Thou hast been my stronghold and refuge in my
 day of distress.
- (10) = 18a-b Source of my strength,
 In my paean to thee I will sing, God is my
 stronghold.
- 11 (18c) May my God order his love to lead me,
 May he permit me to gloat over mine enemies.
- 12 Delay not, lest my people forget thy name.
 Rout them with thy legions and overthrow them,
 O Lord, who art our shield.
- 13b Let them be entrapped in their own pride
 For the curses and lies they utter.
- 14 Consume them in wrath, consume them,
 That they be no more.
 Then will it be known to the ends of the earth
 That God rules in Jacob.

TEXT DISORDER

The verbatim recurrence of verse 7 as verse 15 is generally taken for a refrain-like repetition. This explanation is, however, untenable, since the repeated description (in vss. 15–16) of the currish conduct of the mercenaries has no *raison d'être* after the psalmist's prayer for their undoing. The repetition is rather to be explained as follows. Verse 16 followed originally verse 7, whence in the course of transmission it was omitted and put in the margin, with verse 7 prefixed to it as a cue. Nor can the repetition of verse 10 as verse 18, the text of which

† 13a *The sin of their mouth, of the word of their lips.*

originally was identically the same, present a case of refrain, for note that, in addition to verse 10, the first two words (*'ēlōhai ḥasdī*) of verse 11 are repeated in verse 18. This make-up of verse 18 points to the conclusion that verse 17 stood originally before verse 10 and that it was omitted from there and, with verse 10 and the first two words of verse 11 added to it as a cue, was put in the margin. The margin in which both omissions were put was probably the blank space after the psalm, which explains how in the next copy the omissions with their cues were mechanically joined to the end of the psalm. Note that the psalm, as transmitted, shows a decided lack of sequence, but that, as rearranged, the three strophes are bound together in unity.

THE "I" THE VOICE OF THE NATION

As in the preceding psalm, the nation is personified in the "I." Proof of this is, first, the description given in verses 7 (15) and 16 of what the capital is exposed to and the petition in verses 6 and 9 that the God of Israel arise to punish and heap derision upon all the heathen; further, the psalmist's urging (vs. 12),

Delay not, lest my people forget thy name;

finally, the lines with which the psalm closes:

Then will it be known to the ends of the earth
That God rules in Jacob.

The evidence is so overwhelming that it is incomprehensible how an individualistic interpretation of the psalm can possibly be argued. Yet it has been—by a method, however, which cannot be objected to strongly enough. Thus Kittel says: "Dass die Schilderung [in vss. 7, 15, 16] . . . an Volksgenossen denkt, liegt nahe. Dann freilich wird man am besten in vv. 6 und 9 den Text ändern."²⁶⁷ And so he does (and others as well), changing *gōyīm* to *ge'īm*.

DATE

Psalm 59 antedates Psalm 55A, having been written earlier in the years 318–312 B.C., before Jerusalem suffered siege and

²⁶⁷ *Die Psalmen*, p. 206.

conquest at the hand of Ptolemy. It describes the hardships which the country endured during these six years as a result of its being occupied and overrun by hostile armies, consisting largely of mercenaries—whether by the armies of Ptolemy or those of Antigonos the psalm does not tell. It dwells in particular on the nightly raids upon Jerusalem (which, as in the previous psalm, is meant by “the city”) by mercenaries searching for food. These, it follows from the subject “they” of verses 7 (= 15), 16, and 8, are meant also by “the cruel mob” (of vss. 4–5a) that attack and shoot peaceful people who “have not offended against them”—in those days the ordinary conduct of mercenaries occupying a country.

Psalm 59 is spiritually inferior to Psalm 55A. For example, note how the author of Psalm 55A even under more trying circumstances exhorts his fellow-citizens to commit their fate to God, whereas the writer of Psalm 59 urges God not to delay to act in their behalf, so that his people may not forget God.

5. *They rush at me . . . Awake and behold, O Lord of hosts*] Transpose *liqrā'thī* from 5b to 5a after *yērūšūn*, on the strength of the Syr., which does not read it in 5b but reads instead *'alai* after *yērūšūn*. Further, with the Wash. MS of Gr., omit *'ēlōhīm* as a variant of *'ādōnai*, and with the Syr. omit *wē* of *wē'atta*, and construe *'ādōnai šēbā'ōth* with *'ūra ūrē'ē*.

and take aim] *Wēyikkōnanū* is a case of ellipsis: cf. Ps. 7:13.

16. *they curse*] Vocalize, with Gr., Aq., and Hier., *וַיִּלְנְנוּ*; as often in conditional sentences, the apodosis is formed with the imperfect with *waw consecutivum*.

8. *utter abuse*] *Yabbī'ūn* is a case of ellipsis, the object *'athaq* being omitted: cf. Ps. 94:4, where the full phrase is found.

Who, they say, hears?] *Ki* is not causal but recitative *ki, ki mī shōme'a* being an elliptical sentence construction: the main clause *'amērū* is omitted.

13a. The words, *The sin of their mouth, of the word of their lips*, which are disjoined where found now, seem to me to have originally been a marginal comment on *Who, they say, hears?* The glossator regarded these words as blasphemous, reasoning that they implied a denial of the omniscience of God.

17. *at dawn*] As has been pointed out in the remarks on “I will wake the dawn” of Psalm 57B/60B, the dawn was universally considered the proper time for singing the praise of God.

(10) = 18a–b, 11a (18c). The text of 10a and 11aa was originally identically the same as that of 18a and c, as is shown by the fact that in 10a many MSS and the Versions read *'uzzī* instead of *'uzzō*, that Syr. reads *'āzammēra* instead of *'eshmora*, and that Gr. reads *ἡ* instead of *'ēlōhē* in both 11a and 18c, as do also two MSS in 11a.

his love] The Kēthīb, which is the reading also of Gr., is the original text.

12. *Delay not*] The second part of the verse shows that *tahargēm* cannot be the original reading; the text may have read *תאחר* instead, as Buhl-Kittel has suggested.

thy name] Read *יְהוָה*, with Sinait., Sah., Syro-hex., and Wash. MS.

13b. *For the curses*] Omit, with Syr., and Hier., the connective *ū* of *me'ala*.

14. *Then will it be known*] The third plural of *yēdē'ū* is used impersonally, as the adverbial phrase *to the ends of the earth*, qualifying *yēdē'ū*, shows. The customary interpretation, which construes *lē'aphsē 'areš* with *mōshel bēya'āqōb*, does violence to its plain meaning, "God rules in Jacob to the ends of the earth," being absurd.

C. PSALM 57A

+ 55:16, 24

*

- 2 Have pity on me, O God, have pity;
For with thee my soul finds safety:
Yea, under the shadow of thy wings will I take refuge
Until the blighting storm has passed.
- 3 I will call to God, the Most High,
Unto God who will make all end well for me.
- 4a, c May God send his love and truth from heaven to save
me;
- 4b, 5aa May he put to shame those who trample upon me:
Yea, may he deliver me.
- 5aβ-d I must live among greedy lions—
Men whose teeth are spears and arrows,
And whose tongue is a sharp sword.
- 7aa They have laid a trap for my feet,
7b They have dug a pit before me;
May they fall therein themselves.†
- 55:16 May death take them unawares,
May they go down to She'ol alive;
For evil is deep-rooted in their hearts.
- 24 O God, do thou send them to the engulfing pit.

* 1. For the Hymnal. *Al tashhēth*. A *Miktam*. Of David. When he fled from Saul into the cave.

† Vss. 6 and 8-12 belong to Psalm 57B/60B.

May these murderers and traitors not live out half their
lives.

But I will trust in thee.

Psalm 57A + 55:16, 24, bears in not a few points such striking similarity to Psalm 59 that it appears to be another product of the years 318-312 B.C., written prior to Ptolemy's siege of Jerusalem. First, in both psalms the invaders are called *'anshē damim*, "murderers" (55:24 and 59:3), and are named also *'a. mirma*, "traitors," in the one (55:24) and *bōgēdē 'awen*, "evil traitors," in the other (59:6). Second, in the wish for the enemy's undoing, common to both psalms, in 55:24 identically the same word *tōrīdēm* is used, though with a different connotation, as it is in 59:12, which has the imperative *hōrīdēmō* in place of the second singular imperfect functioning as a subjunctive. This similarity is intensified by the fact that conversely in the prayer for the country's deliverance found in both psalms (in 57:4-5) the same verbal phrases *yōshī'enī* and *yaṣṣīl naphshī* are employed as in 59:2-3, where once again the imperfects are replaced by imperatives, and the pronominal suffix, instead of the paraphrastic pronoun, is used also with the second phrase. Third, the figure, "their lips are daggers," of Ps. 59:8 is in Ps. 57A:5 elaborated and changed to "Men whose teeth are spears and arrows, and whose tongue is a sharp sword." Finally, as the figure in Ps. 57A:5 is superior to the parallel figure in Ps. 59:8, so does the prayer in Ps. 57A:4a, c,

May God send his love and truth from heaven to save me,

excel the parallel entreaty in Ps. 59:11,

May my God order his love to lead me.

These points of resemblance between the two psalms show that, although "I" runs through the entire Psalm 57A + 55:16, 24, from the first to the last line, a national crisis, not personal persecution, has inspired the poem. They show further that "the blighting storm," with regard to which the psalmist says, "Yea, under the shadow of thy wings will I take refuge" until it has passed, is a most expressive figure for the turmoil into

which the country must have been thrown when immediately after its occupation by the forces of Ptolemy it was invaded by the armies of his opponent, Antigonos. And they are of importance in still another respect. Since the similarity to Psalm 59 is as pronounced in verses 16 and 24 of Psalm 55 as in the verses of 57A, it is obvious that these two verses, which, we have seen, do not belong to Psalm 55A, must originally have been another part of Psalm 57A.

The circumstances under which the psalm was written bring out the pathos of the opening line,

Have pity on me, O God, have pity,

and of the lines which follow:

For with thee my soul finds safety:
Yea, under the shadow of thy wings will I take refuge
Until the blighting storm has passed.

Realizing the utter hopelessness of his people's situation, the psalmist sees that there is only one thing left—to pray. So he finds safety for his soul. Concluding, he reiterates his implicit faith in God:

But I will trust in thee.

In this subtle accord between the beginning and the end of the psalm we have another piece of evidence that 55:16, 24, was originally a component part of Psalm 57A. The words "greedy lions" are a fitting epithet for the invaders, Ptolemy and Antigonos, driven as they were by insatiable lust for dominion.

If the objection should be raised, How does the complaint,

They have laid a trap for my feet,
They have dug a pit before me,

tally with the situation presumed? it must be remembered that throughout history unwelcome invaders have been in the habit of laying traps for the people of the land for the purpose either of testing their dependableness or of framing charges against them—a matter about which Psalm 140 is most specific. To have recourse to this stratagem was considered especially necessary when, as in the present case, one invader followed close upon the heels of another. Note that there is indirect reference

to this stratagem also in Psalm 59, where the writer in verse 13*b* wishes that the armies of occupation would be caught in their own snare—that their plot would recoil on themselves.

4*a*, c. *May God send his love and truth from heaven to save me*] 'Ēlōhīm ḥasdō wa'āmītō stood originally after *yishlah*, forming its subject and objects. In the course of transmission these three words were omitted and, with *yishlah* prefixed to them as a cue, put in the margin opposite the text line and in the next copy mechanically joined to the end of the line. The distich, as restored, reads: *yishlah 'ēlōhīm ḥasdō wa'āmītō mishshamayīm wēyōshī'enī*.

4*b*, 5*aa*. *May he put to shame those who trample upon me: Yea, may he deliver me*] The original reading of vs. 4*b*, of which *naphshī*, 5*aa*, was a part, has been preserved intact by Gr. of 4*b* and 5*a*, ἔδωκεν εἰς ὄνειδος τοῖς καταπατοῦντάς με καὶ ἐρρύσατο τὴν ψυχὴν μου, the Hebrew of which is

יָתֵן לַחֲרֵפָה שָׂאֵפִי וַיִּצִּיל נַפְשִׁי

The omission of *lē* of *lēherpa* and the reading *hereph* are subsequent errata. *Shā'phai*, misread by the Massorettes, is spelled with 'aleph as vowel letter and has the pronominal suffix construed as direct object—a frequent construction of the active participle.

5*aβ-d*. *among greedy lions*] Since in Neo-Hebraic *lahuṭ* means "greedy," and Assyrian *la'āṣu* denotes "devour," I conclude that *lōhāṣīm* is a byform of *la'aṣ*.

Men whose teeth] Contrary to the accents, construe *bēnē 'adām* with *shinnēhēm*.

7. The words *kaphaph naphshī*, which Syr. does not read, cannot be an original part of the verse, being incongruous with it; originally the text in all probability read a phrase parallel to *naphlēlū bēthōkāh* instead: cf. Ps. 9:16. *Kaphaph naphshī* either has been misplaced into the verse from somewhere else or is corrupt text.

May they fall therein themselves] *Naphlēlū* is a precative perfect used in a curse.

55:16. *May death take them unawares*] The Qērē *yashshī maweth* rests on good tradition, all the Versions and many MSS agreeing with it.

evil is deep-rooted in their hearts] Omit, with Syr., *bimgūrām*, which was originally a marginal gloss. The thought expressed in 16*b* is met with fully developed in Psalms 36*A* and 58.

24. *The engulfing pit*] Cf. the note on Ps. 71:20*b*.

D. PSALM 140

+ 142:4*b* + 141:9-10*a* + 139:19-20

*

2*aa*, 5*aβ* Save me, O Lord, from the hand of the wicked;

2*b* (5*b*) Rescue me from those oppressors

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David.

- 3a Who plot evil in their heart,
 5c Who scheme my downfall.
 3b They are forever stirring up war.
 4 Their tongue is sharp as a serpent's,
 The venom of vipers is on their lips.
 (6a) 142:4b They lay snares for me wherever I go;
 140:6b-c By the wayside they spread a net† for my feet,
 They set traps for me.
- 7 I say to the Lord, Thou art my God,
 Give ear to my prayer:
 141:9 O Lord, save me from the hand of those haughty
 persons
 Who lay snares for me.
 10a May these wicked men‡ fall into their own traps,§
 one and all.
 140:8 O Lord, who art my saving strength,
 Protect me on the day of battle:
 9a-b Let not the wicked have their desires;
 Suffer not their evil designs to succeed.
 9c, 10a Let not them triumph that are hemming me in;
 10b Rather let them be caught in their own intrigues:
 11b Hurl them into abysmal depths,
 Whence they will be unable to rise.||
- 12 May the intriguer lose ground in the land;
 May disaster hunt down the oppressor, dealing
 him blow upon blow.
 139:19 O God, would that thou mightest slay the wicked,
 So that those murderers may depart from me
 20a Who wantonly defy thee,
 20b . . . thy cities.
 140:13 I know that the Lord will champion the cause of
 the afflicted,

† nooses

§ gins

‡ these evildoers

|| 11a May he pour down on them fiery coals.

- That he will defend the right of the poor people.
 14 The righteous will yet give thanks unto thy name,
 The upright will live in thy presence.

TEXT DISORDER

The psalm has suffered considerable text disorder in the course of transmission. However, there is fortunately external evidence to show that the line which, through the now familiar process, was misplaced into Ps. 142:4, as well as the two lines which were misplaced into Ps. 141:9-10a, stood originally in Psalm 140. As to the first, the case is as follows. The words *bē'oraḥ zū 'āhallelk* were omitted from verse 6 before *ṭamnū* and, with *ṭamnū paḥ lī* added to them as a cue, were put in the margin, whence in the next copy they were with the cue taken into the text mechanically after 142:4a, having evidently been put in the margin at the bottom of the page the last line of which happened to be 142:4a. Since the word *gē'im* is absent in the cue, it follows that it cannot have been an original part of the text of Ps. 140:6a. As a matter of fact, *gē'im* belonged originally to the two lines which have been misplaced into 141:9-10a: it has been preserved in these by the Syriac after *mīdē*, of which it is a more natural genitive than *mippaḥ*. These two lines, I conclude, stood originally at the beginning of verse 8 of Psalm 140, after the first of the two 'ādōnai's following each other, which clearly point to textual disturbance. They were omitted from Psalm 140 either earlier or later than 142:4b was, and their misplacement into Ps. 141:9-10 is to be explained in much the same way as is that of *bē'oraḥ zū*, etc., into Ps. 142:4b. Note that verse 4b is clearly a disturbing element in Psalm 142, being unrelated to the rest of the psalm, and so are also verses 9-10a in Psalm 141.

Verse 5a reads in Vetus Latina: *libera me domine et custodi*. Of this text, *et custodi* is evidently Hexaplaric, and *libera me* the reading of the original Greek, which shows that the Alexandrian translators read *ḥalṣenī* in their Hebrew copy in both verse 2a and verse 5a. This fact and the further fact that verse 5b is a verbatim repetition of verse 2b point to the conclusion that

midē rasha' of verse 5 was originally a marginal correction of *me'adām ra'* of verse 2 and that the rest of this verse was repeated as a cue to indicate the text words to which the correction pertained. Verse 5c, "Who scheme my downfall," must originally have followed verse 3a, "Who plot evil in their heart," being its supplementary stich. The lines 139:19-20, which we have seen to be a foreign element in Psalm 139, fit in so well after verse 12 of Psalm 140 that they may safely be considered another part omitted from it in the course of transmission.

DATE AND OCCASION

National distress, not personal suffering, has inspired the psalm. Proof of this are not only the concluding lines, in which the psalmist expresses the assurance that God will come to the defense of his poor, afflicted people and will let them live in his presence, but also such lines as

They are forever stirring up war.
 Protect me on the day of battle.

The similarity which the psalm bears to the two preceding psalms shows that it reflects the same crisis—in other words, that Psalm 140 with its constituent parts is another product of the years 318-312 B.C., composed some time before Ptolemy's attack on Jerusalem. Thus note that the lines,

Their tongue is sharp as a serpent's,
 The venom of vipers is on their lips,

describe the invaders by figures resembling those of Ps. 57A:5,

Men whose teeth are spears and arrows,
 And whose tongue is a sharp sword,

and of Psalm 59,

Their lips are daggers;

that the line,

Hurl them into abyssal depths,

is very much like

O God, do thou send them to the engulfing pit,

of 55:24, and that, as in this verse, so in 139:19 the invaders are called "murderers."

Further, as in Ps. 57:5 the psalmist's statement that the invaders set traps for his people is followed by the wish,

May they fall therein themselves,

so are the similar statements in Pss. 140:6, 142:4^b, and 141:9-10^a followed by

May these wicked men fall into their own traps, one and all,

and

Rather let them be caught by their own intrigues.

Finally, Psalm 140 supplements Psalm 57A in more than one respect. It is most specific on the all-important point regarding which Psalm 57A makes no statement inasmuch as it tells expressly that, desiring to contrive their downfall, the oppressors set traps for the people. It makes plain also that the war cannot as yet have been waged directly against them, both by the line,

They are forever stirring up war,

and by the entreaty,

O Lord, who art my saving strength,
Protect me on the day of battle.

The former, which doubtless has reference to the war waged between Ptolemy and Antigonos for the possession of Palestine, would doubtless have been couched in more agitated and less impersonal language had the Jews already been gravely affected by this struggle, while the latter shows that the writer envisages here the attack on them as bound to come. The lines which enlarge upon "Protect me on the day of battle" point to the same conclusion:

Let not the wicked have their desires;
Suffer not their evil designs to succeed,

as do also the lines,

May the intriguer lose ground in the land²⁶⁸
May disaster hunt down the oppressor.

²⁶⁸ I.e., Palestine.

All these lines, though apprehensive of what is threatening, are in tone altogether different from Psalm 55A, written while Jerusalem was under siege by the armies of Ptolemy. As in Ps. 55A:4 and ever so many other psalms²⁶⁹ by "the wicked" of verses 5, 9, 141:10, and 139:19 the foreign oppressors of the country are meant.

5c. *my downfall*] Since *daḥā* means "hurl down" or "overthrow" (cf. Pss. 36:13; 62:5; and Prov. 14:32), *liddēhōth pē'amai* cannot mean "to trip my steps," as many have rendered it; *pē'amai* is rather a clear case of metonymy.

3b. *They are . . . stirring up*] Read גָּרָר (Hupfeld and others).

140:6b. *a net for my feet*] Read, with Gr., לַרְגְּלִי after *resheth*. Omit *waḥḏbalīm*, which was originally a marginal gloss.

7b. *Give ear to*] Omit, with Syr., 'ādōnai as dittography.

141:9-10a. Omit, with Syr., *ūmōqēshōth pō'dlē 'awen*; the first of these phrases was originally a marginal gloss on *paḥ*, and the second a marginal variant of *rēsha'im*.

one and all] With Sym., Hier., and Syr., construe *yaḥad* with *rēsha'im*.

140:8. *Protect me*] *Sakkōtha* is a precative perfect, and *lērō'shī* is a case of metonymy.

9c, 10a. *Let not them triumph that are hemming me in*] Omit *sela* at the end of 9c and, reading רִיבְנִי on the strength of Gr., construe the same with *rō'sh*: cf. the note on Ps. 3:4. Since *rō'sh* is followed by a genitive—*mēsibbai*—it cannot have a pronominal suffix: cf. the similar case *nasā' 'eth rō'sh yēhōyakīn*, II Kings 25:27. Buhl-Kittel, emending *rō'shām*, has overlooked this. The pronominal suffix of *mēsibbai* is the direct object of the participle: cf. the similar example *shō'āphai* of Ps. 57A:4b.

in their own intrigues] This, not "the mischief of their own lips" or "das Unheil ihrer Lippen" renders the idiom 'āmal *sēphōthēmō* adequately.

11a. *May he pour down . . . fiery coals*] Read *yamṭer* and, with Gr. and Hier., *gaḥdlē* (Hupfeld and many others). Vs. 11a is not a genuine part of the psalm but a quotation from Ps. 11:6, which had originally been added in the margin by a later hand.

11b. *Hurl them*] Read, with Gr. and Hier., הִטָּ (Buhl-Kittel).

abysmal depths] *Mahāmōrōth* is found also in the Talmud, where it signifies a "pit" into which the bodies of executed people were thrown.²⁷⁰ From this signification it may be deduced that *mahāmōrōth* is, like *shaḥath*, *bē'er shaḥath*, *tēhōmōth*, etc., discussed in the note on Ps. 71:20b, another designation of She'ol; cf. also the following Psalm 69, where in vs. 15 *bē'er* simply, without qualifying *shaḥath*, designates "the pit" or She'ol.

12. *the intriguer*] This meaning of 'ish *lashōn* follows from 'āmal *sēphōthēmō* of vs. 10.

139:20a. *defy thee*] Read, with Quinta, יַמְרִיךְ, as most interpreters have emended.

²⁶⁹ Listed on pp. 431-32.

²⁷⁰ See J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1876-89), s.v.

20b. *Nasū' lashaw* is hopelessly corrupt and cannot be emended. The Versions already guessed at its meaning.

140:13. *And defend*] *Ya'āsē* is a case of zeugma, *mishpaḥ* being another object of it.

E. PSALM 69

*

- 2 Save me, O God,
For the waters are rising to the peril of my life.
- 3 I sink in the bottomless morass,
With nothing to keep me up;
I am come into deep water,
And the current is drawing me under.
- 4 I am weary from crying, my throat is parched.
Mine eyes have failed while waiting for my God.
- 5a-b They that hate me without cause
Are more numerous than the hairs of my head;
They that wrongfully are mine enemies
Outnumber the bones of my body.†
- 6, 20a O God thou knowest the abuse I suffer;
The shame and opprobrium I endure‡ are not hidden
from thee.
- 7 O Lord God of hosts,
Let not them that trust in thee be shamed through me,
Let not them that seek thee be confounded through me,
O God of Israel.
- 8 For thy sake have I borne abuse,
And shame has covered my face.
- 9 I have become a stranger to my brothers,
An alien to my mother's sons.
- 10 Zeal for thy house has consumed me,
The blasphemies of those that affront thee fall upon me.
- 11 If I chastise myself with fasting,
It draws derision on me;

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the tune of "The Lilies." Of David.

† 5c *I restored then what I did not rob.*

‡ *my foolishness and my guilt*

- 12 If I clothe myself in sackcloth,
I become a byword to them.
- 13 I am the talk of those that sit in the city gate,
And am a target for the lampoons of wine bibbers.
- 14 But I, O Lord, I pray to thee:
Be thou gracious unto me, O God, in thy great love,
Answer me with thy sure help.
- 15a Save me§ from the morass and let me not sink;
15bβ Rescue me from the deep water;
- 16 Let not the current draw me under,
Or the deep swallow me up:
Let not the yawning grave close over me.
- 17 Answer me, O Lord, according to thy bounteous love,
Turn to me in thy vast mercy.
- 18 Do not hide thy face from thy servant,
For I am in trouble;
Answer me quickly.
- 19 Draw nigh to my soul, redeem it;
Deliver me to confute mine enemies.
- 20b Thou seest all those that ill-treat me:
21 Their abuse breaks my heart,
And I am sick unto death.
I look for sympathy in vain,
For comforters, but find none.
- 22 They give me gall for food,
And for my thirst they give me vinegar.
- 23 Let their own tables become a snare for them,
And their banquets prove a trap.
- 24 Let their eyes grow dim that they cannot see.
Make their loins unsteady;
- 25 Pour out thy wrath on them,
Let thy fierce anger overtake them.
- 26 Let their homes be desolate,
Let there be none to dwell in their tents;

§ 15ba *That I may be saved.*

- 27 For they persecute him whom thou hast smitten,
And increase the suffering of him whom thou hast
struck down.
- 28 Add guilt to their guilt,
And deny them the right to thy pardon.
- 29 Let them be blotted out of the book of life,
And let them not be recorded among the righteous.
- 30 But let thy salvation set me, poor and afflicted, on
high:
- 31 Then will I praise the name of God in song
And magnify his name with thanksgiving.
- 32 This will please the Lord more
Than an ox or bullock that has horns and hoofs.
- 33 When the humble see it, they will rejoice;
When they that seek God behold it,
Their hearts will revive.
- 34 Yea, God will listen to the poor,
Surely he will not despise his prisoners.
- 35 Heaven and earth will praise him,
The sea, and all that stirs in it,
- 36a-b When God saves Zion and rebuilds the cities of Judah,
37 That the offspring of his servants may inherit it,
And they who love his name dwell therein.

The assurance which the psalmist expresses in conclusion that God will save Zion shows that he is praying not for rescue from personal peril but for the preservation of the nation. The psalm is another interesting illustration of that peculiar mode of thought of which we have had example after example, which gives to the psalms of this type their intensely personal character. The lines,

The waters are rising to the peril of my life.
I sink in the bottomless morass,
With nothing to keep me up;
I am come into deep water,
And the current is drawing me under,

|| 36c *That they may reside there and have possession of it.*

and

Save me from the morass and let me not sink;
Rescue me from the deep water;
Let not the current draw me under,
Or the deep swallow me up:
Let not the yawning grave close over me,

are all figures of speech describing the nation as threatened with destruction.

The psalm is clearly post-Exilic. Proof of this are verses 9 and 33^b. The former, which is modeled after Job 19:13, 15, and 17, shows that the psalm cannot be dated earlier than 400 B.C. (the approximate date of Job), while from the latter, which is a quotation from Ps. 22:27, it is obvious that it must be dated later than that psalm. From this fact and the further fact that Psalm 22 was written when the nation had succumbed to the attack made on her by Artaxerxes III Ochus it follows that Psalm 69, in which the writer prays that the catastrophic blow impending be averted, cannot have Artaxerxes III's attack on Jerusalem in 344 B.C. for its historical background. Nor can it be Maccabaeian, as many have taken it to be, since at no time of the Maccabaeian crisis was the life of the nation hanging in the balance. All this leaves room, then, for only one other event as the occasion of Psalm 69—Ptolemy's attack on Jerusalem in 312 B.C.

Although in poetic fervor and beauty the psalm does not come up to Psalm 55A, it portrays no less vividly than 55A the despair of those in Jerusalem when the disaster which had overtaken them in 344 B.C. threatened to be re-enacted. Note how expressive the two lines are that follow the description of the country's extreme peril:

I am weary from crying
Mine eyes have failed while waiting for my God.

They reveal the bitter disillusion the people must have felt when the hope that had filled their hearts for a decade proved to be an empty dream. New enemies had arisen, swelling the host of old ones, to whom peaceful Israel had given no cause to

wage a war of extermination against them. Illustrative of their prostration of spirits is also the prayer,

O Lord God of hosts,
 Let not them that trust in thee (*qōwēka*) be shamed through me,
 Let not them that seek thee (*mēbaqqēshēka*) be confounded
 through me,
 O God of Israel.

These lines are mystifying at first but cease to be when "them that trust in thee" and "them that seek thee" are understood as referring as they do to the proselytes, who, we have seen, existed at that time in great number in Israel.²⁷¹ As proof note that in Isa. 51:5 and 50:10 the words, "They shall trust in me" (*'elai yēqawwū*), and "Let him trust (*yibṭah*) in the name of the Lord," have reference, alongside of "Whoso among you fears the Lord" (*yērē 'ādōnai*), to converts to the belief in the God of Israel, while in Zech. 8:21 and 22 the words, "Many people shall come to seek the Lord" (*lēbaqqesh 'eth 'ādōnai*), also apply to them. The writer of Psalm 69 fears that, seeing how Israel is hunted down by disaster, these converts might have their faith in God shaken. In accordance with this, he says in the concluding strophe, where too the proselytes are meant by "they that seek God," that "their hearts will revive" when they behold poor, afflicted Israel saved from the imminent danger.

His reference to the proselytes led the psalmist to consider how for its missionary zeal, its desire to lead men to God, Israel must bear the scorn and enmity of the world. Thus when in the year 411 B.C. the Yahweh temple of the Jewish colonists of Elephantine in southern Egypt was destroyed at the instigation of the priesthood of Khnum, the enmity of these priests was provoked against the colonists by their eagerness to make proselytes.

The psalmist goes on to point out that his people's peril is aggravated by their friendlessness and isolation. Even the Samaritans, whom he has in mind when he says,

I have become a stranger to my brothers,
 An alien to my mother's sons,

²⁷¹ See above, p. 699.

are unconcerned about their plight. Turning to God, he cries out in despair:

Thou seest all those that ill-treat me:
 Their abuse breaks my heart,
 And I am sick unto death.
 I look for sympathy in vain,
 For comforters, but find none.

Yet he does not abandon hope but, trusting in the bounteous love of God, prays to him to save them.

From the line,

Surely, he will not despise his prisoners,

it cannot be inferred that the psalm was written after Jerusalem had been conquered. It shows rather that before starting the siege Ptolemy protected himself against an attack in the rear by disarming and imprisoning the male population of the surrounding towns and villages of Jerusalem. Note that the records in Josephus²⁷² and Pseudo-Aristeas,²⁷³ referred to above, expressly say that "Ptolemy carried away many captives of Judaea and Jerusalem."

As to the interpretation of verses 23-29, it is true that they strike a discordant note in the otherwise stirring psalm. But let us be sincere and confess that under similar circumstances, seeing an unprovoked attack made on our country, we all would follow our natural impulse and call down maledictions on the wicked foe. As regards the lines,

This will please the Lord more
 Than an ox or bullock that has horns and hoofs,

see the discussion on Ps. 40:7.

5a-b. *the bones*] Read, or rather vocalize, with Syr., *me'ašmōthai*. The present erroneous vocalization is due to the fact that the word was spelled phonetically, without the silent 'ayin, and was not recognized by the Massoretes: see the note on Ps. 71:6.

5c. *I restored then what I did not rob* is not a genuine part of the psalm but must have been misplaced into it from somewhere else.

6, 20a. What has been remarked of vs. 5c applies also to *lē'iwwaltī wē'ash-mōthai* of vs. 6: these two phrases must have got into the verse from somewhere else, for note that throughout the psalm the writer speaks of the abuse

²⁷² *Ant.* xii. 1.

²⁷³ §§ 12-13.

and scorn he must bear, but not of guilt which he has incurred or folly which he has committed. "O God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my guilt is not hidden from thee" is an absurd appeal of which there is no other example in Old Testament literature. In fact, *'atta yada'ta* was originally followed by *herpathī* and *ūboshī ūkēlimmathī* of vs. 20a. In the course of transmission these words were omitted and, with *'atta yada'ta* prefixed to them as a cue, were put in the margin, whence in the next copy they were with their cue mechanically taken into the text where found now.

11-12 [*If I chastise myself*] Read, with Syr. and Gr., רָאֵנָה (Olshausen and others): cf. Lev. 16:29. The imperfects with *waw consecutivum* of these verses have not the force of past tense but are used to form conditional sentences and have the force of the present tense, as *yasīhu* of vs. 13 shows.

13. *And am a target for the lampoons*] Note, first, that *bī* of 13a is to be construed as nominal predicate with *nēginōth*, being a case of brachylogy; further, that, as here, so in Job 30:9 and Lam. 3:14 *nēginōth* means "malicious songs" directed against one or many persons. Such songs, however, had little in common with what in occidental literature is understood by "lampoons" but, like the *Higa* of pre-Mohammedan Arabic literature, consisted of curses.

14. *Be thou gracious unto me*] Read רָצִינִי (Wellhausen) and omit *'eth*.

15. Omit *'innāšēla*, which was originally a marginal gloss (Wellhausen).

Rescue me or Draw me out] Read שָׁאֲנִי and omit *ū* of *ūmimmā'aqē* (Buhl-Kittel).

16. *Let not the yawning grave close over me* is the English equivalent of the Hebrew idiom *'al te'ṣar 'alai be'ēr pīha*. Like *maḥmorōth* of Ps. 140:11b, *bē'ēr* is a case of ellipsis, the qualifying *shāḥath* being omitted.

17. *according to thy bounteous love*] Read כְּטוֹב (Hitzig and others).

19. *to confute*] Cf. the notes on Pss. 5:9 and 8:3.

20b. *Thou seest all those that ill-treat me*] Vs. 20b consists of a nominal clause, the predicate of which is *negdēka*.

21. *Their abuse*] Read רָחֵם.

And I am sick unto death renders *wa'anūsha* accurately.

22. The language of the verse is metaphorical: cf. the similar figures in Jer. 8:14; 9:14; 23:15; and Lam. 3:15.

23. *their banquets*] Read, with Targ., שְׁלִיכִידָם (Baethgen and others), which may denote either a sacrificial or a common feast.

27. *him whom*] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Hier., אֵת instead of *'atta* (Perles and others).

And increase the suffering of him whom thou hast struck down] Read, with one MS and Targ., sing. ḥālalēka, and, with Gr. and Syr., יוֹסִיפֵהוּ (Ewald and many others).

33. *When . . . see it, when they that seek God behold it*] *Ra'ū* is a case of zeugma; it is to be construed also with *dōrēshē*. The verse is a compound temporal sentence not introduced by a temporal conjunction.

Their hearts] Read בָּ (Wellhausen and others).

34. *Yea, God will listen . . . surely he will not despise*] Read, with Gr. and Hier., perfect *shamā'* (Bickell and others). *Shama'* and *bazā* are prophetic perfects, introduced by emphatic *kī*.

35, 36a-b, 37. *When God saves*] *Ki* is a temporal conjunction, the verses being a composite temporal sentence. Vs. 36c was originally a marginal variant of vs. 37 (Staerk and others).

F. PSALM 142

*

- 2 I cry aloud unto God,
Aloud do I implore his mercy.
- 3-4a As my spirits droop,
I pour out my grief to him,
Tell him all my trouble,
Though my plight is known to him.†
- 5 I look to the right, I cast about to the left,
But can see no friend:
My hope is gone,
There is none that cares for me.
- 6 Wherefore I cry to thee, O Lord,
I declare, Thou art my refuge,
My portion in the land of the living.
- 7 Oh, heed my cry,
For I am very wretched.
Deliver me from my persecutors
That are too strong for me.
- 8 Free me from prison,
That I may praise thy name.
The righteous will throng around me
When thou dealest bountifully with me.

Psalm 142 is another prayer dating from the year 312 B.C., when Jerusalem was besieged by Ptolemy. Its relationship to Psalm 69 shows this. Thus the lines,

I look to the right, I cast about to the left,
But can see no friend:
My hope is gone,
There is none that cares for me,

* 1. A *Maskil*. Of David when he was in the cave. A Prayer.

† Hebrew: *to thee*. As regards vs. 4b, see Ps. 140:6.

repeat in different language the complaint made in Ps. 69:21 and 9 of the nation's isolation and friendlessness and also stress the idea that because of this isolation her plight has become hopeless. Another point of resemblance between the two psalms is that in both the poet abandons himself to his faith in God as his only hope and refuge. This part of Psalm 142 transcends Psalm 69 in fervor and noble simplicity. It condenses to a few terse sentences what in Psalm 69 is expressed at length. Outstanding among these are the two lines,

I declare, Thou art my refuge,
My portion in the land of the living,

the second of which is eminently original.

As to details, note that

Free me from prison

expresses by words of prayer what in Psalm 69 is expressed in terms of assurance:

Surely, he will not despise his prisoners.²⁷⁴

Further,

That I may praise thy name

is a parallel to

Then will I praise the name of God in song [69:31],

and

The righteous will throng around me
When thou dealest bountifully with me

is a parallel to

When the humble see it, they will rejoice,
When they that seek God behold it,
Their hearts will revive [69:33].

Since we have seen that by "they that seek God" the proselytes are meant, it may safely be concluded that by "the righteous" the righteous in Israel as well as in the world at large are referred to. The psalm is a great poem, spiritually as well as poetically on a par with Psalm 55A.

²⁷⁴ For the explanation of "prison" and "prisoners" see pp. 706 and 731.

2. *Aloud*] See the note on Ps. 3:5.

3-4a. *As my spirits droop, I pour out, etc.*] *Bēhith'atēph 'alai rūhī* forms with vs. 3 a temporal sentence, being its protasis. '*Alai* is an inseparable part of the reflexive verb *bēhith'atēph*: see the note on Ps. 42:5a, 6.

Though my plight is known to him] Read, with Gr., Aq., and Syr., plur. בְּתִי, which, like 'orhoth Prov. 1:19 and Job 8:13, means "fate" or "plight"; 'atta yada'ta nēhībōthai is not co-ordinate with, but subordinate to, vs. 3, as the absolute pronoun at the head of the clause shows, being a concessive clause.

5. *I look to the right, I cast about to the left*] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Targ., וְרָאָה and after it שִׁמְאֵל, as Bickell and others have emended; *habbeḷ* and *ra'ōh* are emphatic infinitives.

8. *When thou dealest*] As in Ps. 69:36, *ki* is a temporal conjunction.

G. PSALM 141

+ 139:21-22; 143:9, 12a-c

- 1* O Lord, I cry unto thee, hasten to me;
Hearken to my cry.†
- 2 Let my prayer rise like incense before thee,
Let the lifting-up of my hands be as an evening
sacrifice.
- 3 Keep watch, O Lord, over my mouth,
Guard the door of my lips.
- 4 Let not my heart incline to evil,
Nor engage in wicked doings
With men who work iniquity:
I desire not to taste of their pleasures.
- 139:21 Do I not hate them that hate thee, O Lord,
Yea, loathe those who oppose thee?
- 22 With deadly hatred do I hate them,
I consider them mine own enemies.
- 141:5a-b If he, who is righteous, strikes me down,
He must do it out of love;
If he rebukes me, it is like precious oil,

* A Psalm of David.

† *When I cry unto thee.*

Which my head shall not refuse.

5c

6b

Listen to my words! They are comforting.†

7

Like the ground harrowed by the plowman,
Our bones are scattered before the jaws of She'ol.

143:9a

O Lord, deliver me from mine enemies,

141:8a

For mine eyes are turned to thee, O Lord;

8b (143:9b)

In thee I will seek refuge

141:10b

Until the blighting storm has passed.

8c

Give me not up unto death.

143:12aβ-c

Wipe out mine enemies,
Destroy all them that afflict my soul,
For I am thy servant.

TEXT DISORDER

There is clearly a gap at the beginning of verse 8, for "Our bones are scattered before the jaws of She'ol" cannot originally have been followed by "For my eyes are turned to thee, O Lord." Sequence is restored by placing 143:9a and 12a-c (neither of which, we have seen, is an integral part of Psalm 143) before and after verse 8, respectively. There is external evidence that in the course of transmission these lines were omitted from Psalm 141 and misplaced into Psalm 143. The evidence is found (a) in the words which in 143:9 follow *hassilenī me'ōyēbai 'ādōnai*, not, however, as they read now but as they read originally, and (b) in what the Targum reads in excess of them. (a) Instead of the corrupt *kissīthī* of 143:9b, the text originally read *ḥasīthī*, which reading has been preserved by one manuscript and Greek *κατέφυγον* (cf. Pss. 46:2 and 104:18, where *maḥāsē* is rendered *καταφυγή*). And since, except for the two instances of its construction with *tahath kanphē*, *ḥasā* is invariably construed with *bē*, it follows (1) that *'elēka* cannot be the original objective of *ḥasīthī* but that, as in 141:8, the objective must have been *bēka* and (2) that *'elēka*, which, as the Greek shows, was originally preceded by *ki*, presents

† 6a *May their rulers be hurled over the precipitous rock.*

with *ki* a repetition of the two first words of 141:8. (*b*) Since, furthermore, the words which follow 143:9*a* in the Targum, reading *bēmēmrak manīthī lēpharīq*, “I confide²⁷⁵ in thee to save me,” paraphrase *bēka ḥasīthī* as well as the words with which this phrase is continued in 141:8, *’al lē’ar naphshī*, expressing positively what in these is put negatively, it is obvious that originally the entire verse 8 of Psalm 141 was repeated as a cue to both the words omitted at the beginning of it (i.e., 143:9*a*) and those omitted at the end of it (i.e., 143:12*aβ-b*). This case shows to what changes and mutilation texts were sometimes exposed in the course of transmission.

Another such interesting illustration is found in the words *’anōkī ’ad ’e’ēbor*, with which Psalm 141 ends, and the various translations of which are all makeshifts. The words consist of two fragments, the first being *’anōkī* and the second *’e’ēbor*. The complete text of the former read *ki ’anōkī* or *ki ’ānī ’abdēka*, as it is found at the end of Psalm 143. *Ki* and *’abdeka* were omitted in the course of transmission and, with *’ani* repeated as a cue, were put in the margin, whence in the next copy they were with the cue mechanically taken into the text where found now. What the text originally read instead of *’e’ēbor* has been preserved by Bohairic *šateccini n̄že ti-anomia*, which is identically the same as the Bohairic’s literal translation in Ps. 57:2 of the Greek’s rendition of *’ad ya’ābor hawwōth*, “Until the blighting storm has passed.” It is clear, then, that these words of the Bohairic represent the reading of the original Greek at the end of Psalm 141. In other words, they represent what the Jewish Alexandrian translators read in their Hebrew copy. The recurrence of the words in Psalm 141 leaves room for two possibilities: Either they were originally a marginal, added from Psalm 57 as a gloss on “In thee will I take refuge” or, what seems more probable, they are a genuine part of Psalm 141 and stood originally in verse 8 after *bēka ḥasīthī*. In the course of transmission *hawwōth* dropped out, and as a result *ya’ābor* was changed to *’e’ēbor* by adaptation to *’anōkī*.

Verses 9–10*a*, we have seen, belonged originally to Psalm 140.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Targ. of Ps. 31:6, where *’aphqīd* is translated *’šmanē*.

There is no external evidence to show that 139:21-22 stood originally in Psalm 141. All we can go by is internal evidence—the fact, that is, that they fit excellently as a continuation of verse 5, enlarging upon the thought expressed in it.

The third stich of verse 5 of Psalm 141 is so hopelessly corrupt that it does not admit of either translation or emendation. The first stich of verse 6 can be translated only tentatively. If the translation offered is correct, it does not seem to be an original part of the psalm but makes the impression of having been a marginal comment on Ps. 137:9, which was haphazardly inserted in Psalm 141.

DATE AND OCCASION

Not personal suffering but a national catastrophe has inspired the psalm. This is clear from the lines,

Like the ground harrowed by the plowman,
Our bones are scattered before the jaws of She'ol—

signally graphic in their description of what has happened. They make clear also that in the lines which follow,

O Lord, deliver me from mine enemies,
... Give me not up unto death,

the psalmist as the spokesman of his people prays that God save the nation from destruction. This being the case, it follows from the points of resemblance between this and the six other psalms of the group that it must be another agonized cry called forth by the turbulent years after Alexander's death and that the calamity which played such frightful havoc with the people must have been the attack on Jerusalem by Ptolemy.

Of these points of resemblance the most striking is the verbatim repetition of the words, "Until the blighting storm has passed," of Ps. 57:2, and the repetition is made still more pronounced by the fact that these words are preceded by *bēka ḥasīthī*—a modification of *bēka ḥasaya naphshī* and of *'eḥēsē*, which precede the words in question in Psalm 57. It should be added that, notwithstanding the verbatim repetition, the lines in Psalm 141 are not labored, being amply diversified from the

parallel in Psalm 57 by *ki 'elēka 'ādōnai 'ēnai*, "For my eyes are turned to thee, O Lord." Very conspicuous also is the fact that the words,

If he, who is righteous, strikes me down,

speak of the calamity that has befallen the nation in the same peculiar vein as Ps. 69:7:

For they persecute him whom thou hast smitten,
And increase the suffering of him whom thou hast struck down.

Note next *'ādōnai qērathika*, with which Psalm 141 begins, and *'eqrā' le'ēlōhīm* and *'ānī el 'ēlōhīm 'eqrā'* of Ps. 57:3 and Ps. 55:17, respectively; *ha'āzina qōlī* or *qōl taḥdūnūnai*, as the Greek of 141:1b reads, and *ha'āzina 'ēlōhīm tēphillathī*, with which Psalm 55 begins, and *ha'āzina 'ādōnai qōl taḥdūnūnai* of Ps. 140:7, and also the synonymous phrase *haqshiba 'el rinnathī* of Ps. 142:7. Note, further, that Psalm 59 begins with the very words, *haššilenī me'ōyēbai 'ēlōhai* (or *'ādōnai*, as one MS and Syr. read), of 143:9a, while in Ps. 142:7 these words are modified to *haššilenī merōdēphai*; in Ps. 59:3 *haššilenī* is, moreover, repeated in the verse next to the opening verse and followed by *mippō'ālē 'awen*, and it recurs also in Ps. 69:15, followed by the figure *mīlīlī*. I shall add that Ps. 31:16 is the only other example of *haššilenī*'s being used with *'ōyēbai* and *rōdēphai*, and this example differs from those of the psalms under discussion by reading *haššilenī miyad 'ōyēbai ūmerōdēphai*. Note, finally, that the rare phrase *mithqōmēmīm* of 139:21 recurs in Ps. 59:2.

SYNOPSIS

The connection between verses 3-4, 139:21-22, and the rest of the psalm is not apparent at first glance. However, on further thought it will be seen that the digression is only seeming, not real. The psalmist suddenly pauses in his cry in order to pray God's aid that he may neither sin with his lips in his agony nor worse still, seeing the success of the wicked, be lured to their evil ways. Sounding his heart, he goes on to affirm that their material comfort cannot tempt him, that he abhors these enemies of God as if they were his own enemies. Returning to his theme proper, he seeks to make his people realize that it must be out of love that God has chastened them sore and that by accepting the blow of his hand in this spirit they will be able to turn it into spiritual triumph. Whereupon he prays that God save the nation and destroy her enemies.

1. *When I cry unto thee*] *Begor'i lak* is a variant of *qōlī*, as is doubtless also *qōl taḥdūnūnai* of Gr.

2. *like incense . . . as an evening sacrifice*] *Qēloresh* and *minḥath 'areb* are nice examples of the accusative of comparison. The only inference these words may possibly permit is that the writer shared the view expressed in Ps. 69:30-31 about sacrifice—nothing further, Baethgen and others to the contrary.

3. *Keep watch*] *Shomra* needs no emendation but is in all probability an infinitive, like *moshḥa*, *qorba*, et al.

4. *wicked doings*] Omit *bē* of *bēresha'*: cf. 'egroph *resha'* "wicked fist," Isa. 58:4 or 'anshē *resha'*, "wicked men," Job 34:8.

139:21. *those who oppose thee*] Read, with four MSS, רִבְּנִיתָ.

141:5a-b. *If he, who is righteous*] By *ṣādīq* God is meant, as Hengstenberg and Baethgen have recognized: cf. Pss. 11:7, 'ādōnai *ṣādīq*, "As the righteous God," 129:4 and Zeph. 3:5, 'ādōnai *ṣādīq* "The Lord, who is righteous"; Jer. 12:1, *ṣādīq 'atta 'ādōnai*, "Absolutely righteous art thou, O Lord." As in the last example, so in the others, the term is used in the superlative degree.

He must do it out of love] *Ḥesed* is an adverbial accusative, with which *yehelmenī* is to be construed a second time, being a case of brachylogy: properly construed the sentence should read *yehelmenī ṣādīq yehelmeni ḥesed*: cf. the note on Ps. 45:7.

it is like precious oil] *Shemen rō'sh* is an accusative of comparison, forming the predicate of *yōḥikenī*, which is a subjective clause: cf. Job 6:9 *ṣel yamēnū*, where, too, the nominal predicate *ṣel* consists of an accusative of comparison, as the parallel *kaṣṣel yamēnū*, I Chron. 29:15, shows. *Rō'sh . . . rō'shī* is a case of paronomasia.

6b. *Listen*] Omit, with Gr., the connective and, with Sah. *sōtīm*, read imperative שִׁמְעוּ.

to my words] The psalmist has reference to the thought he has expressed in the preceding verse.

are comforting] Cf. Prov. 3:17, *darke no'am*, "ways of comfort."

7. *Like the ground harrowed by the plowman*] *Pōleah ūbōqe'a* is a case of hendiadys. To make the simile clear, I have deviated in my translation from the active construction of the Hebrew: *pōleah*, which is a common Semitic term, is "the plowman," being the same word as Arab. *fellaḥ*, "peasant."

8c. *Give me not up unto death*] *Tē'ar naphshi* is a case of ellipsis, the indirect object *lamaweth* being omitted: cf. Isa. 53:12, where the full phrase is found: "He gave himself up unto death."

10b. *Until the blighting storm has passed*] As in Ps. 57A:2, read 'ad ya'ābor *hawwōth*.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PSALM 109

Psalm 109 has been subject to much adverse comment on the part of some interpreters and charitable apology on the part of others. In addition, it has called into play the ingenuity of still others, tempting them to remove the odium of its middle part by forced and artificial interpretation. Yet the solution of

the difficulty is very simple. To my mind, it is certain beyond doubt that verses 6-19 cannot originally have been a component part of verses 1-5, 21-29, 20, and 30-31. Aside from the fact that these verses are an organic whole, knit together in perfect unity, the difference in spirit between these, which I have designated as Psalm 109A, and verses 6-19, which I have designated as Psalm 109B, could not well be more far-reaching. The author of Psalm 109A declares that his course of action shall be,

Let them curse, but do thou bless,

and all that he wishes his enemies as God's reward for their design on the life of the nation is that they be clothed in shame and dishonor, whereas Psalm 109B is the most vehement curse imaginable. Another discrepancy between the two pieces is that throughout Psalm 109A the psalmist prays for deliverance from many enemies, whereas the curse constituting Psalm 109B is hurled at a single person.

H. PSALM 109A

- 1* O God, who art my glory, be not silent;
 2 For they have let loose against me their wicked, treacherous tongues:
 They bombard me with lies,
 3 And heap on me charges born of hatred.
 They wage war on me without cause.
 5 They repay me evil for good, hatred for love.†
- 4^b But I pray:
 21 O Lord, act in my behalf for thy name's sake,
 Save me according to thy bounteous love;
 22 For I am poor and wretched,
 And my heart within me is rent.
 23 I am passing away like a declining shadow,
 I am shaken off as a locust.

* For the Hymnal. Of David. A Psalm.

† 4a *For my love they are my adversaries.*

- 24 My knees are unsteady from fasting,
My body has grown lean from loss of fat.
- 25 And I have become an object of derision to them;
When they see me, they wag their heads.
- 26 Help me, O Lord my God,
Oh, save me in thy great love,
- 27 That they may know that this is thy hand,
That thou, O Lord, hast done it.
- 28 Let them curse, but do thou bless.
Let my adversaries be ashamed, but let thy servant
rejoice.
- 29 Let my persecutors be clothed with dishonor,
And wrap themselves in their shame as in a robe.
- 20 May this be the reward of the Lord to mine adversaries,
To them that have evil designs on my life.
- 30 Zealously will I confess the Lord,
Yea, in the presence of many will I praise him,
- 31 For he will stand at the right hand of the poor
To save them from those who have condemned them to
death.†

Psalm 109A is a signally spiritual prayer of surpassing beauty. Seeing the enemy making a murderous attack on his country, the psalmist resolves,

Let them curse, but do thou bless.

The bitter reproach that the attack has been unprovoked and born of hatred and ingratitude, he ends with the words,

But I pray.

As implied by the statement just made, the author speaks of an attack made not on him personally but on the body politic, personified in the "I." The words, "They wage war on me," leave room for no other interpretation, war being always waged on a people or a body of persons. Further proof to this effect are the points of contact the psalm has with some of the pre-

† 107:42 *When the upright see it, they will rejoice;
Wickedness will be quelled.*

ceding psalms, especially Psalm 69. In fact, the similarity between the two is so striking that Psalm 109A reads like a companion piece to Psalm 69, written by the same author. As in Psalm 69 the writer's complaint about the undeserved hatred and enmity he and his people must bear is followed by "But I, O Lord, I pray to thee," so is the similar complaint in Psalm 109A about the enemy's intrigues and malicious, unprovoked attack followed by "But I pray." Weight is added to this conspicuous similarity between them by the fact that outside of the two psalms there is no other example of either *wa'ānī tēphilla* or *wa'ānī tēphillathī lēka*. And after these words the psalmist goes on in much the same way in both psalms, praying

Be thou gracious unto me, O God, in thy great love (*bērob ḥasdēka*)
Answer me. . . . Save me (*ḥaššilenī*)

in 69:14-15, and

O Lord, . . . Save me according to thy bounteous love (*ḥaššilenī*
kēṭūb ḥasdēka)

in 109A:21. Some lines farther on both psalms repeat the petition, partly in the same, partly in modified, language:

Answer me, O Lord, according to thy bounteous love (*kēṭūb ḥasdēka*),
Turn to me in thy vast (*kērob*) mercy [69:17];

Help me, O Lord my God,
Oh, save me in thy great love (*hōshī'enī bērob ḥasdēka*) [109A:25].

Further, the lines,

That they may know that this is thy hand,
That thou, O Lord, hast done it,

speak of the calamity that has been visited on the country in the same peculiar way as the lines,

For they persecute him whom thou hast smitten,
And increase the suffering of him whom thou hast struck down (*ḥalalēka*),

of 69:27, though differing from them in language. Note, however, that Psalm 109A has the phrase *ḥalal* in common with 69:27 in another line, namely,

And my heart within me is rent,

which is, moreover, a striking parallel to the agonized cry in Psalm 69:21:

Their abuse breaks my heart,
And I am sick unto death.

Likewise the line,

I have become an object of derision to them,

preceded by

My knees are unsteady from fasting,

is closely similar to the lines,

If I chastise myself with fasting,
It draws derision on me.

Finally, Ps. 109A:22 and 31 have the terms '*anī* and '*ebyōn* used (as in numerous other psalms of the years 535-300 B.C.) to designate helpless Israel, in common with both Ps. 69:30, where *kō'eb* is substituted for '*ebyōn*, and Ps. 140:13, conclusive proof of this signification of the two terms being that the second stich of 140:13 has the plural '*ebyōnīm* as the parallel phrase of the singular '*anī* of the first stich:

I know that the Lord will champion (*ya'āsē*) the cause of the afflicted,
That he will defend the right of the poor people.

Note that these lines also have the verb *ya'āsē* in common with "O Lord, act thou (*'āsē*) in my behalf" of Ps. 109A:21, using it with a different connotation.

All this shows that Psalm 109A is another prayer inspired by Ptolemy's attack on Jerusalem in 312 B.C. and that the psalmist clearly refers to this attack, first, in the words,

They wage war on me without cause,

then, in the lines,

May this be the reward of the Lord to my adversaries,
To them that have evil designs on my life,

and, finally, in the words of hope with which he concludes,

For he will stand at the right hand of the poor
To save them from those who have condemned them to death.

The opening lines, in which he says,

They have let loose against me their wicked, treacherous tongues;
They bombard me with lies,
And heap on me charges born of hatred,

confirm what has been pointed out in connection with Psalms 57A and 140—that by setting traps for them Ptolemy (and his rival, Antigonos) sought to inveigle the people into their downfall, these lines being more direct on this point than even Psalm 140.

ORDER OF VERSES

Originally the verses of Psalm 109A must have stood in the order in which I have rearranged them. Thus in the transmitted order the words, "But I pray," disrupt the continuity between verses 2-3 and 5 and, besides, are ineffective, but as the connecting link between verses 2-3 and 5 and the prayer of verses 21-27 they carry force. Note that in Ps. 69:14 the words, "But I pray to thee," form a similar transition between the description given in verses 5-13 of the enmity the people must endure and the psalmist's prayer in verses 14-19. Further, since verse 20 speaks, like the rest of Psalm 109A, of many adversaries, it is obvious that it cannot be the conclusion of the curse (vss. 6-19), which is directed against a single person, but that it must be a part of Psalm 109A; and, since it fits excellently after verse 29, it may be safely concluded that originally it stood there. Verse 4*a* betrays itself by its faulty style as the addition of a glossator, made originally in the margin.

Ps. 107:42, which we have seen is not an original part of either Psalm 107A or Psalm 107B, consists of two quotations from Job, the first of which is from 22:19 and the second from 5:16, which, to my mind, were originally added as marginal glosses on Psalm 109A.

2. *their wicked, treacherous tongues*] On the strength of *mirma* of the parallel stich, vocalize רָשָׁע (Hitzig and many others); omit the second *pī* as dittography.

They bombard me with lies] Cf. Gen. 42:30, *dibber ha'ish 'ittanū qashōth*, "The man charged us with grave offenses."

5. *They repay me*] Read, with Syr., וְיָשִׁיבֵנִי, as many interpreters have emended.

4b. *But I pray*] *Wa'ānī tšəphilla*, unwarrantedly emended by a number of interpreters, is not only faultless Hebrew but also very expressive, being a nominal clause of the type of Ps. 120:7, 'ānī *shalōm*.

21. *O Lord, act*] Omit *wē* of *wē'atta*.

according to thy bounteous love] Read, in accordance with the Targ., כְּטִיב (Olshausen and many others).

24. *from loss of fat*] The preposition *min* is *min privativum*.

26. *in thy great love*] Read, with Gr. and some MSS, בְּרַב (Buhl-Kittel): cf. also 69:14.

28. *Let my adversaries be ashamed*] Read, with Gr., 'קִמִּי (Graetz and many others).

30. *Zealously will I confess*] It follows from the context that "confess," not "praise" or "thank," must be the meaning of 'ōdē; *bēphī* lends emphasis to 'ōdē: see the notes on Pss. 89B:3 and 66:17.

PSALM 109B

VERSES 6-19

- 6 Set thou a wicked man over him,
Let an unbending prosecutor stand at his right hand.
- 7 When he is judged, let him be condemned;
Let even his plea incriminate him.
- 8 Let his days be few;
Let another take his office.
- 9 Let his children be fatherless,
And his wife a widow.
- 10 Let his children be vagabonds and beggars,
Driven out of their ruined homes.
- 11 Let the creditor seize all that he has,
And let his wealth fall a prey to strangers.
- 12 Let there be none to show him kindness,
Nor let there be any to have pity on his fatherless children.
- 13 Let his posterity be cut off,
And his name blotted out in a single generation.
- 14 Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered,
And the sin of his mother not be forgotten:
- 15 May these be ever before the Lord,
So that the memory of him be wiped out from the earth,
- 16 Because he never remembered to show kindness,

But hunted to death the poor and wretched man who
was broken in heart.

- 17 As he loved to curse, let curses descend on him;
As he delighted not in promoting blessing, let blessing
remain far from him.
- 18 Let curses cling to him like a shirt,
And soak into him like water,
Or like oil sink into his bones:
- 19 Let them be unto him the garment in which he wraps
himself,
The belt wherewith he girds himself continually.

The original beginning of the curse has been lost. Only one other comment is to be made—the piece should be deleted from the Psalter.

7. *his plea*] That it is with this meaning that *tēphillathō* is used here follows from the context. It bears out the opinion of Goldziher²⁷⁶ that the primary meaning of *tēphilla* is "appeal to God to act as a judge."

10. *Driven out*] Read, with Gr., יָגֵרֶשֶׁ (Hupfeld and others).

13. *his name . . . in a single generation*] Read, with many MSS, Gr., and Hier., שִׁבְרִי, and, with Gr., אֶחָד (Duhm and others).

14. Omit with Syr., 'el'āddōnai (Baethgen and others).

15. *So that the memory of him be wiped out*] Vocalize, with two MSS, Gr., and Hier., wēykkāreth, and read, with Gr., *zīkrō* instead of *zīkram* (Wellhausen, Duhm, and others).

16. *to death*] Read, with Syr., לְמוֹת (Graetz and others).

I. PSALM 44

*

- 2 O God, with our ears we have heard,
Our fathers have told us
Of the deeds thou didst in their time,
In the days of old:
- 3 How by thy hand thou didst drive out peoples
That our fathers might take root;
How thou didst destroy nations
That they might spread.
- 4 For not by their sword did they conquer the land,

²⁷⁶ *Abhandlungen z. Arabischen Philologie* (Leiden, 1906), I, 36, n. 1.

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of the Korahites. A *Maskil*.

Nor did their own arm win them victory;
But thy right hand and thy arm and the light of thy
countenance did it,
Because thou didst delight in them.

5 Thou art my King and my God:
Thine is the power to order Israel's deliverance.

6 Through thee we will cast down our enemies,
Through thy name will we trample our adversaries
underfoot.

7 For not on my bow do I rely,
Nor can my sword save me;

8 But thou wilt deliver us from our enemies,
And wilt cover with shame them that hate us.

9 All day we glory in God,
And praise thy name forever.

10 Yet thou hast spurned us and put us to shame,
Thou wilt not march to battle with our armies.

11 But thou makest us to turn in flight before the enemy,
And our foes have despoiled us.

12 Thou sufferest us to be devoured like sheep,
And hast scattered us among the heathen.

13 Thou hast sold thy people for nothing,
Thou hast had no gain from their sale.

14 Thou hast made us an abhorrence to our neighbors,
A scorn and a derision to the people round about us.

15 Thou hast made us a byword among the nations,
The gazingstock of men.

16 I must suffer contumely without end,
And I hide my face in shame,

17 As I hear the scorner and the reviler,
And think of the revengeful enemy.

18 All this has come upon us,
Although we have not forgotten thee,
And have not been untrue to thy covenant.

19 Our heart has not faltered,

- Nor have our steps swerved from thy way,
20 Even now that thou hast thrown us into the haunt of
jackals,
And hast cast the shadow of death upon us.
21 If we had forgotten the name of our God,
Or had stretched out our hands to another God,
22 Would not God search it out?
For he knows the inmost thoughts of the mind.
23 Verily, for thy sake we are killed the day long,
We are counted as sheep for the slaughter.
- 24 Awake! Why sleepest thou, O Lord?
Arise! Do not cast us off forever.
25 Wherefore dost thou hide thy face
And ignore our misery and oppression?
26 We are bowed to the earth,
We are groveling in the dust.
27 Arise to our help,
And save us for thy love's sake.

Psalm 44 is still commonly held to be Maccabaeian, being thought to have been occasioned either by the repulse with which the foolhardy campaign of Joseph and Azarias against Jamnia in Philistia met, or by the defeat which Judas suffered at Beth-Zechariah, or by the severer defeat dealt to him by Bacchides and Alkimus in the battle at Berea, in which he fell. However, the first of these reverses was a mere incident which had no adverse effect whatever on the marvelous successes of the Maccabaeian revolt. Nor was Judas' defeat at Beth-Zechariah of such a blighting nature as the disaster reflected in Psalm 44. It did not "cast the shadow of death upon" him or the people, nor were they "groveling in the dust." Judas had not been vanquished but was still powerful enough to conclude a favorable peace with Lysias, which gave the Jews all they had fought for—religious freedom. Further proof that their military strength remained unbroken is the decisive victory which a year later Judas gained over the vastly superior forces of Nicanor—a victory as complete as any he had yet attained.

Nor can the psalm have been written after the defeat and death of Judas in the battle at Berea, for if it had been, we may be sure, the author would not have turned to the ancient past for solace and strength. Rather would he have drawn courage and hope from the heroic deeds of Judas, who again and again had been victorious in the face of overwhelming odds.

Another reason why the Maccabaeon date of the psalm cannot be argued is found in the lines,

All this has come upon us,
Although we have not forgotten thee,
And have not been untrue to thy covenant.
Our heart has not faltered,
Nor have our steps swerved from thy way.
. . . . If we had forgotten the name of our God,
Or had stretched out our hands to another God,
Would not God search it out?

A declaration such as this could not possibly have been made by a Maccabaeon writer because the religious persecution of the Jews by Antiochus was backed and instigated by the renegades in their midst, the Hellenizing Jews, at whose head were the high priests Jason and Menelaus, and, furthermore, because after Judas had concluded peace with Lysias, Demetrius would not have been disposed to interfere with that settlement had he not been appealed to by the Hellenizing party, with Alkimus, aspiring for the high-priesthood, at its head, who on the side of Bacchides led also the formidable army which defeated Judas in the battle at Berea.

The psalm must have been written either in 344, after Judaea had been laid prostrate by Artaxerxes III Ochus, or in the year 312 B.C., after Jerusalem had been conquered by Ptolemy. At first sight, one is inclined to assign it to the year 344 because of the resemblance it bears to some of the psalms inspired by the catastrophe of that year, specifically Psalms 74, 77, 143, and Isa. 63:7—64:11 (which is a psalm). Thus the writer's recalling the mighty deeds of God in the days of old is a feature which Psalm 44 has in common with these. Further, the lines,

Thou hast made us an abhorrence to our neighbors,
A scorn and a derision to the people round about us,

except for "Thou hast made us," in place of "We have become," are word for word identical with Ps. 79:4, and the lines,

Thou art my King and my God:
Thine is the power to order Israel's deliverance,

are evidently modeled after

Yet thou, O God, art my King of old:
Thine is the power to work salvation on earth

of Ps. 74:12.

Yet, notwithstanding this similarity between them, there is also considerable difference between Psalm 44 and these four psalms as well as the other psalms dating from the year 344. In the first place, Psalm 44 shows neither the intense gloom nor the deep despair which marks every one of these fifteen psalms. Nor does it say that the nation has been "laid in the dust of the grave," or describe the blow sustained by other similar figures. All that it does say is

We are groveling in the dust,

and

For thy sake we are killed the day long.
... Thou sufferest us to be devoured like sheep,
And hast scattered us among the heathen.
Thou hast sold thy people for nothing.

The obvious deduction from all this is that the psalm must have been called forth by Ptolemy's conquest of Jerusalem, which was not so overwhelming a catastrophe as the blow dealt to Judaea by Artaxerxes III in 344 B.C., even though it was attended by Ptolemy's carrying away captive a great many of the people, as the lines of the psalm just quoted expressly say, as do also the records referred to above of Josephus and Pseudo-Aristeas.

The conclusion reached is further borne out by the psalmist's protesting that the nation has been faithful to God, true to his covenant. When one considers what prominence the consciousness of the nation's sinfulness occupies in Psalms 38, 143, 77, 90, and Isa. 63:7—64:11, how their authors seek to make the people realize God's call,

Turn back from sin, ye sons of men,

it does not seem possible that Psalm 44 could have been written at the same time. The author could not have utterly ignored these men's call to penitence and made the directly opposite declaration. Note that even the writer of Psalm 79, whose spiritual outlook was radically different from that of these five psalmists, did not entirely escape their influence but prayed,

Count not against us the sins of our fathers,

and added as an afterthought

Forgive our sins for thy name's sake.

Since as many as five psalms, if not more, were written while the siege of Jerusalem by Ptolemy was in progress, it would be surprising if we had no psalm composed after the city had been conquered. Those who consider the psalm Maccabaeian have laid special stress on the words, "Thou wilt not march to battle with our armies," arguing that in the post-Exilic period we know of no time earlier than the Maccabaeian when the nation possessed an army. They have ignored the fact that these words are (with "Thou hast spurned us") a *verbatim* quotation from Ps. 60A:12 and signify nothing further than "thou hast deserted our ranks" (cf. p. 80).

3. *How by thy hand thou didst drive out*] *'Atta yadēka* is perfect text: *yadēka* is an accusative of instrument, and by *'atta*'s repeating the subject (in anteposition) emphasis is added.

That our fathers might take root . . . That they might spread] This deviation from the sentence structure of the Hebrew is most legitimate; by a literal translation the meaning of *wattilla'ēm* and *wattēshallēhēm* would be obscured.

didst destroy] Vocalize, with Targ., *taro'a*, which is Aram. *ra'a* = Heb. *rašaš*, occurring also in Ps. 2:9 (Wellhausen and others).

5. *Thou art my King and my God: Thine is the power to order*] Read, with Gr., Aq., and Syr., *וְאַתָּה מֶלֶךְ* (Bickell and others); *mēšawwē* functions as potential participle.

7. *Nor can . . . save*] This is the modal force of *tōshī'enī*.

10. *thou hast spurned us*] Read, with four MSS, Syr., and Ps. 60A:12, *וְנִכְלַמְנוּ*.

11. *have despoiled us*] Read, with four MSS, Hier., Syr., and Targ., *לָנוּ*, the direct object being, as often, construed with *lē*.

12. *sufferest us to be devoured*] *Ma'ākal* is construed as an infinitive used in the passive sense, as again in Isa. 62:8, *'im 'etten 'eth dēganek 'od ma'ākal*, "I will no more let thy grain be consumed by thy enemies."

15. *The gazingstock* is the nearest equivalent of *mēnōd rō'sh*.

17. *the revengeful enemy*] 'Ōyeb umithnaqqem is a case of hendiadys.

20. *Thou hast thrown us in the haunt of jackals*] Read דחיתנו (Duhm and others). *Haunt of jackals* is a proverbial expression for a scene of ruin and desolation, such as Jerusalem presented after Ptolemy had conquered it: cf. Isa. 13:22; 34:13; Jer. 9:10; 10:22.

21. *to another god*] Cf. the note on Ps. 81B:10.

Psalms 56, 61, and 64 have in common with the nine preceding psalms that the nation in extreme peril prays to be saved, and, being closely related to them also in spirit and language, they may safely be considered as three other compositions of the years 318–312 B.C.

J. PSALM 56

*

- 2 Have pity on me, O God, for men trample upon me.
The enemy oppresses me,
3a All day long mine adversaries trample upon me.
4 I will trust in thee.
5 In God I glory. . . .
In God I trust, I will not fear.
What can flesh do unto me?
6
They harbor evil against me.
7 They attack me, they lie in wait,
They dog my steps. . . .
8
O God, overthrow the heathen in anger.
9 Heed my misery, put my tears in thy jar.†
10 Then will my enemies be put to flight
. . . . when I call.
Truly, I know that God is with me.
11 In God I glory. . . . †
12 In God I trust, I will not fear.
What can flesh do unto me?

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the tune of "The Dove in Distant Oaks." A *Mikdam*. Of David. When the Philistines seized him.

† *Are they not in thy book?*

‡ 11b *In the Lord I glory.*

- 13 I am under vows made to thee, O God;
Fulfilling them, I will render thank offerings unto thee.
14 Surely, thou wilt save my soul from death,
My feet from falling,
That I may walk before God in the light of life.

The author's prayer (vs. 8),

O God, overthrow the heathen in anger,

shows that national peril has inspired the psalm; and the lines with which he concludes,

Surely, thou wilt save my soul from death,
My feet from falling,
That I may walk before God in the light of life,

reveal the gravity of the situation inasmuch as by their imagery they describe the existence of the nation as threatened by destruction. Yet though ruin stares his people in the face, the psalmist's faith in God cannot be shaken; he exclaims:

In God I trust, I will not fear. -
What can flesh do unto me?

This declaration, which is repeated in the next strophe, is the keynote of the psalm. It shows how for his part the poet has conquered all fear by trust in God.

The psalm begins with the same cry, "Have pity on me, O God," as Psalm 57A and describes the enemy's violent attack by the same rare verb *shāph*, "trample upon me," as is used in 57A:4. It also has in common with it the declaration, "I will trust in thee," with which 57A ends, repeating it, moreover, twice in the more emphatic perfect tense and with "in God" substituted for "in thee" (vss. 5 and 12). Further, in the petition, "O God, overthrow the heathen in anger" (vs. 8), the same imperative *hōred* is used as in Ps. 59:12; and with verses 4 and 11 of this psalm, Psalm 56, verses 3 and 7, respectively, have in common the substantive *shōrērai* and the rare verb *yagūrū*, "attack," of which there is only one other example—Isa. 54:15. The words, "They harbor evil against me," *'alai kol maḥshēbōthām lara'* (vs. 6), are in thought and language similar to "Who plot evil in their heart," *'āsher ḥashēbū ra'ōth bēleb*, of Ps. 140:3a; and even more striking is the similarity between *'eth raglai middeḥi*, "My feet from falling" (56:14), and *liddēḥōth pē'amai*, "Who scheme my downfall" (140:5b). Finally, the declaration, "In God I glory," occurring in verse 5 and again in verse 11, is practically identical with "We glory in God" of Ps. 44:9. Weight is added to the last point of similarity by the fact that, though the phrase *hallel 'eth 'ādōnai* (or *'ēl*),

meaning "Praise the Lord," is very common, there is no other example of *be'lōhim 'dhallem* (or *hillalmū*), denoting "In God I glory," outside these two psalms.

As to the relation of the conclusion (vs. 14) to Ps. 116A:8-9, the case is as follows. If "My feet from falling" were an original part also of 116A:8-9, there could be no doubt that verse 14 was modeled after this passage. However, the question has a different aspect because of the fact that "My feet from falling" seems to be a later addition to Psalm 116A from Psalm 56, and the further fact that 56:14 varies from 116A:8-9 also in two other respects. First, in place of *hilleš* of 116A:8, it has *hiššalta*, which verb, with the paraphrastic pronoun for its object and with *mimmaweth*, likewise occurs in two older pieces than either Psalm 116A or Psalm 56—in Josh. 2:13 and Ps. 33:19. Second, it has "in the light of life," which is superior to "in the land of the living" of 116A:9 not only poetically but also spiritually, making as it does the nice point that to walk before God is to walk in the light of life. Because of these differences it is impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion as to whether or not Ps. 56:14 presents a case of dependence on Ps. 116A:8-9. Considering the spiritual excellence as well as the poetic merits of the psalm, one can but regret that so many of its lines have come down defective or hopelessly corrupt and that the ancient Versions offer no basis for emending them. Because of its fragmentary condition, it cannot be ascertained whether Psalm 56 was written while Ptolemy's attack on Jerusalem was impending or while it was in progress.

1. *To the tune of "The Dove in Distant Oaks"]* *Yōnath 'elim rēhōqim* obviously is the opening phrase of a song popular in the writer's day, to the tune of which he set the psalm. Its fanciful interpretation by Gr. and Targ. is after the manner of the Midrash, which method governed hermeneutics the world over in those days.

2, 3a. *trample upon me]* Read, with Gr., and Syr., **שָׁפַח** and *shā'phūnī*, which are the verb *shūph*, spelled with 'aleph as a vowel letter.

3b. See the note on Ps. 55:19.

9. *Heed]* *Sapharta* is a precativ perfect, as the imperative *sima* of the following stich shows.

10. *Truly]* If *zē* is not a remnant of the words that have been lost but is to be construed with *yada'tī*, it must be interjectional *zē*.

13. *I am under vows*] As often, 'al denotes what is incumbent or obligatory on a person: cf. the note on Ps. 40A:8.

Fulfilling them, I will render] 'Ashalleṃ is a case of brachylogy as well as of zeugma; it is to be construed with both *nēdarēka* and *tōdōth*. By *I am under vows* the psalmist has reference to the vows he and others as well have made to God in their present tribulation: cf. Ps. 76:12; 65A:2; 66:14.

14. *Surely, thou wilt save*] It follows from the rest of the psalm that *hiṣṣalta* is a prophetic perfect introduced by emphatic *ki*.

My feet] Instead of *hālō'*, Gr. reads 'eth, which seems to be the original reading.

K. PSALM 61

*

- 2 Hear my cry, O God,
Heed my prayer.
- 3 From the country's frontier I cry unto thee
With fainting heart:
Oh, lead me, set me up on a high rock.
- 4 Yea, be thou unto me a haven,
A tower of strength from the enemy.
- 5 Let me hide in thy tent forever,
Let me be safe under the shelter of thy wings.
- 6 Hear thou my prayer, O God,
Grant a heritage to them that revere thee.†
- 9 I know that I shall sing praise unto thy name forever,
Know that day after day I shall fulfil my vows.

The prayer (vss. 7-8) that countless days be granted to the king and love and truth be charged to guard over him, which is not organically connected with the rest of the psalm, is not an original part of it but was misplaced into it from Psalm 72. There is external evidence for this, as we shall see when we take up Psalm 72. Since the prevailing view that Psalm 61 is pre-Exilic, written in the time of the monarchy, rests entirely on verses 7-8, the rest of the psalm furnishing no basis for it, it falls to the ground with the elimination of these two verses. Moreover, the date of the psalm as it read originally is established by the similarity it bears to the psalms of the years 318-312 B.C.

* 1. For the Hymnal. For strings. Of David.

† Vss. 7-8 belong to Psalm 72.

The words with which it begins, "Hear my cry, O God, Heed my prayer" (*šim'a 'ēlōhīm rinnathī haqshiba tēphillathī*), resemble those with which Psalm 55A opens: "Hear my prayer, O God, Do not hide thyself from my supplication, Pay heed unto me" (*ha'āzina 'ēlōhīm tēphillathī wē'al tith'allam mit-ēlōhīm haqshiba lī*). '*Elēka 'eqrā*' of verse 3 recurs modified to '*ānī 'el 'ēlōhīm 'eqrā*' and '*eqrā*' *lē'lōhīm*, respectively, in Pss. 55A:17 and 57A:3, while *ba'ātoph libbī*, following '*e. 'e.*', is found modified to *bēhith'atēph 'alai rūhī* in Ps. 142:4. Further, the line, "Let me be safe (*'ehšē*) under the shelter of thy wings" (vs. 5), is identical with 57A:2b, except for the nice variation of *beṣel* to *bēšether*, while "Yea, be thou unto me a haven," *ki hayitha maḥsē lī* (vs. 4a), expresses in terms of a wish what in Ps. 142:6 is said in terms of a declaration, "I declare thou art my refuge," '*amartī 'atta maḥsī*'. Finally, of the concluding verse, '*āzammēra šimka*' recurs in Ps. 59:18 slightly changed to '*elēka 'āzammera*', while *lēshalleṁī nēdarai* is very similar to '*āshalleṁ tōdōth lak*', preceded by *nēdarēka*, of Ps. 56:13.

The same lofty spirit of confidence in God breathes through this psalm as through most of the psalms of those ill-boding years after the death of Alexander the Great. It is on a par with them also in literary excellence. With a few touches the writer paints the gravity of the situation. Note, for example, the lines,

From the country's frontier I cry unto thee
With fainting heart,

and the prayer,

Grant a heritage to them that revere thee,

by which he shows that the existence of the nation was in jeopardy. The words *miqqēšē ha'areṣ* cannot mean "from the ends of the earth," as they are generally rendered, for, whenever they have this meaning, they are said by one who is not living in the region referred to but at such a distance from it that it forms his geographical horizon, whatever is beyond being unknown to him.²⁷⁷ And, since in the present instance the writer is in the region he describes as *qēšē ha'areṣ*, it is obvious that it must mean "the country's frontier," whither he either had fled to escape the terror spread by the invader or had been taken as prisoner with many others from Judaea, before Ptolemy started the siege of Jerusalem (cf. above p. 731).

²⁷⁷ Cf. Isa. 5:26; 41:9; Jer. 25:32; 31:7. Note that in the second example the synonym '*āšilē*', "limits," is used alongside *qēšōth* and that in the third and fourth the synonym *yarkēthē* is used instead.

3. *Oh, lead me, set me up*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., and with different word division, תַּרְוִמֵּנִי (Graetz and others). *Tanḥēnī* needs no emendation, being a circumstantial clause: the literal translation is "Leading me, set me up."

4, 6. *Yea, be thou . . . Hear thou . . . Grant*] *Hayitha, shama'ta, and nathatta* are all three precative perfects, introduced by emphatic *ki*.

my prayer] Read, with Gr. and Aq., תַּפִּלָּתִי; the present reading is due to dittography of *nēdarai* of the following verse. The generally advanced argument, that by *nēdarai* "the prayers accompanying vows are meant," is forced.

Grant a heritage to them that revere thee] As often, *nathan* is construed with two accusatives: cf. Josh. 15:19; Isa. 27:4; Jer. 9:1; Ezra 9:8; and also Gen. 30:20, *zēbadanī 'ēlōhīm 'ōthī zebēd ūb*, which makes it clear that the pronominal suffixes *nī* and *nū* of the four preceding examples are direct objects, as Ges.-Kautzsch, § 117x and ff, takes them. Another example of *yērūshath's* being absolute case is Judg. 21:17, *yērūshath pēletah lēbinyamin*, which is a faultless nominal sentence, as R.V. takes it. Yet *nathatta yērūshath yir'ē shēmeka* has widely been misunderstood and, worse still, has been unnecessarily emended.

9. *I know that I shall sing . . . Know*] As in Pss. 63:3 and 127:2, *kēn* is verbal adjective of *kūn*, used adverbially, or rather interjectionally, to lend emphasis to the assurance expressed. In the second stich this is done by the emphatic infinitive. By *I know* I have attempted to bring out as well as possible the force of both.

L. PSALM 64

+ 63:10-11, 12c = 64:1-9; 63:10-11, 12c; 64:10-11

*

- 2 O God, hear my voice as I pray:
Save my life from the terror of the enemy;
- 3 Protect me from the secret designs of the wicked,
From the fury of the evildoers,
- 4 Who whet their tongues like a sword,
Who brace the bow, take aim with their arrows
- 5 To shoot from ambush at the innocent people.
Suddenly they shoot at them without scruple.
- 6 They plot to fasten on them some wicked deed,†
To lay snares for them,
Saying, "Who will know?"
- 7 Who will find out our design?
The plan is cunningly thought out—
Deep is the heart and mind of man."

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David.

† Variant: *4bβ Some odious deed.*

- 8 Let God shoot his arrow at them,
Let them be stricken instantly.
- 9 Let their intriguing tongue work their own ruin,
So that all that see them will flee in terror.
- 63:10 May they that seek my life without cause
Be dispatched to the lowest depths of the earth;
- 11 May they be delivered over to the sword;
May they fall a prey to jackals.
- 12c Yea, may the mouth of those who fabricate lies be
stopped.
- 64:10 Then will all men stand in awe
And tell of the work of God,
And they will understand his deeds.
- 11 The righteous will rejoice in the Lord
And trust in him:
All that are upright of heart will exult.

Verses 63:10-11 and 12c, which are unrelated to Psalm 63 and were misplaced into it in the course of transmission, form an organic whole with Psalm 64 when placed after verse 9. As an indication that originally these verses stood there it may be noted that as the continuation of verse 9 the imperfect with *waw consecutivum* of verse 10, expressing sequence, has no force, but following 63:10-11, 12c it is excellent.

Like the preceding psalms, Psalm 64 is in spirit and subject matter as well as in language closely related to the first group of nine psalms of the years 318-312 B.C. The words with which it begins, "O God, hear my voice as I pray" (*shĕma' 'ēlōhīm qōlī bēšīhī*), are very similar to "I pray (*'asīḥa*) and cry to Him to hear me" (*wayyishma' qōlī*) and "May God hear my prayer" (*yishma' 'ēl*) of Ps. 55A:18 and 20. And, used with a different meaning, the infinitive *sīhī* is found in 55A:3 and Ps. 142:3. The words, "Who whet (*shanĕnū*) their tongues like a sword," resemble both "Whose tongue is a sharp sword" of Ps. 57A:5 and "Their tongue is sharp (*shanĕnū*) as a serpent's" of Ps. 140:4 and also "Their lips are daggers" (*ḥārabōth*) of Ps. 59:8. The line, "They plot . . . to lay snares for me," tells briefly

what is told more elaborately in Ps. 140:6 plus 142:4b and 141:9-10a and, furthermore, has in common with them the verb *ṭaman* and the substantive *mōqēšhīm*. Similarly, the words, "The mouth of those who fabricate (*dōberē*) lies" (63:12c), merely touch on what is very fully stated in Ps. 109A:2-3:

For they have let loose against me their wicked, treacherous tongues:
They bombard me (*dibbērū 'ittī*) with lies,
And heap on me charges born of hatred.

In fact, these very lines make clear what is referred to by 63:12c. Note that the participle *dōbērīm* recurs in 109A:20. The words, "Saying, Who will know?" (*'amērū mi yir'ē*), which follow the line, "To lay snares for them," are a striking parallel to "Who, they say, hears?" (*ki mī shōme'a*) following the description of the enemy's doings given in Ps. 59:8.

Very conspicuous, too, is the similarity between "Let their intriguing tongue work their own ruin" (*yakshīlema 'āmal lēshōnām*) and "Let them be caught in their own intrigues" (*'āmal sēphōthēmō yēkassemō*) of Ps. 140:10b; and between "May they be dispatched to the lowest depths of the earth" and "May they go down to She'ol alive," "Do thou send them to the engulfing pit," and "Hurl them into abysmal depths" of 55:16, 24, of Ps. 57A and of Ps. 140:11b, respectively. The noteworthy feature is that all these phrases are equally original. Further, as the wish expressed in 63:10-11, 12c, for the enemy's undoing is followed by

Then will all men stand in awe
And tell of the work of God,
And they will understand his deeds [64:10],

so is the similar wish in Ps. 59:11-14a followed by

Then will it be known to the ends of the earth
That God rules in Jacob.

Like Psalm 140, Psalm 64 centers in the complaint that the enemy is laying snares for the people, and it makes plain that in doing so he seeks to contrive their downfall both by the lines,

Save my life from the terror of the enemy;
Protect me from the secret designs of the wicked,

and by the wish,

Let their intriguing tongue work their own ruin.

And as in Psalm 140, there is no mention of a concentrated or open attack on the country. Instead the psalm refers (vss. 4-5) to the enemy's shooting "from ambush at the innocent people"; similarly Psalm 59 tells (vss. 4-5) that the mercenaries occupying the country are shooting peaceful people. Note that this parallel has also in common with 64:4 the phrase *yēkōnēnū*. It follows from all this that, like Psalms 59 and 140, Psalm 64 was composed earlier in the years 318-312 B.C., prior to Ptolemy's attack on Jerusalem.

In conclusion, a word on the question of authorship of these twelve psalms! Since this is a rather complicated case, it is difficult to arrive at a positive conclusion. However, so much may be said with certainty: they are not by twelve different authors. As Psalm 109A seems to be a companion piece to Psalm 60 written by the same author, so does Psalm 64 seem to be a companion piece to Psalm 140. And there are others of the group which on further analysis might prove to be of common authorship.

4. *Who brace the bow, take aim with their arrows*] One is at a loss to understand why the commentators in emending and interpreting vs. 4b have persistently ignored the Versions which have preserved the original text: some codd. of Gr. read as object of *dareku* קָשָׁת, others *qashtam*, as do also Sym. and Targ.; and Targ. MS reads, besides, before *hiššām* the verb *mēthahū*,¹⁷⁸ which is a rendering of כִּוְנָה, being found with this meaning in Syr. (cf. Syr. of Ps. 78:9; Brockelmann, *Lexicon* . . . , and Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*). This reading is further borne out by Ps. 11:2, after which vss. 4b and 5a have been modeled, and another support for *kōnēnū* may be seen in the parallel phrase *yēyikkōnanū* of Ps. 59:5, which is a case of ellipsis, the object *hiššām* being omitted. From the text of vs. 4b, as reconstructed, it is obvious that the words *dabar mar*, meaning *some odious deed*, cannot be an original part of it but that originally must have been a marginal variant of *dabar ra'* of vs. 6a.

6. *They plot to fasten on them . . . to lay snares for them . . . Who will know?*] *Yēsappērū* is to be construed with both *yēhazzēku* and *liṭmon*. The second *lamō* is to be transposed after *mōqēšim*.

7. *Who will find out our design?*] Read יִחְשֶׁה תַּעֲלֹמָתֵנוּ, as Gunkel has convincingly emended, and repeat *mī* before it.

The plan is cunningly thought out] *Hephes mēhuppas* is a nice case of paronomasia.

¹⁷⁸ See Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch f.d. Targumim*, s.v. *mēthah*.

8. *Let God shoot . . . Let them be stricken instantly*] Contrary to the accents, join *pith'ôm* to the second stich. *Hayû* is a precativ perfect, while the first stich has the imperfect with *waw consecutivum* used with the same function.

9. *Let their intriguing tongue work their own ruin*] Read יבשילבם עמיל, another convincing emendation by Gunkel, which is supported by the parallel expression in Ps. 140:10.

all that see] Read, with many MSS and Versions, יֵּי. As in Ps. 49:6 and Job 3:9, the direct object of *rô'ê* is construed with *bê*.

63:10. *without cause*] Read, with Gr., לְשׁוֹא (Graetz and others).

11. *May they be delivered*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., plural suffix יָם; the third plural is used impersonally.

May they fall a prey to jackals] *Shu'al* is the name of both the fox and the jackal. "The jackal preys on dead bodies and assembles in troops on the battlefield to feast on the slain."²⁷⁹

RÉSUMÉ

For the history of the Psalms it is of supreme importance to draw attention to the fact that the twelve psalms of the two decades after the death of Alexander the Great are the last that can be dated exactly. Among those left, Psalm 84 and the messianic Psalm 72 are the only two other psalms the date of which can approximately be determined. These twelve psalms are, with two exceptions, the last, too, of all those in which a national crisis is reflected. One of these exceptions is Psalm 54. Although, logically, this is not the place for it, there is a valid reason for treating it here. Because of its immediate proximity to Psalms 55-57, it will be instructive to note that Psalm 54 is altogether different from these three psalms and the rest of the group in spirit and language as well as in tone and the picture of the perilous situation. The other exception is Psalm 86 of uncertain date.

PSALM 54

*

3 Save me, O God, by thy name,
 Defend me with thy might.

²⁷⁹ H. B. Tristram, *The Natural History of the Bible* (London, 1889), p. 110.

* 1-2. For the Hymnal. For strings. Of David. When the Ziphites came to tell Saul, David is hiding with us.

- 4 Hear my prayer, O God,
Give ear to the words of my mouth.
- 5 For strangers have risen against me,
Oppressors, who regard not God, seek my life.
- 6 Behold, God is my helper,
The Lord is my support.
- 7 Evil shall be repaid to my foes.†
Destroy them in thy faithfulness.
- 8 Then will I liberally sacrifice unto thee;
I will declare that thy name is good.
- 9 Yea, may he deliver me out of all trouble,
And may mine eyes feast on mine enemies.

The line,

For strangers have risen against me,

shows that the "I" running through the entire psalm is collective, personifying the nation. The reading *zārīm*, "strangers," cannot be questioned, being confirmed by all the codices of the Greek, by the Syriac, and by the Hebrew Psalter of Jerome. To disregard these text witnesses and to argue chiefly on the strength of Ps. 86:14, where 54:5 seems to be quoted, that originally the text read *zēdīm* instead of *zārīm* is unsound method, especially when one considers that in 86:14, also, '*arišīm*' is changed to '*ādath 'arišīm* and *lō' sāmū 'ēlōhīm* to *wēlō' sāmūka*. Though as the people's spokesman the psalmist says, "Oppressors, who regard not God, seek my life," unlike the twelve preceding psalms, where the extreme gravity of the situation is vividly depicted by every line, the rest of Psalm 54 contains nothing to show that the existence of the nation was really in jeopardy. As another contrast between these psalms and Psalm 54 note that what has been remarked of Ps. 20:8 holds good also of the words, "Behold, God is my helper, The Lord is my support." Judged by the general spirit of the psalm, these words sound hollow and empty; they lack the ring of conviction. The psalm furnishes no clue whatever as to its date. It can just

† Another version: *May he repay my foes for their evil.*

as well be pre-Exilic as post-Exilic for all we know. The reproach, "Who regard not God" (vs. 5), has commonly been referred to as support not only for the emendation *zēdīm* but also for the conclusion that the writer's enemies are the godless within the ranks of the nation. These critics have overlooked the similar reproach, "And ignore God," which in Psalm 14 the psalmist makes with regard to foreign oppressors, "Who," as he puts it, "devour, eat up my people."

6. *my support*] *Bē* of *bēsōmēkē*—a nice example of intensive plural—is *bē essentiae*, used with a nominal predicate.

7. It is impossible to decide whether the Kēthīb *yashūb* or the Qērē *yashīb*, which is also the reading of many MSS, Gr., and Sym., presents the original text. Syr. and Hier. read imperative *hashība*, which is stylistically superior to the Kēthīb or the Qērē.

PSALMS 52, 58, AND 82

The abundant information furnished by the psalms of the two last decades of the fourth century B.C. and by the many more of the Persian period about conditions in post-Exilic times is supplemented in an important respect by the sketches given in Psalms 52, 58, and 82 of the rulers of those days. It would be superfluous to mention that the rulers denounced are foreign potentates, not the high and mighty in Israel, were it not for the opposite view which many interpreters hold.

PSALM 52

*

- 3-4 Glory not in thy wickedness, infamous tyrant!
 All day long thou plottest ruin;
 Thy tongue is like a sharp blade, adroit in intrigue.
- 5 Thou lovest evil more than good,
 Fraud more than equity.
- 6 Thou lovest all things pernicious,
 Delightest in thy treacherous tongue.
- 7 May God then destroy thee forever,
 May he seize thee and pluck thee out of thy tent,

* 1-2. For the Hymnal. A *Maskil* of David. When Doeg, the Edomite, came and told Saul, David has gone to the house of Abimelech.

And uproot thee from the land of the living.

8 May the righteous see it and rejoice,

May they laugh at him and say,

9 Behold, the man who made not God his strength,

But who relied in his great wealth and was mighty in his wickedness.

10 But I am like a green olive tree and live in God's house:
I trust in God's love for ever and ever.

11 I shall praise thee forever, knowing that thou wilt do it;†
And in the presence of thy faithful servants
I shall intrust myself to the goodness of thy name.

The sketch of the "infamous tyrant" in the narrow compass of five verses is so excellent that it needs no comment. The psalmist's passionate wish for the destruction of the autocrat is intensely human, showing how keenly he felt for the down-trodden masses, how with all his soul he revolted against the injustice of human life. The concluding strophe reveals his indomitable optimism: his strength and hope is his faith in the goodness of God.

3-4. *Glory not . . . infamous tyrant! All day long thou plottest ruin*] The customary translation of vs. 3b, "The goodness of God endures continually," which construes *kol hayyôm* as the nominal predicate of *hesed*, is grammatically untenable, for it is an iron-clad rule that the nominal predicate cannot have the article. As in every one of the twenty-four other examples occurring in the Psalms and the twelve in other biblical writings, *kol hayyôm* can only be an accusative of time and is hence to be construed with *hawwôth taḥshob* of vs. 4a. As to *hesed 'ēl*, note, first, that Gr., Syr., and Targ. do not read 'ēl and that two MSS read instead 'al, which points to the conclusion that originally 'al was a marginal variant of mā and that mā functions, not as interrogative pronoun but as negative particle. Note, further, that *hesed*, as, in fact, Gr. and Aq. understood it, is another example of the heteronym *hesed*, meaning "infamy," found again in Prov. 14:34 and Lev. 20:17, and functioning here as a qualificative genitive, equivalent to an adjective phrase.

6. *Delightest in thy treacherous tongue*] *Ləshōn mirma* is another object of 'ahabta.

8, 9. *and rejoice*] Read, with three MSS and Syr., וישמחו, which is also borne out by Job 22:19, from which the verse is copied.

and say, Behold] Note the nice example of recitative *hinne*.

in his wickedness] *Hawwa* may denote either physical or moral evil.

† Which is to say, *Thou wilt fulfil my prayer*.

10. *and live in God's house*] *Bēbēth 'ēlōhīm* is another predicate. As often in the Psalms, *live in God's house* is a figure for living in the presence of God: cf. the remark on Ps. 23:6.

11. *knowing that thou wilt do it*] *'Asītha* is a perfect of certitude.

PSALM 58 + 82:5

*

- 2 Do ye truly dispense justice, ye almighty rulers?
Do ye judge men honestly?
- 3 Nay, ye choose rather to do evil in the world;
Your hands deal out violence,
82:5c So that the foundations of the earth totter.
- 58:4 The wicked are by birth corrupt;
No sooner are they born than they wander in error,
And become champions of falsehood.
- 82:5a-b They have no insight, neither have they understand-
ing,
They walk in darkness.
- 58:5 Their venom is like the venom of serpents,
Deadly as the deaf asp,†
- 6 That will not listen to the spell of charmers,
Charming never so wisely.
- 7 O God, break the teeth of their mouths,
Knock out the fangs of the lions, O Lord.
- 8-9a May they vanish like water that has flowed away,
Like grass that is trodden upon.
May they waste away like a snail that leaves a slimy
track.
- 9b-10b Like the stillborn, like the mole, may they not see the
sunlight.
- 10a Ere their pots feel the heat of the burning thornwood,
10b May the whirlwind carry them off in fury.
- 11 The righteous man will rejoice to see vengeance ac-
complished.

* 1. For the Hymnal. *'Al tashheth. A Miktam. Of David.*

† *That stops its ear.*

- He will bathe his feet in the blood of the wicked.
 12 And men will say, Truly, there is a reward for the
 righteous,
 Truly, there is a God that judges on earth.

After denouncing the sovereigns of his day for their wicked rule, by which all standards are perverted, the psalmist goes on with a terse description of their natural depravity, the pivotal lines of which are

The wicked are by birth corrupt,
 They walk in darkness.

He then prays for their undoing so that the world may be delivered from their sinister power and believe in a righteous God. This conclusion is elucidated by Pss. 9/10 (10:10-11) and 94:7, 20, both of which describe how the desperate conditions of those centuries reacted on the masses, how in their misery they despaired of justice—even of God.

The lines which I have put in Psalm 58 from Psalm 82 are clearly a disturbing element in 82, disrupting the continuity between verses 3-4 and 6-7, in which the author addresses the rulers of his day, asking of them just government and telling them that they are mortals, not gods. Further, since the words, "So that the foundations of the earth totter," have no force as a continuation of the distich,

They have no insight, neither have they understanding,
 They walk in darkness,

it is equally clear that they cannot have followed it originally. Since these words fit excellently after verse 3 of Psalm 58 and the distich after verse 4, and since, moreover, they round out these two verses, it may safely be concluded that they stood after them originally and that it was in the course of transmission that they were misplaced into Psalm 82 by the process which is quite familiar by this time. Moreover, there is external evidence of this in the text which, according to the testimony of Cyril of Alexandria, the original Greek had in excess of the Hebrew in Ps. 82:5: after "They walk in darkness" Cyril reads: "They wander in error (*ta'ū*) from the least to the great-

est of them."²⁸⁰ This additional text has in common with Ps. 58:4b the phrase *ta'ū*. From this it may be deduced that the words, "from the least to the greatest of them," were originally added as a marginal comment on *ta'ū mibbēten* of 58:4 and that *ta'ū* was prefixed to them as a cue, to indicate the text words to which they pertained.

2. *ye almighty rulers*] Instead of the meaningless *'elem*, read אֱלִים, in accordance with Ewald's generally accepted emendation. Contrary to the prevailing interpretation of the word, I take it to be, not the word *'ēl*, God, but *'ēl* which, spelled either with or without yod, means "grandee," "mighty one," or "sovereign": cf. Exod. 15:15, *'ēlē mō'ab*, "the chiefs of Moab"; Ezek. 17:13, *'ēlē ha'areš*, "the grandees of the land"; 31:11, *'ēl gōyīm*, "a sovereign of nations"; 32:21, *'ēlē gibbōrīm*, "the lords of the warriors"; Job 41:17, *yagūrū 'ēlim*, "The mighty are afraid." In three of these five examples *'ēl* is spelled without yod.

3. *ye choose*] *Bēleb*, with omission of the pronominal suffix, which has commonly been emended, is perfect text: of the numerous other examples of the kind cf. Ps. 140:3a; Neh. 3:38, *leb la'am la'āsōth* "the people had a mind," or "were willing to work"; Exod. 35:22, *kol nēdīb leb*, alongside of *k. n. libbō* in vs. 5; Mal. 2:2, *lō' thasīmū 'al leb*, alongside of *lō' samta 'al libbek*, Isa. 47:7; 57:11, *et alit*; Isa. 46:8, *hashibū 'al leb*, alongside of *lō' yashīb 'el libbō*, 44:19.

to do evil in the world] *Ba'areš* is, with Gr. and Syr., to be construed with *tiph'alūn*.

Your hands deal out violence] Vocalize, with the Versions, הַיָּמִים . . . הַיָּמִים (Baethgen and others).

4. *No sooner are they born*] *Mibbēten* is a case of ellipsis: cf. the note on Ps. 22:10-11.

5. *That stops its ears*] The words *ya'tem 'aznō* are the prosaic comment of a glossator, added originally in the margin.

8-9a. *Like grass that is trodden upon*] Read, *kēmō הַצִּיר yidrok: yidrok* is a relative clause, the third sing. being used impersonally.

May they waste away] Join *yithmōlēlū* to vs. 9a.

9b, 10b. *Like the stillborn, like the mole*] I conjecture that instead of the corrupt *hay* of 10b the text read הַלֵּךְ, which with the preceding *kēmō* stood originally in 9b after *nephel*; further, that *'esheth* is, as Targ. shows, a mistaken reading for Aram. *'āshūth*, which was originally a marginal gloss on *hōled*.

10a. *their pots*] Read, with one MS and Syr., הַהִם.

the heat of the burning thornwood] *'Atad* is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun *hōm* or *'ūr* being omitted.

10b. *in fury*] Read, with Gr. and Hier., בְּגִי (Baethgen).

12. *a God that judges*] The predicate of *'ēlōhīm* in the plural is found again in Gen. 20:13 and II Sam. 7:23.

²⁸⁰ Listed by Holmes and Parsons, *op. cit.*, in the note on Ps. 82:5.

PSALM 82

- 1* Does God preside over the assembly of almighty rulers?
Does he sit as judge among divinely worshipped kings?
- 2 How long will ye judge unjustly
And respect the persons of the wicked?
- 3 Dispense justice to the needy and the fatherless,
Protect the rights of the poor and wretched.
- 4 Deliver the poor and needy,
Save them from the power of the wicked.†
- 6 Once I, too, believed that ye were gods,
Sons of the supreme deity, all of you.
- 7 But indeed ye die like common mortals,
And ye fall like any prince.
- 8 Rise, O God, judge the earth,
For thou art ruler over all nations.

The interpretation given of this psalm by a number of exegetes as a "warning to judges" has no basis in Exod. 21:6 and 22:7-8, for in these passages *'ēlōhīm* means God, not judges. In the first, God is a case of metonymy, standing, as the continuation shows, for the sanctuary where he has his abode, while the second legislates that any lawsuit which for lack of evidence the court cannot decide shall be laid before God, which is to say, a decision shall be reached by divination. But the main thing is that this interpretation is refuted by the very words of the psalmist, who says in verse 6,

Once I, too, believed that ye were gods,
Sons of the supreme deity, all of you—

words which clearly show to what the author has reference. His confession shows also that the prevailing interpretation which takes verses 1-4 as spoken by God is untenable; that it is the author who speaks throughout the psalm; and that verse 1 is a question not introduced by an interrogative particle. So taken, the parts of the psalm are coherent, constituting a consistent

* A Psalm of Asaph.

† Vs. 5 belongs to Psalm 58.

whole. The author assails the deification of kings in vogue in his day and confesses that for a time he himself believed in their divine descent. On first thought, this confession seems surprising but ceases to be in the light of the facts bearing on it. Thus we know from the post-Exilic prophecy, Isa. 14:29-32, discussed above (pp. 671 ff.), that the Jews of Alexander's age shared with the rest of the world the belief in his divine descent. Further, not only was the king in ancient Israel looked upon as "the anointed of God" for his exalted position, and hence regarded as sacrosanct, as, for example, I Sam. 24:6 illustrates, but the author of the pre-Exilic Ps. 45:7 also calls Ahab's throne "a throne divine." Especially pertinent for our purpose is the belief expressed in Prov. 16:10 that, being under divine control, kings cannot err in administering justice:

Divine sentence issues from the lips of the king;
His mouth transgresses not in judgment.

The high regard in which kings were universally held in those ages has been well stated by Aristotle:

If there exists in a state an individual so pre-eminent in virtue that neither the virtue nor political capacity of all the other citizens is comparable with his, . . . he should not be regarded as a member of the state at all. For he will be wronged if treated as an equal when he is thus unequal in virtue and political capacity. Such a man should be rated as a god among men.²⁸¹

In the light of all this one can but admire the clear vision and fearless courage of the author of Psalm 82, as well as of the authors of the companion pieces, Psalms 52 and 58, for unmasking the rulers of their days and upbraiding them for their maladministration of justice. The spirit of the prophets lived in these psalmists.

1. *preside*] With this meaning the participle *niššāb* is found again in I Sam. 19:20, *ūshēmū'el 'ōmed niššāb 'ālēhēm*, "With Samuel at their head presiding"; cf. also its repeated use as a substantive denoting "prefect" or "governor."

of almighty rulers] Read, with Gr., plural: אֱלֹהִים.

8. *art ruler*] *Tinḥal* does not seem to be the original reading, as it cannot be construed with *bē*. Graetz and others have emended *timshol*.

²⁸¹ *Politics* iii. 13. 1284a.

PSALM 36A

*

- 2 Deep down in his heart wells up the wicked man's urge
to sin.
There is no fear of God before his eyes.
- 3 He flatters himself in his own estimation;
He is loath to probe his own guilt.
- 4 Treacherous and evil are the words of his mouth:
He has given up living wisely, doing good.
- 5 He devises evil as he lies in his bed,
And follows a course that is not good;
He does not abhor evil.

The thought treated in the middle strophe of Psalm 58, the wicked man's natural impulse to sin, is the theme of Psalm 36A. For this reason a place may be assigned to it here, although the similarity between the two does not extend beyond the thought they have in common. In style and language Psalm 36A is so strikingly different from Ps. 58:4-6 + 82:5a-b that it is clear that they do not present a case of dependence upon each other. In each the subject is treated originally and from a different approach. Further, there is nothing in Psalm 36A to show that it is post-Exilic; it may just as well be pre-Exilic.²⁸²

2. *in his heart*] Read, with a number of MSS, Gr., and Hier., בִּרְ—an emendation generally accepted.

urge] *Nē'ūm* is a familiar expression in prophetic literature, where it denotes the divine voice within urging on the prophet.

4. *Treacherous and evil*] Adjectives are the exact equivalent of the Hebrew abstracts, forming the nominal predicate and lending intensity to it.

PSALM 120

†

- 1 In my distress I cry unto the Lord
To hear me.
- 2 Deliver my soul, O Lord,

* 1. For the Hymnal. Of the servant of the Lord. Of David.

²⁸² See also above, pp. 520 ff.

† Song of Ascent.

- From lying lips and the deceitful tongue.
 3 What has the deceitful tongue brought thee?
 And what will it ever bring?
 4 Sharp arrows of war† and live coal of broom!
 5 Alas that I must dwell in Meshech,
 Live by the tents of Kedar!
 6 All too long have I been living with men
 That hate peace.
 7 I care but for peace,
 Yet however I may champion it,
 They are desirous of war.

Psalm 120 is another elegy which in a general way bears on the untoward conditions of those post-Exilic centuries, without referring to any distinct occurrence. This follows, first of all, from the lines,

Alas that I must dwell in Meshech,
 Live by the tents of Kedar!

For note that Meshech and Kedar were neither neighbors of the Jews nor adjacent peoples but were living at great distance from each other. The former, identical with the Moschi of Herodotus, the Mushku of the Old Armenian and Assyrian inscriptions, were a barbarous people, living between the Caspian and the Black seas, while the latter were one of the wild tribes roaming through the Arabian Desert. This being the case, it is obvious that these names cannot be taken literally but are used figuratively, as we sometimes use "Turks" or "Vandals" today. This is also confirmed by the poet's continuing to say,

All too long have I been living with men
 That hate peace,

implying thereby that he is speaking not of recent conditions but of conditions of long duration. Further, the words, "that hate peace," and still more, his weary cry to God to deliver his soul from the intriguing, treacherous tongue which brings nothing but war, yea, fierce and endless strife (which is the meaning

† Heb. *the warrior*.

of the figure "live coal of broom"), moreover, show that he grieves not over personal trouble but over the sad plight of his people. They crave for peace, but, living in a world that wants war, they strive for it in vain.

1. *To hear me*] *Wayya'ānenī* is a final clause.

3-4. *What has the deceitful tongue brought thee? And what will it ever bring?*] *Tongue* is the subject, which is construed with the masc. of the verb—a construction which is often found when the verbal predicate precedes the subject: cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 1450. *Yitten* is construed with *lashōn* twice, by itself and again together with *yōsīph*. Of the many similar examples, note Num. 11:25, *wayyithnabbē'ū wēlō' yasaphū*, "They went into ecstasy, but they did so no more"; Deut. 25:3, *'arba'im yakkennū wēlō' yōsīph*, "Forty lashes he shall give him, but he must not give him more": note *pen yōsīph lēhakkōthō* directly following; Job 40:32, *sīm 'alaw kappeka . . . 'al tōsīph*, "Lay thy hand on him! . . . thou wilt not do so again." Vs. 4 gives the answer to the question: *and live coal of broom* expresses by figure of speech what in the first stich is expressed in literal terms, for, since broom charcoal makes a hot fire and retains the heat for a long time, it is obvious that the words are a figure for fierce and endless strife.

and] *'Im* denoting *and* occurs again in Amos 4:10 and I Sam. 16:12; 17:42. Vice versa *wa* in Hebrew as well as in Arabic often denotes "with": note that Kopt. *awō*, "and," means primarily "add" and that *'im* is derived from *'amam*, "join," "combine."

7. *but care for peace* renders accurately the nominal predicate consisting of an abstract, which makes the statement more emphatic.

Yet however I may champion it] *Ki* functions as concessive conjunction; of *dabber* meaning *champion* we have had other examples before. The predicate *shalōm* of the preceding clause is to be construed as object with *'ādabber*, being a case of brachylogy.

PSALM 123

- 1* I lift up mine eyes unto thee,
Who art enthroned in heaven.
- 2 As the eyes of slaves are turned to their masters,
Or the eyes of a bondmaid to her mistress,
So do our eyes look to the Lord our God
To have mercy upon us at last.
- 3 Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy,
For we have had our fill of ignominy;

* Song of Ascent.

- 4 Our soul has had its fill of the scorn of the carefree,
The contempt of the proud oppressors.

Psalm 123 is another realistic pen picture of what the conditions throughout the pre-Maccabaeen post-Exilic centuries were like. The words,

To have mercy upon us at last,

show that the psalm was written when again and again the people had gone through fire and water.

2. *at last*] 'Ad is an adverb of which we have had other examples before.

4. *the proud oppressors*] *Gš'ēyōnīm* is a genuine composite, like *šalmaweth*, consisting of the adjective *gš'ē* and the participle *yōnīm*.

PSALM 84

*

- 2 Most dear is thy abode, O Lord of hosts.
3 I long, I pine for the courts of the Lord;
Body and soul cry out for the living God.
4 Even the sparrow can find a house
And the wild dove may have a nest
In which to keep its young.
Thy altars, O Lord of hosts, my God and my King.
5 Blessed are they that may dwell in thy house
And ever sing thy praise.
6 Blessed the man who finds his strength in thee,
Who in his heart cherishes thy ways.
7 Passing through the vale of tears,
He makes it a place of gushing fountains,
Which the spring rain covers with blessings.
8 He will go from strength to strength,
He will behold God Almighty in Zion.
9 O Lord God of hosts, hear my prayer,
Listen to it, O God of Jacob.

* 1. For the Hymnal. To the strains of the *gittith*. A Psalm of the Korahites.

- 10 O God, our shield, behold and look at thine anointed.
 11 For one day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere.
 I would rather stand at the threshold of the house of God
 Than to live in the tents of wickedness:
 12aG For God loves goodness and truth.†
 12b-c The Lord will bestow grace and glory upon them that
 walk uprightly;
 No good thing will he withhold from them.
 13 O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusts in thee.

The psalm has suffered mutilation in the course of transmission. There is clearly a gap after the line, "In which to keep its young"; for "thy altars" cannot possibly be in apposition to "house" and "a nest," as it is generally taken to be, this being precluded by the grammatical construction as well as by the sense of the words. Altars are not nesting places for birds—a fact which one cannot get around by arguing that the psalmist meant that "the birds built their nests within the precincts of the Temple." Another gap seems to be at the end of verse 10, for, altogether aside from the fact that the psalmist fails to make clear who is referred to by "thine anointed," there is no logical connection between "Behold and look at thine anointed" and "For one day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere."

Psalm 84 is not a pilgrim song, as generally interpreted—an interpretation upheld, however, only by reading into the second stich of verse 6 far more than it says and by arbitrarily emending the first stich of verse 8. Rather it supplements the psalms of the years 318–312 B.C. and the many other similar psalms of the preceding period in another important respect, projecting into full view an aspect more vital than that brought out by Psalms 52, 58, and 82. Though it is impossible to say anything positive about the contents of the parts that have been lost,

† 12aH *God is a pinnacle and a shield.*

yet one statement may be made with certainty. The expressive lines, charged with emotion,

Even the sparrow can find a house,
And the wild dove may have a nest
In which to keep its young,

the singer must have followed with the reflection that to him the bliss of hearth and home is denied. He must have been a fugitive or an exile from his native land. This circumstance enhances the significance of the part that follows—the essential part of the psalm. Through one of its great representative minds the psalm tells what enabled Israel to carry on in those dark centuries of ceaseless, bitter struggle:

Blessed is the man who finds his strength in thee,
Who in his heart cherishes thy ways.
Passing through the vale of tears,
He makes it a place of gushing fountains,
Which the spring rain covers with blessings.
He will go from strength to strength.

In these lines, rich in imagery and highly original, the same apotheosis of grief, the same lofty thought that suffering may be transmuted into spiritual triumph is expressed as in the closing scene of the Job drama and as touched upon in Pss. 16:7, 63:4, and 141:5. The words with which the lines conclude,

He will behold God Almighty in Zion,

are not aside from this train of thought but rather an integral part of it: the singer means to say that a man of the type he has described will behold God present in Zion, even though her wretched condition seems to point to anything but such a vision. What follows is also part and parcel of the previous lofty idea: it is obvious from the profound spirituality of the psalm and furthermore from the words, "Body and soul cry out for the living God," following the line, "I long, I pine for the courts of the Lord," that "thy courts" and "the house of God" can (as in other psalms) only be figures for "in the presence of God." From this it follows in turn that "stand at the threshold of the house of God" must be another figure—a very expressive one indeed. By this simple figure the poet means to

imply that a life in the presence of God, in harmony with his holy will, can by the nature of the case never advance beyond a faint approach to it. Yet it is supreme bliss, outweighing all the worldly glory and material comfort sought by the wicked. Having conquered the world, he knows that

God loves goodness and truth.

In the lines that follow, the singer has reference to spiritual rather than material reward. In other words, he expresses his faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness:

O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusts in thee.

From the relation of the psalm to the Job drama and to Psalms 16, 63, and 141 it follows that it is post-Exilic and more definitely that in all probability it dates from the second half of the fourth century B.C. It was written either during the two last decades of that century or during the decade after the calamitous blow Judaea suffered in 344 B.C.

2. *thy abode*] *Mishkēnōthēka* is intensive plural, established by Ps. 43:3, where *mishkēnōthēka* of the second stich is the parallel phrase of *har qodshēka* of the first stich.

6. *Who in his heart cherishes thy ways*] The original reading has been preserved by Syr. *ūshēbilēk bēlibēh*, which is *ומסלוחך בלבבו*. There cannot be any possible doubt that this is the original text, since *mēsilōthēka* is also the reading of Sym. and, *nota bene*, of Syro-Hex., while *bilēbabō* is that of Gr. and Hier., and since, furthermore, we get a perfect parallelism by this reading. And there is still another piece of evidence. Gr. *ἀναβᾶσθεις* does not permit the inference that the Hebrew copy of the Alexandrian translators read *ma'ālōth*, since there are two other examples of *mesilōth*'s being rendered *ἀναβ*: II Chron. 9:11 and I Chron. 26:18 (16). As far as I am able to ascertain, the prevailing untenable translation of vs. 6b began with Ibn Ezra, who has interpreted it as follows: "In their hearts there is no other desire or thought than the roads by which they go to the house of the Lord." Note that Rashi, though knowing only the defective Massoretic text, intuitively gave the correct explanation: "In his heart he gives thought to his ways to perfect his conduct"; and that Luther too, influenced perhaps by Rashi, admirably translates: "Und von Herzen dir nachwandeln."

7. *Passing . . . he makes it*] Read, with one MS and Gr., *יִתְּנֶהּ*, from which it follows, as likewise from the preceding verse, that in the first stich, too, the text originally read sing. *'ōber*.

a place of gushing fountains] *Ma'yān* is a nice example of the accusative of comparison.

8. *He will go . . . He will behold God Almighty*] In the second stich read יִרְאֶה which for dogmatic reasons was changed to yerō'ē, as again in Exod. 23:15, 17; 34:20, 23; Isa. 1:12; and, with Gr., Aq., and Syr., vocalize אֵל : cf. the note on 'ēl 'ēlōhīm of Ps. 50:1. From yir'ē as well as from the two preceding verses it follows that in the first stich also the text originally read sing. yēlek.

11. *a thousand elsewhere*] Read, with Sah. *mpeybol*, בְּהוֹיץ.

12. *For God loves goodness and truth*] What Gr. reads for the present Hebrew is a word for word translation of כִּי חֶסֶד וְאֱמֶת אֱהָב יְהוָה. This line is in such harmony with all that precedes that there cannot be any doubt that it must be the original text. How it was replaced by the present Hebrew escapes our knowledge.

The Lord will bestow grace and glory upon them that walk uprightly] *Lahōlē-kīm bēthamīm* is to be construed with both *yitten* and *lō' yimna'*, being a case of brachylogy.

VII. MESSIANIC PSALMS

PSALM 72

+ 61:7-8; 63:12a-b

- 1* O God, grace a king with thy justice,
 A scion of royal stock with thy righteousness,
 2 That he may judge thy people righteously,
 Thy poor people honestly,
 4 That he may dispense justice to the poor,
 Save the needy and crush the oppressor.
 12 Yea, may he deliver from the despot the needy
 And poor who have no defender;
 13 May he have pity on the poor and needy,
 And may he save the lives of the needy.
 14 May he free them from violence and oppression,
 And may their lives be precious in his eyes—
 15a That they may live.
- 7a-b May righteousness blossom in his days,
 And may peace abound on earth.
 3 Let the hills breathe peace,
 The mountains ring forth righteousness:
 6 Like rain on the green herb,
 Like showers, let them descend upon the land.
- 61:8b, }
 72:16aβ } Let love and truth be fostered in the land
 16d And flower forth from the city like the verdure of
 the soil;
 16b Let them transcend the mountain peaks,
 16aa, c And let the fruit thereof be glorious as Lebanon.
- 61:7, 8aβ May God add days unnumbered to the days of the
 king,
 May he prolong his years through ages.
 (61:8aa) May his name like the sun be undying,
 72:17b (5) His throne like the moon be eternal.†

* Of Solomon.

† 7bβ. Gloss: *Till the moon be no more.*

- 8 May he rule from sea to sea†
 And from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth.
- 9 May the Ethiopians kneel before him,
 And his enemies lick the dust of his feet.
- 10 May the kings of Tartessus and of the coastlands
 bring gifts to him,
 The kings of Sheba render tribute to him,
- 15a And give him of the gold of Sheba.
- 11 May all kings pay homage to him,
 All nations serve him.
- 15b May they pray for him ever
 And bless him all the day.
- 17c Through him may all races of the earth find
 blessing,
 And may all nations call him blessed.
- 63:12a-b May the king rejoice in God,
 And may all that swear by his name be exalted.

DOXOLOGY OF BOOK III

- 72:18 Praised be the Lord God, the God of Israel,
 Who alone works wonders;
- 19 And praised be his glorious name forever;§
 And let the whole earth be filled with his glory:
 Amen, Amen.
- 20 *The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended.*

The psalm, as transmitted, shows lack of sequence, as has been observed by a number of critics who by the wrong method of elimination have sought to restore order but have failed. Thus Baethgen has omitted as interpolation verses 8-11 and 15a, and, in addition to these, Boehmer has thrown out verses 16-17,²⁸³ while Briggs has eliminated instead verses 12-17c. Duhm has expunged verses 5-11 and 15a and Staerk, verses 4-7. What more is necessary to show that this method will not work! As in other cases of the kind, the lack of sequence is due

† I.e., from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf.

§ Variant: 17a *Praised be his name*

²⁸³ "Zu Psalm 72," *ZATW*, XXVI (1906), 147 ff.

to disorder which the psalm has suffered in the course of transmission—a disorder which goes so far that some lines of it have even been misplaced into Psalms 61 and 63. I may leave it to the reader to judge for himself whether, as rearranged, the psalm is coherent. I shall only remark here that there is external evidence that the lines misplaced into Psalm 61 stood originally in Psalm 72; also, that the reconstruction of verse 17^b and its duplicate, verse 5, both of which are defective and corrupt in the Hebrew, rests on their intact text as it has been preserved by some text witnesses of the Greek. The detailed discussion of these two complicated points, and also of verse 16 as it read originally, must be deferred to the notes on these verses.

The psalm is messianic throughout. This conclusion is borne out by its date, for the psalm, as we shall see later, is indisputably post-Exilic. Aside from this, the prevalent view that it dates from the time of the monarchy and was written in honor of a historical king on his ascension to the throne is refuted by the fact that *lēmelek* and *lēben melek* of the opening verse have no article. Were the psalm addressed to a particular king, the ruler of the author's day, he would have said *lammelek* and *lēben hammelek*: "Grace the king with thy justice, The scion of royal stock with thy righteousness." There is no exception in Hebrew to the rule governing such a case, no more than there is, for that matter, in any other language. Of the hundreds of examples showing this, compare Zeph. 1:8, *bēnē hammelek*, "the royal princes"; Jer. 36:26, *yērahmē'el ben hammelek*, "the royal prince Yerahmeel"; I Sam. 22:14, *hāthan hammelek*, "the king's son-in-law"; the wish *yēhī hammelek*, "Long live the king!" either followed by *lē'ōlām*, as in I Kings 1:31, or elliptical, with *lē'ōlām* omitted, as in I Sam. 10:24; I Kings 1:25, 34, 39. Some of the last examples show that in Hebrew *melek* has the definite article even when followed by the king's proper name—a usage of which there are dozens of other examples.

Psalm 72 excels the other messianic psalms poetically as well as spiritually. What a contrast to the autocrats of his day, as described in Psalms 52, 58, and 82, this poet's ideal of a ruler

presents! Like Isaiah (10:1-11; 9:1-6) long before him, he visions a world-ruler filled with sympathy for enslaved humanity, who, "redressing human wrong," will free his fellow-men from their oppressors and usher in the golden age of the reign of righteousness and peace on earth, when brotherly love and good will will flourish among men the world over. Intertwined with the vision is the poet's prayer that this king's rule be prolonged through ages, that his name be undying, his dynasty eternal, and that the nations far and wide may hail him their savior.

DATE

The data for determining the approximate date of the poem are as follows. First, the line, "May his enemies lick the dust of his feet" (9*b*), is copied from Isa. 49:23, while the rest of verses 9-11 is dependent upon Isa. 45:14 and 49:23 as well as on 60:6, 9, inasmuch as the lines,

May the Ethiopians kneel before him . . .
The kings of Sheba render tribute to him,
May all kings pay homage to him, -

bear resemblance to "The merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabaeans will be delivered over to thee . . . to thee they will bow down. . . . Kings . . . they will pay homage to thee" of Isa. 45:14 and 49:23; and the lines, "And give him of the gold of Sheba," and "May the kings of Tartessus and the coastlands bring gifts to him," strike one by their similarity to Isa. 60:6, "They all come from Sheba, carrying gold," and to verse 9, in which alongside of "the ships of Tartessus" the coastlands are mentioned as "waiting to bring their gold and silver as tribute to Yahweh." However, it must be emphasized that the author of Psalm 72, whose vision transcends that of the writer of Isaiah, chapters 60-62, has transformed whatever he borrowed from him. Since Isaiah, chapters 60-62, which abounds in quotations from Deutero-Isaiah, is a post-Exilic prophecy, it is clear from the dependence of verses 10, 15*aβ*, upon this prophecy that Psalm 72 is of post-Exilic origin. Further, verse 12 is a quotation from Job 29:12, from which it follows that the psalm must have been written later than 400 B.C. (the approximate date

of Job). Finally, verse 8 is a quotation from Zech. 9:10, which shows that it is later than Deutero-Zechariah (Zech., chaps. 9-14). This is not the place for a discussion of the moot question of the date and authorship of Deutero-Zechariah. I must limit myself to a brief general statement. With a number of critics, I consider it a unit and a pseudo-prophecy, but I differ from them in that I hold that Ptolemy's conquest of Jerusalem in 312 B.C. is clearly reflected in the prophecy, and that it was written some years after that event, in all probability during Ptolemy's reoccupation of Palestine while the battle at Ipsus (301 B.C.) was in progress. Psalm 72, according to all indications, seems to have been written soon after.

To these findings it cannot be objected that it is by no means certain that the writer of Psalm 72 drew from all these writings, that perhaps the opposite is the case, their authors having borrowed from him. For there is another piece of evidence for the post-Exilic date of the psalm, which at the same time shows that it must be pre-Maccabaeen and later than 444 B.C. This is the expression "the city" of the line, "And flower forth from the city like the verdure of the soil." As in Pss. 31:22, 55A:10, and 59:7 (*q.v.*), "the city" means Jerusalem. It is clear, then, that the psalm is pre-Maccabaeen, and since furthermore prior to the restoration of her walls by Nehemiah in 444 B.C. even Jerusalem had not been a city, it is equally clear that it must have been composed later than that date—later, that is, than either Isa. 49:23 and 45:14 or Isa. 60:6, 9. Since, then, the psalmist's dependence upon these two sources is established, it may be considered fairly certain that it is he who has also borrowed from Job and Deutero-Zechariah and not vice versa.

1. *thy justice*] Read the sing., with Gr., Syr., and Hier., and in accordance with *sidqathēka* of the parallel stich (Duhm and others).

2, 4. These two verses are final clauses.

12. *Yea*] *Ki* has emphatic force.

from the despot . . . who] With Gr., Syr., and Hier. vocalize מִשְׁשׁוֹ' and omit *wē* of *wē'ēn*. Note that also in Job 29:12 the original reading *mishshō'a* has been preserved by Gr. and that *wē* (of *wēlō'*) is absent in Gr., eleven MSS, Syr., and Vulg.

15a. *That they may live*] The sing. *wīhī* is excellent, the exact translation

being "that they may live, everyone of them": a similar construction is Job 24:6, "They must harvest fields (*bēlilō*) that are not theirs."

7a-b. righteousness] Read, with three MSS, Gr., Syr., and Hier., צִדְקָה (De Lagarde and others).

And may peace abound on earth] Read שָׁלוֹם *shalōm* (De Lagarde and others) and after it read בְּאֵרֶץ, as the law of parallelism demands.

3. In vs. 3a omit, with two Lucianic texts (listed in Holmes and Parsons), *la'am*. In 3b read, with Sah., Syro-Hex., and the Lucianic recension, *šēdaqā*, without *bē*, and construe *šēdaqā* as another object of *yis'ū*.

6. on the green herb] Gez denotes "grass" ready to be mowed, not "the mown grass," similarly *qašīr*, Isa. 17:5 and Job 29:19, denotes "grain" ready to be cut.

Like showers, let them descend upon the land] Read plur. *yēredū*, which, as often, was written without the final *ū* and not recognized; omit, with Gr., Syr., and Hier., *rēbībim* and join its *kē* to *zarzīph*; and, with Gr., Syr., and Targ., read עַל הָאֵרֶץ. *Rēbībim* was originally either a marginal or interlinear gloss on the uncommon *zarzīph*.

61:8b, 72:16. It will simplify matters if I first reconstruct 72:16, as the verse, with 61:8b omitted from it, read originally, and then substantiate the reconstruction. I shall give the emended words in Hebrew script and transliterate the rest:

61:8b, 72:16aβ	<i>hesed w'ēmeth</i> יְחִסְדִּי בָאֵרֶץ <i>ba'areš</i>
16d	<i>weyašīšu me'ir kē'eseb ha'areš</i>
16b	רֵאשֵׁי הַהָרִים יַעֲבִרוּ
16aa, c	יִהְיֶה כָּל פְּרִים

(1) 61:8b, 72:16aβ. (a) In 16a omit, with Gr., *bar* and the hapax *pissath* of dubious etymology and meaning. Instead of the latter, Gr. reads στήριγμα. Since this word occurs again in II Sam. 20:19 as a translation of *'ēmūnē*, and since furthermore in Exod. 17:12 *'ēmūna* is rendered ἐστηρικμέναι, I conclude that the Hebrew copy of the Alexandrian translators read *'ēmūna*, which I take for a variant of *'emeth* of 61:8b and hence regard as evidence that 61:8b stood originally in 72:16a before *ba'areš*. In the *pasek* before *ba'areš* we have another indication that 61:8b was omitted before this word. (b) In 61:8b omit, with two MSS, Sym., and Hier., *man* and, with Gr. (of Rahlfs' edition), omit the suffix *hū* of *yinšorū* and construe *hesed w'ēmeth* as objects with *yinšorū*, the third plural being impersonal construction.

(2) 16d. It is obvious from the content of the stich 61:8b, 72:16aβ, that originally the stich 16d followed it.

(3) 16b. *Rā'shē heharim* is excellently attested, Gr. reading the plural of both words, and *tūrē* of Syr. and Targ. and *montium* of Hier. that of the second. Authority for the reading *ya'dborū*, or *ya'dlū 'al*, instead of *yir'ash* are Gr. ὑπερᾶρθησεται and Sym. διαπρέψει, the former occurring again as translation of *'abērū* in Ps. 38:5 and of *'alith 'al* in Prov. 31:29. *Ya'dborū* was evidently written defectively, without the final *ū*, which explains the sing. of Gr. and Sym. as well as of the corrupt *yir'ash* of the Massoretic text.

(4) 16aa, c. *Et erit* of Vet. Lat. and Gall. is authority for the reading *wīhī* (instead of *yēhī*), which is to be transposed before *kalēbanōn*, being the original predicate of *piryām*; *piryām* (instead of *piryō*) is the reading of ten Lucianic texts, one of which is T.

61:7, 8aβ. *May God add* Read, with Sah. *fnayōh* and R *prostesi*, יוסיף, and transpose 'ēlōhīm from vs. 8a to 7 after *yōsiph*. The words *yēsheb* 'ōlām *liphnē* of 8a are identical with the three first words of 72:17b, as it read originally, and were added as a cue to the distich 61:7 when it was omitted from 72:17b. They are, then, positive evidence that originally 61:7 stood in Psalm 72 at the beginning of 17b. Since 'ēlōhīm, as 72:17b shows, is not a part of the cue, it is likewise clear that it stood originally in vs. 7 as the subject of *yōsiph*.

through] Instead of *kēmō*, read, with Gr., כִּימִי (Buhl-Kittel and others).

(61:8aa) 72:17b, (5), 7bβ. This is a most interesting case. What has been left of the original text of vs. 17b in the Hebrew is mutilated to such a degree that any attempt at emendation could not but be abortive were it not that, with the exception of one phrase, Gr. has preserved the text intact—the first part in all extant MSS and the second in the Wash. MS and also in Vet. Lat., Syro-Hex., Tht., 55, and Pars. 188. The two parts read:

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ γενεὰς γενεῶν.

The phrase omitted in the second part is the verb which the text originally read in place of the corrupt *yinnōn*. It has been preserved by one Hebrew MS, reading *yikkōn*, and cannot be questioned, since it also occurs in the parallel lines to vs. 17b found in Ps. 89:37–38. The Hebrew represented by the Greek is so transparent that it can be reconstructed without difficulty

יֵשֶׁב עוֹלָם (לע' י') לִפְנֵי שִׁמְשׁ שְׁמוֹ

לִפְנֵי יְרַח יְכוֹן כִּסְאוֹ דָּרָךְ דּוֹרִים

Note that since in 61:8a *yēsheb* 'ōlām *liphnē* is repeated as a cue for 61:7, which was omitted in the course of transmission from 72:17b directly before these words, there cannot possibly be any doubt that *lē'ōlām* belongs to 72:17b and not to 17a. Note, further, that *permanebit nomen eius in saecula* of Vet. Lat. shows that in Gr., too, *lē'ōlām* was originally joined to 17b. *Liphnē*, denoting *like*, is found again in Job 4:19, "They are crushed like (*liphnē*) a moth."

As to vs. 5, the case is as follows. Chrysostom's quotation of Gr. of the verse, as listed in Holmes and Parsons, is word for word identical with the two parts (given above) of Gr. of vs. 17b except for the omission of the opening phrase *lē'ōlām*. If this quotation is trustworthy and presents the original reading of vs. 5 of Gr. version, it leaves room for only the one conclusion that vs. 5 is a duplicate of vs. 17b—the correction in all probability of (defective) 17b, made originally in the margin, whence in the next copy it was taken into the text at random. The conclusion receives further support from the fact that *yirā'ūka* of the present Hebrew of vs. 5 is not the original reading²⁸⁴ but that,

²⁸⁴ Note that this also follows from the comparison 'im *shemesh*.

as in 17*b* and 61:8*a*, the text originally read *yēsheb*, as *permanebit* of Vulg., that is, of Psalt. Gall. (which is a revision of Vet. Lat.), Sah. *nfmūn ebol* and Boh. *efemūn ebol* show. (Συμπαρμενεῖ of the present Gr. seems to be Hexaplaric: it reads like a translation by Aquila of *yēsheb* 'im having the earmarks of his style.) And when in vs. 5 *yēsheb* is read instead of *yīrā'ūka*, the verse, even in its incomplete form, will be seen to consist of repetitions from vs. 17*b*, as it has been reconstructed—repetitions, moreover, for which there is no room either where they are found now or anywhere else in the psalm. Another point—'im, which often denotes "like," is in all probability a genuine correction of the first *liphnē* of 17*b*.

7*bβ*. 'Ad *bēlī yareah*, for which there is obviously no room in vs. 7, must originally have been a marginal gloss on *liphnē yareah* of vs. 5.

9. the Ethiopians] Read, with Gr., Aq., Sym., and Hier., כוֹשִׁיִּים.

lick the dust of his feet] Either 'aphar is a case of ellipsis, the qualifying genitive *raglāw* being omitted, or in accordance with Isa. 49:23 'āphar *raglāw* is to be read. The expression, like the related one, "Kiss the ground," in Ps. 2:12, means to kiss the ground in front of the ruler's feet, that is, to do obeisance unto him.

10. *Tartessus* (biblical *Tarshish*) is the name of the ancient Phoenician colony on the southwest coast of Spain.

Sheba] Since *Seba* is identical with *Sheba*, as among others Zimmern has pointed out (in Ges.-Buhl [14th ed.], s.v. *Sēba*'), it is clear that *Sēbā*' is to be omitted as a later addition.

15*a*. And give] Read יִרְתְּנִי.

17*a*. Praised be his name] After *shēmō*, as Gr. shows, the text originally read *mēbōrak*. From this it is obvious that these words are not an original part of the rest of vs. 17 but a variant of *barūk shem kēbōdō* of the doxology, added originally in the margin, whence in the next copy they were mechanically joined to vs. 17.

PSALM 67

*

- 2 May God have mercy on us and bless us,
May he cause his face to shine upon us,
- 3 That his way may be known on earth,
His salvation among all nations.
- 4 The people will praise thee, O God,
All the people will praise thee,
- 5 The nations will rejoice and burst into song,
When thou judgest the world righteously
And governest the races of the earth with justice.
- 7*a* Then will the earth yield her produce. . . .

* 1. For the Hymnal. For Strings. A Psalm. A Song.

- 6 People will praise God,
All the people will praise thee.
7b May the Almighty our God bless us,
8 May God bless us,
And may all the ends of the earth fear him.

Because the prophetic perfect of verse 7a, correctly rendered by the Authorized Version, has been mistaken for a past tense, the psalm is generally interpreted as a harvest psalm, whereas in reality it is an eschatological hymn from first to last. In terms borrowed from the priestly blessing, the singer or rather the assembled people ask for God's blessing and abruptly give their petition a broader import, praying for the establishment of God's universal kingdom, when righteousness will reign in the world, and the earth be transformed into a vale of blessing. The psalm does not rank high poetically. Nor does it contain any clue to its date aside from the established fact that it is post-Exilic.

3. *his way . . . His salvation*] Read, with two MSS, לְדַרְכּוֹ and, with Syr., לְדַרְכּוֹ (Buhl-Kittel and others).

5. *the world righteously . . . with justice*] Read, with Gr. S, חֲבֵל בַּצְדָק, and transpose *mishōr* after *ba'areš* (Duhm and others). *Mishōr* is an adverbial accusative.

7a. It follows from their content that 7a must originally have followed vs. 5. There seems to be a gap at the end of 7a: the thought expressed in it calls for further development.

PSALM 75

*

- 2 We give praise unto thee, O God:
They that invoke thy name recount thy wonders.
.
.
.
3 When I find the time ripe, I will judge uprightly:
11 I will clip the horns of the wicked,
But the horn of the righteous will be exalted.
4 Though the earth and its inhabitants be dissolved,
Yet I have set firm its pillars.

* 1. For the Hymnal. 'Al tashheth. A Psalm of Asaph. A Song.

- 5a I say to the scoffers, scoff not,
 5b, 6a And to the wicked, exalt not your horn,
 6b Nor speak ye with wanton arrogance.
 7 For not from the sunrise nor from the sunset,
 Nor yet from a wilderness of mountains will help come.
 8 Nay, God will be the dispenser of justice:
 Some will he humble, others he will exalt.
 9 For there is a cup in the hand of God
 With foaming wine, well mixed,
 And he pours from it and hands it round:
 But the wicked of the earth must drain the lees,
 10 While I will forever rejoice
 And sing the praise of the God of Jacob.

There is clearly a gap between verses 2 and 3 which cannot be bridged over by any art or finesse of interpretation. Nor can verse 11 be in its proper place. Being a part of the words represented as spoken by God, it must originally have followed verse 3, as Olshausen has recognized. Those who defend its present position either have arbitrarily emended the first person of "I will clip" to the third or forcedly interpreted the verse as the psalmist's own words.

The psalm centers in the line,

When I find the time ripe, I will judge uprightly.

It expresses, in different words, the same conviction as Hab. 2:3:

It is yet a vision of the future,
 But it shall speak²⁸⁵ in the end, and not lie.
 Though it tarry, wait for it:
 It will surely come, without fail.

Though living, like Habakkuk, in a world of moral chaos and spiritual confusion, the author of Psalm 75 affirms that God has established the world on a moral order:

Though the earth and its inhabitants be dissolved,
 Yet I have set firm its pillars,

²⁸⁵ Cf. the expression *yaphiah kēšabim*, "speak lies," occurring six times in Proverbs.

he lets God declare. When the time is ripe, he is convinced, God will redress all wrong and bring about the reign of righteousness on earth.

The lines,

For not from the sunrise nor from the sunset,
Nor yet from a wilderness of mountains will help come,

are mystifying on first sight. But when it is remembered what prominence sun worship occupied in antiquity—that from the seventh century on it gained ever increasing sway over the minds of men and, furthermore, that the cult centered in the adoration of the rising sun—then it is clear that in the first of these lines the author admonishes the men of his time to renounce their trust in this phantom deity. The second line is elucidated by the parallel thought in Ps. 121:1-2. As the psalmist there declares that when he lifts up his eyes to the hills—the eternal hills which throughout the ages have been relied upon as bulwarks and havens of refuge—even they remain mute to his anxious query, “Where shall help come from?” and that he can see only one avenue of hope—God. Even so does the writer of Psalm 75 here tell his downtrodden fellow-men that even the most formidable bulwark provided by nature cannot rescue them from their oppressors—help and freedom can come for them only from God. Note that the second line is an example of elliptical sentence structure, “will help come” being omitted in the Hebrew for rhetorical effect.

Likewise verse 9 has generally been misinterpreted. The entire verse has been taken as describing in metaphorical language God’s judicial wrath which the wicked will be made to suffer when he holds reckoning. Some have even gone so far as to maintain that at the bottom of the figure was the mythological notion of a magic potion resorted to by the deity as a means of venting his wrath with terrifying effect. The interpreters have overlooked, first, that “cup” or “cup of wine” used figuratively is equivocal, as may be seen from the expression “My cup overfloweth” (Ps. 23:6), or “Lift up the cup of salvation” (116B:13), or “The Lord is my portion, the cup allotted to me” (16:5), and that, wherever it has a meaning contrary to

that of these examples, it is because it is duly qualified by the attributives with which it is used—such as “the wine that staggers” (Ps. 60A:5), or “the cup that staggers” (Isa. 51:17, 22; Zech. 12:2), or “the cup of the wine of fury” (Jer. 25:15), or “the cup of my” or “his fury” (Isa. 51:17, 22; and also Job 21:20), or “the cup of terror and dismay” (Ezek. 23:33); or it is characterized by the description of its baneful effect, as in Hab. 2:16, Lam. 4:21, and Jer. 25:27–28.²⁸⁶ In the second place, the interpreters have failed to see that the tone and language of lines 1–3 of verse 9 show that in these lines the poet speaks of a gracious act on the part of God, and that, on the other hand, the “but,” with which he introduces the last line, indicates that in this line he is telling how God will deal with the wicked. All this harmonizes with the line that precedes,

Some will he humble, others will he exalt,

from which one expects the poet to go on to expatiate on the one act of God as well as on the other. In brief, a twofold figure is employed in verse 9:

For there is a cup in the hand of God
With foaming wine, well mixed,
And he pours from it and hands it round

describes the reward which he will accord to the good; and “But the wicked of the earth must drain the lees” describes the retribution which he will mete out to the wicked.

No definite conclusion can be reached with regard to the date of the psalm. Because of the similarity between verse 3 and Hab. 2:3, pre-Exilic origin might be argued. However, the general tone of the psalm seems to point to post-Exilic environment.

2. *They that invoke thy name*] Read, with Syr. and different word division, וְקִרְאֵי בִשְׁׁ (Dyserinck and others). The present obscure text was caused primarily by the fact that *qōrē'ē* was written phonetically, without the silent 'aleph, which in its turn caused the erroneous word division.

4. *Though*] The participial clause 4a expresses concession.

²⁸⁶ Jer. 49:12 cannot be referred to as an exception to the rule, since critics are agreed that it is the addition of an interpolator who in the thoughtless manner typical of the plagiarist copied Jer. 25:28–29.

5b, 6a, 6b. *Exalt not your horn or Lift not up your horn triumphantly*] In the course of transmission *lammarôm* and the suffix of *qeren* were omitted from 5b, and, with 'al *tarimû* prefixed to them as a cûc, the omitted word and the correction *qarnêkêm* were put in the lateral margin opposite the text line, whence in the next copy they were with the cue joined mechanically to the defective line. *Lammarôm* is not the objective of *tarimû* but an adverbial complement intensifying the verb: cf. the note on Ps. 7:8.

with wanton arrogance seems to me to be the nearest equivalent for the Hebrew idiom *bêšawwâ'r'athaq*.

9. *With foaming wine*] *Ĥamar* is a relative clause of the type of 'enôsh *yamûth*, "mortal man," Isa. 51:12.

he pours from it and hands it round] After *mizzê* read, with Gr., אל זדה (Graetz and others).

10. *I will rejoice*] Read, with Gr., אגיל (Wellhausen and others).

PSALM 2

- 1 Why do the heathen rage?
Why do the nations imagine vain things?
- 2 The kings of the earth rise up,
The rulers all conspire against the Lord and against his
anointed, saying:
- 3 Let us break the shackles,
Cast off the fetters they have forged for us.
- 4 He that is enthroned in heaven laughs,
The Lord mocks at them;
- 5 Presently he will speak to them in anger,
Confound them in his wrath:
- 6 Know that I have set up my king
As ruler over Zion, my holy mountain.
- 7 Let me speak of the decree of the Lord:
To me he will say,
Thou art my son,
This day have I given birth to thee.
- 8 Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations as a heritage,
Will make thy domain to reach unto the ends of the
earth.
- 9 Thou shalt crush them with an iron rod,
Smash them like earthenware.

- 10 Wherefore, ye kings, be wise;
Take heed, ye rulers of the earth.
- 11 Worship the Lord with fear
And hail him with trembling:
- 12 Kiss the ground lest he be angry,
And ye suffer ruin in your course,
For his wrath may soon be kindled.
Blessed are all that take refuge in him.

The description given in the psalm of the kings and nations of the earth as rising up in revolt against God and his anointed ruler in Zion does not relate a real situation but is visionary, for at no time of its history did Israel enjoy world-dominion. It only dreamed of it. This fond dream for world-power, we have seen, took hold of the minds of the people early in pre-Exilic times, centuries before the rise of spiritual prophecy, and, though assailed by Amos and his successors as a blind illusion, it was relished by Ezekiel and his Exilic and post-Exilic followers, with whom the author of Psalm 2 is to be classed. His description of the revolt of the kings and nations of the earth against God and his future Messiah he seems to have modeled after Ezekiel's prophecy (chaps. 38-39) of the attack the nations of the North, led by Gog of Magog, will make on Jerusalem, after Israel has been re-established in its land. Note that the words, "Why do the heathen rage?" with which he begins, recall the figure which Ezekiel employs in describing Gog of Magog's attack: "Like a storm thou shalt come up" and "In that day a great storm shall sweep over the land of Israel" (38:9, 19). Further, the lines,

He will speak to them in anger,
Confound them in his wrath,

bear resemblance to the words, "in that day when Gog will come against the land of Israel, my nostrils will fume with wrath, and I shall speak in my indignation and in hot anger."²⁸⁷ Finally, as Ezekiel predicts that the hosts of Gog will meet with annihilation at the hand of Yahweh, so does the writer of Psalm

²⁸⁷ Ezek. 38:18-19.

2 represent God as empowering the future Messiah to "crush the nations with an iron rod," to "smash them like earthenware." When he follows this mandate from God to the Messiah with an admonition to the rulers to take heed and "worship the Lord," he shows the same lack of all sense of humor as Ezekiel does when he concludes the prophecy of the annihilation of the hosts of Gog with the words, represented as spoken by God, "Thus will I manifest my greatness and my sanctity and make myself known to many nations, that they may know that I am the Lord," or when he ends the predictions (chaps. 25-30) that for the sake of Israel's future safety the surrounding nations shall be destroyed with the words, "Then shall they know that I am the Lord." Spiritually Psalm 2 is on a par with these prophecies of Ezekiel—narrow-souled and void of vision.

The words, "Thou art my son," find their explanation in such parallels as Ps. 89B:27-28, "He shall invoke me, 'Thou my father, My God, and rock of my salvation,' And I will set him up like a firstborn," and II Sam. 7:14, "I will be his father, and he shall be my son." Psalm 89B makes it plain that David was believed to have entered into such relationship with God at the time of, or by virtue of, his coronation by God as ruler over his people. Even so does Psalm 2 by the words, "This day have I given birth to thee," make clear that not by descent but by God's recognizing him as Messiah is the future ruler God's son. From its dependence upon Ezekiel and the further fact that there is not the remotest allusion in it to Exilic conditions it follows that the psalm is post-Exilic.

3. *the fetters they have forged*] The pronominal suffixes of *môthêrôthēmō* and *'dbothēmō* function as subjective genitives.

5. *Presently*] As in Mic. 3:4; Isa. 35:5-6, and 60:5, 'āz is used with reference to the immediate future.

6. *Know that I have set up . . . as ruler*] By the circumlocution *Know that* I have tried to bring out the meaning of the circumstantial clause *wa'ani*, etc. *Nasaktī* is a denominative verb from *nasik*, "prince."

7. *he will say*] 'Amar is a prophetic perfect.

11. *hail him*] Read, with Gr., and Syr., ܠܐ after *gīlū*; similarly *harī'ū*, construed with *le personae*, means *hail*: cf. Ps. 98:4.

12. *Kiss the ground*] The context shows that in *nashqū bar* we have the Hebrew equivalent of Assyrian *nushshuku kaḫḫara*, as Haupt has pointed

out.²⁸⁸ The phrase means to kiss the ground in front of the ruler's feet, which is to say, to do obeisance to him. This was the common practice also in ancient Egypt.²⁸⁹ This ancient practice is doubtless also at bottom of our present-day expression, "to worship the ground he or she walks on." *Bar*, denoting "ground" or "land" is not an Aramaism but a common Semitic word, it occurs again in Job 39:4, where it connotes "the open country."

in your course] *Derek* is an accusative of specification.

PSALM 110

- 1 **The Lord says to my sire,
Sit thou at my right hand
That at last I may make thine enemies thy footstool;**
- 2b **Rule thou over thine enemies' territory.**
- 2a **The Lord will make thy royal power to reach far beyond
Zion.**
- 3 **Thy people will give their service freely
On the day thou musterest thine army in holy attire.
Thou hast the dew of thy youth out of the bosom of the
dawn.**
- 4 **The Lord has sworn—
And he will not go back on his oath—
That thou shalt be priest forever
After the manner of Melchisedek.**
- 5 **The Lord at thy right hand
Will crush kings on the day of his wrath:**
- 6 **He will sit in judgment over the nations,
Fill the battlefield with dead bodies;
He will crush chiefs over the wide earth.**
- 7 **. . . . From the brook by the wayside will he drink.
Therefore will he be victorious.**
-

This commonly overrated psalm, into which far more has been read than it really says, is in essence but another exposition of the wild dream for world-power. The first part bears close resemblance in thought to Psalm 2, while the second part

²⁸⁸ *ATSL*, XIX, 134.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Erman-Ranke, *Aegypten und aegypt. Leben* (Tübingen, 1923), p. 82.

* Of David. A Psalm.

touches chords strikingly similar to those in Isa. 63:1-6. As in Psalm 2, the poet's sire is not a historical king but a visionary figure—the Messiah of his dreams. Having a crude idea of God, he hears God not only tell the Messiah to sit at God's right hand but also promise him world-dominion, yea, promise him that he will fight at his side to vanquish his enemies and bring the world under his power. The thread of narration is suddenly broken off at the end of verse 3, to mention a promise of another type which God makes to the Messiah but is taken up again in verses 5-6. In these verses the psalmist relates with delight that when "on the day of his wrath" the Lord crushes kings and peoples over the wide earth, filling the battlefield with their dead bodies, "He will sit in judgment over the nations"; and does it in much the same strain as the author of the vision, Isa. 63:1-6, describes God's execution of judgment on the heathen nations:

"I will tread²⁹⁰ the winepress, I alone, . . . I will tread them in my wrath and trample them in fury. . . . For the day of vengeance is in my mind and the year of my redemption²⁹¹ is come. As I see no helper, my own arm shall help me, my wrath shall uphold me. I will trample the nations in my wrath, smash them²⁹² in fury, and spill their blood upon the earth.

There is a gap at the end of verse 6, many critics are agreed; some lines must have been lost. This being the case, it is futile to speculate about what the line, "From the brook of the way-side will he drink" means. The promise made in verse 4, "Thou shalt be priest forever after the manner of Melchisedek," is but loosely connected with the rest of the psalm. Either it was added later as an afterthought or, if we had the complete psalm, what now seems incoherent might be found to be coherent. Since the ancient story, Genesis, chapter 14,²⁹³ tells us that Melchisedek, king of Salem, that is, Jerusalem, was a priest of God Most High, the promise implies that priesthood and royalty shall be united in the person of the Messiah, as it was in the ancient priest-king in Salem.

²⁹⁰ *Darakī* of vs. 2 and *sēmakathnī* of vs. 5 are prophetic perfects, as the imperfects which follow show.

²⁹¹ *Gē'ūlai* is an abstract substantive, like *pēdūyīm*.

²⁹² Read, with many MSS, *wa'dshabbērēm*.

²⁹³ See above p. 58.

The significance of the words, "Sit thou at my right hand," is elucidated by the custom in vogue at the court of the Lakhmid kings of pre-Islamic Arabia. There, as Rosenmüller has pointed out, the *ridf* or viceroy sat at the right hand of the king and took precedence next to him. It will thus be seen that by these words the same idea is conveyed as is in Psalm 2 by Yahweh's recognizing the Messiah as son. The words, "I will make thine enemies thy footstool" is a figure for "I will surrender them to thy power." The figure was not coined by the author of the psalm but belongs to the stock of common Semitic phrases, the earliest example of it being found in the el-Amarna letters: among these there is one in which Rib-Addi, governor of Gebal (Byblus), writing to Amenhotep IV, says: "Behold, I am the footstool of my lord and king—thy loyal servant."²⁹⁴

From the close relationship between Psalm 110 and Psalm 2 and Isa. 63:1–6 it follows that it is post-Exilic; it seems to have been written later than either of these pieces.

1. *That at last*] *Ad* functions as an adverb.

3. The translation of vs. 3 is only offered tentatively. If *merehem mishhar* is correct, *mem* of *mishhar* is either to be omitted as dittography of the final *mem* of the preceding word or *mishshahar* is to be read and *min* to be taken as explicative *min*: cf. above, p. 228, n. 16.

4. *on his oath*] Cf. the note on Ps. 15:4.

5, 6. *Will crush*] *Maḥaṣ* of both verses is prophetic perfect.

Fill the battlefield] Read, with Aq., Sym., and Hier., מלחמה after *gewīyōth*, and instead of *malē* read *millē*, which is construed with a double accusative. *chiefs*] Read, with one MS, *rā'shē*.

²⁹⁴ *El-Amarna Tafeln* (ed. Knudtzon), No. 84, l. 4.

VIII. PSALMS OF UNCERTAIN DATE

A. PRE-EXILIC PSALMS

I. LITURGICAL HYMNS

PSALM 100

A PSALM OF THANKSGIVING

- 1 Sing aloud unto the Lord, all ye people of the land,
- 2 Serve the Lord with joy,
Come into his presence with song,
- 3 Know that the Lord is God:
He has made us, and we are his—
His people and the flock of his pasture.
- 4 Enter his gates with thanksgiving,
His courts with praise.
Give thanks unto him and extol his name,
- 5 For the Lord is good; his love is everlasting,
And his faithfulness endures through generations.

This hymn, it may be inferred from the opening line, was sung on the festivals of the year in the sanctuaries of the country, whither the people had come from all parts of the land. The fact that it is an ancient liturgical hymn lends significance to the declaration with which it ends,

The Lord is good; his love is everlasting,

inasmuch as together with Psalms 57B/60B and 89A, it shows what a familiar idea "God is love" was in pre-Exilic Israel, long before the rise of spiritual prophecy. The hymn praises God as the shepherd of his people.

1. *all ye people of the land*] This and not "all the earth" or "all the world" is the meaning of *kol ha'areš*, as the words, "We are his people and the flock of his pasture," show. Cf. I Sam. 14:25, *wəkol ha'areš bā'ū*, "And all they of the land came."

3. *we are his*] As in a number of instances *lō* is spelled with 'aleph instead of with waw: in the present instance, the misspelling was recognized, as the Qērē, Aq., Hier., and Targ. show.

PSALM 95

- 1 Come, let us sing to the Lord,
Let us sing aloud to the rock of our salvation.
- 2 Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving,
Let us sing to him to the music of stringed instruments:
- 3 For the Lord is a great God,
A great King transcending all the gods.
- 4 In his hand are the depths of the earth;
The lofty mountains are his also.
- 5 The sea is his, he made it,
His hand formed the dry land.
- 6 Come, let us worship him,
Let us bow down* before the Lord, our Maker,
- 7 For he is our God, and we are his people,
The flock of his pasture.
- Oh, that today ye might hearken to my voice!
- 8 Harden not your hearts as at Meribah,
And as in the day of Massah in the wilderness,
- 9 When your fathers tried and tested me,
Even though they saw my work.
- 10 For forty years I loathed that generation,
And said, It is a people that do err in their hearts
And care not for my ways.
- 11 Wherefore I swore in my anger
That they should not enter into my land of rest.

The hymn falls into two parts, the first being verses 1-7a and the second, verses 7b-11. In the first God is praised as the shepherd of Israel in words but slightly modified from the corresponding praise of the preceding hymn. He is glorified also as the Creator and Lord of the universe. In the second part, which in purport is related to the middle part of Psalm 78, the people are admonished not to persist in the ancient sin of their fathers in the wilderness, who, though seeing God's wondrous work, had no faith in him and cared not for his ways. It is

* Variant: *Let us kneel.*

impossible to know what the particular occasion of the warning may have been, for the hymn throws no light on this point, and furthermore we know that the source material of pre-Exilic history is very incomplete. A possible occasion might have been the reform measures of Asa told of in II Kings 15:12-13 and II Chron. 15:8-12, 16.

7. *his people, the flock of his pasture*] With one MS, Syr., and Ps. 100:3, read וְרֵעֵהוּ and transpose *mar'ithō* after *wəšō'n* (Buhl-Kittel and others). Omit, with Syr., *yadō* as a later addition made after *mar'ithō* had been misplaced before *wəšō'n*.

9. *Even though*] *Gam* is a concessive conjunction, as again in Isa. 49:15b.

10. *that generation*] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Hier., בְּדֹרֹתָם 'בֶּדֶר' (Bickell and others).

11. *my land of rest*] *Mēnūḥathī* is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun '*ereš*' being omitted: the ellipsis occurs again in Deut. 12:9.

PSALM 114

- 1 When Israel went out of Egypt,
 When the house of Jacob escaped from a barbarous
 people,
- 2 Judah became his sanctuary,*
 Israel the domain of the Lord.
- 3 The sea saw him and fled,
 The Jordan turned back;
- 4 The mountains leaped like rams,
 The hills like lambs.
- 5 What possessed thee, O sea, to flee,
 And thee, O Jordan, to turn back?
- 6 What caused you, O mountains, to leap like rams,
 And you, O hills, to skip like lambs?
- 7 At the presence of the Lord the earth trembled,
 At the presence of the God of Jacob,
- 8 Who turned the rock into a pool of water
 And hard flint into flowing springs.

It is generally agreed that this hymn is a poem of great beauty and dramatic force. However, it seems to be only the first part

* Or *his holy nation*.

of an originally longer poem which treated the Exodus, the march through the desert, and the entry into Canaan and was composed for the Passover celebration. The opening lines of what is left describe the Exodus as the hour of the nation's birth, when Israel became Yahweh's people. From the words, "Judah became his holy nation, Israel the domain of the Lord," it follows that the psalm is pre-Exilic, having been written when Judah and Israel were the constituents of the nation.

1. *barbarous*] I use *barbarous* in its primary sense, which is "foreign" and is the meaning of *lō'ez*.

2. *the domain of the Lord*] Read 'בְּמִשְׁלַח, as Baethgen has emended: *yhwh* was written abbreviated, *yw*; and, not being recognized, it was erroneously joined as suffix to *memsheleth*. This reading is further supported by the fact that it provides by way of brachylogy the necessary object of *ra'ā* of the following verse. No contrast is intended between Judah and Israel by the term *godshō*, "his sanctuary," and *memsheleth 'ādōnai*, "the domain of the Lord"; rather the two terms are used as synonyms, equivalent to the use of *bēth 'ādōnai*, "the house of the Lord" (Hos. 8:1), as a designation of the land of Israel. Another possible explanation is that *godshō* is a case of ellipsis, the governing noun *gōy* being omitted; and, if this is the case, the rendering *his holy nation* is preferable.

7. *trembled*] Read, with the Versions, תַּחֲוִי. This reading is borne out further by the fact that vs. 7 obviously is the answer to the questions asked in vss. 5-6.

PSALM 136

Chorus

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Give thanks unto the Lord; | |
| He is good, | His love is everlasting. |
| 2 Give thanks to the God of gods, | His love is everlasting. |
| 3 Give thanks to the Lord of | |
| lords, | His love is everlasting. |
| 4 To him who alone does great | |
| things;* | His love is everlasting. |
| 5 To him who by his wisdom | |
| made the heavens; | His love is everlasting. |
| 6 To him who spread out the | |
| earth above the water; | His love is everlasting. |
| 7 To him who made the great | |
| lights, | His love is everlasting. |

* Variant: *wonders*

Chorus

8	The sun to rule by day,	His love is everlasting.
9	The moon and stars to rule by night;	His love is everlasting.
10	To him who smote the firstborn of Egypt,	His love is everlasting.
11	And brought out Israel,	His love is everlasting.
12	With strong hand and out- stretched arm;	His love is everlasting.
13	To him who divided the Red Sea,	His love is everlasting.
14	And led Israel across,	His love is everlasting.
15	But drove Pharaoh and his army into the Red Sea;	His love is everlasting.
16	To him who led his people through the desert;	His love is everlasting.
17	To him who smote great kings,	His love is everlasting.
18	And slew mighty rulers,	His love is everlasting.
19	Sihon, the king of the Amorites,	His love is everlasting.
20	And Og, the king of Bashan,	His love is everlasting.
21	And gave their land for a heri- tage,	His love is everlasting.
22	For a heritage unto Israel his servant;	His love is everlasting.
23	Who remembered us when we were lowly,	His love is everlasting.
24	And delivered us from our op- pressors;	His love is everlasting.
25	Who gives bread to all flesh:	His love is everlasting.
26	Give thanks to the God of heaven.	His love is everlasting.

This antiphonal psalm is another hymn composed for liturgical use, as its poetic form shows. Not only does it begin with the ancient liturgical formula, "Give thanks unto the Lord; he is good, his love is everlasting,"²⁹⁵ but, what is more impor-

²⁹⁵ See p. 683.

tant, the last line of the formula is repeated as a refrain in each following distich, forming its second stich. This peculiar form stamps the hymn as a litany: the refrain evidently was sung by the chorus as a response to the first line chanted by the solo singer.

Because of the recurrence of verses 17-22 in Ps. 135:10-12, the hymn is commonly considered to be a later composition than Psalm 135. This view, which is due to the fact that the critics have not properly analyzed the two psalms, is untenable. Psalm 135, as we shall see later, is largely pieced together by quotations from other writings, one of which is Psalm 136, whereas Psalm 136 is not a mosaic, even though by the nature of the case it has a number of phrases in common with other writings which have reference to the same things. Further, though it has no great literary merit, it reads well, and the lines are bound together in unity. Some of these phrases, such as "the God of gods, the Lord of lords," and those of verses 7-8, leave room for the question of whether priority of their usage is to be assigned to the composer of the hymn or to the writers of Deut. 10:17 and Gen. 1:16. But the main thing is that the subject of the hymn is God's wondrous deeds for Israel at the time of its birth—how with mighty arm he led his people out of Egypt and gave them the land of Canaan for a heritage. The brief sketch of the creation is but prefatory, as it were, to the theme proper. Since there is no allusion whatever to post-Exilic or Exilic conditions, it may safely be concluded that the psalm is pre-Exilic. It may well have been another part of the ancient Passover liturgy.

PSALM 105

- 1 Give thanks unto the Lord, proclaim his name,
Make known his deeds among the nations.
- 2 Sing unto him, sing praises unto him,
Tell all his wonders.
- 3 Glory in his holy name;
Glad be the hearts of them that seek the Lord.
- 4 Seek the Lord and his strength,

Seek his presence always.

- 5 Remember the marvelous things he has done,
His wonders and the judgments he has spoken,
6 O ye offspring of Abraham, his servant,
Ye sons of Jacob his chosen.

- 7 He is the Lord our God,
He governs all the world.

- 8 He remembers his covenant forever,
Yea, for a thousand generations he remembers the word
he decreed,

- 9 The covenant which he made with Abraham,
The pledge which he gave to Isaac,
10 And attested again to Jacob,
Unto Israel, as a promise eternal:
11 Unto you will I give the land of Canaan
To be your heritage.

- 12 When they were but few in number,
Yea, very few, and strangers in the land,
13 Wandering from nation to nation,
From one kingdom to another,
14 He suffered no man to wrong them,
But rebuked kings in their behalf,
15 Saying, Touch not my anointed ones,
Harm not my prophets.
16 He called down famine on the land,
He shattered the staff of life.
17 He sent a man to precede them,
Joseph, sold as slave.
18 His feet were bound with fetters,
He was put in irons.
19 Yet in the end God's word came to pass,
The word of the Lord who tested him.
20 The king sent and released him,
The ruler of peoples set him free.
21 He made him master of his palace,

- Governor of his domain
22 To dictate to his princes at will
And advise his elders.
- 23 Thus Israel came to Egypt,
Jacob dwelt in the land of Ham.
24 He multiplied his people
And made them outnumber their foes,
25 Whose hearts filled with hatred for his people,
So that they dealt with them treacherously.
26 He sent Moses his servant,
And Aaron, whom he had chosen.
27 He displayed his portents
And wonders through them in the land of Ham.
- 29 He turned their waters into blood
And killed their fish.
30 Their land swarmed with frogs;
They were in the chambers of the king.
31 He spoke, and there came swarms of flies,
Gnats all over their land.
32 He gave them hail for rain;
Lightning flashed throughout their land.
33 He smote their vines and fig trees,
And broke the trees of their country.
34 He spoke, and the locusts came,
And grasshoppers without number.
35 They ate up every herb in their land,
Ate up the produce of their soil.
28 He sent darkness, and darkness covered the land:
Still they rebelled against his word.
36 He slew all the firstborn of Egypt,
All their male firstborn.
- 43 Then led he forth his people rejoicing,
His chosen ones amid shouts of triumph:
37 He brought them out laden with silver and gold,

- There was no straggler in their ranks.
38 Egypt was glad at their leaving,
Being seized with fear of them.
39 He spread out a cloud to screen them,
And fire to light up the night.
40 They asked, and he brought quails,
And he fed them with heavenly bread.
41 He opened the rock, and water gushed forth,
Flowing like a river in the desert.
- 42 As he remembered his sacred promise,
Thought of Abraham, his servant,
44 He gave them the countries of nations,
And they fell heir to the fruit of others' toil,
45 So that they might keep his statutes
And heed his laws.
Praise ye the Lord.

The hymn glorifies God for the wonderful things he did for Israel. It tells, first, how God guided and protected the patriarchs as they were "wandering from nation to nation," then recites at length how, true to his covenant with them, he displayed his power in Egypt to enforce the freedom of their descendants, and how, on leading these forth from bondage, he satisfied their wants in the desert, and how, finally, he gave them the land of Canaan as their heritage, that they might keep his laws and statutes. In plan and purport the hymn differs radically from Psalm 106 and also from Psalm 78. Unlike these, it strikes no discordant note of any sort, whether of Israel's ungrateful waywardness and disobedience to God or of the adversities the people suffered in consequence. Even their demanding quails is referred to as a legitimate craving—a presentation differing not only from that of Pss. 106:14-15 and 78:26-31 but also from that of the Yahwistic story told in Numbers, chapter 11. Nor is there any allusion whatever to Exilic or post-Exilic conditions. The obvious conclusion from all this is that the hymn must be pre-Exilic. Verses 1-15 are

quoted in I Chron. 16:8-22 and crudely combined with Pss. 96 and 106:1, 47, 48, to provide an anthem for the occasion of David's conveyance of the Ark to Zion.

Neither verse 28 nor verse 43 can be in its original place. Since the second stich of the former forms a fitting transition to the last plague, related in verse 36, one may conclude that originally it preceded this verse, and since the latter tells the result of the plagues, it seems equally clear that it must have followed verse 36.

22. *To dictate*] Read, with Gr., Hier., and Syr., לִיטָר (Duhm and others).

27. *He displayed*] Read, with the Versions, sing. *sām* (Graetz and others) and omit *dibrē* as dittography.

30. *They were in the chambers of the king*] Read, with different word division, מִלֶּךְ הָם (Duhm and others).

28. *Still they rebelled*] Omit, with Gr., and Syr., *lō'* and read יִרְמִי (Hitzig and others).

37. *straggler*] Cf. Isa. 5:27, where *kōshel* occurs again with this meaning.

40. *They asked*] Read, with the Versions, plur. *sha'ālū*, which, as often, was written phonetically, without the final vowel letter.

2. DIDACTIC PSALMS

PSALM 127A

- 1* Unless the Lord build the house,
They labor in vain that build it.
Unless the Lord keep the city,
The watchman wakes but in vain.
- 2 In vain do ye rise up early
And stay up late,
To eat the bread of toil.
Verily, he gives his beloved sleep.

PSALM 127B

- 3 Truly, children are the gift of God,
The fruit of the womb is his reward.
- 4 As arrows in the hand of a mighty man,
So are the children of one's youth.

* Song of Ascent. Of Solomon.

- 5 Happy is the man who has his quiver full of them.
They will not be put to shame
When in court they speak with enemies.

PSALM 128

- 1† Blessed is every man who fears the Lord,
Who walks in his ways.
2 If thou livest by the labor of thy hands,
Thou wilt be happy, it will be well with thee:
3 Thy wife will be like a fruitful vine in thy home,
Thy children like olive plants round thy table.
4 The man that fears the Lord is blessed indeed.‡

PSALM 133

- 1§ Bliss and joy it is
If brethren live together in unity:
2a It is like precious oil upon the head,||
3 Like the dew of Hermon,
Which falls on the mountains of Zion.
Truly, such harmony the Lord has forever graced with
blessing.¶

These four psalms deal with the following subjects: 127A, the vanity of man's labors without God's blessing; 127B, children the gift of God; 128, fear of God and honest work the true pillars of the home; 133, the blessing of unity. Treating general truths, known by experience, these psalms may have been written at any time.

127A:2. *Verily*] As in Pss. 63:3 and 61:9, *kēn* is verbal adjective of *kūn*, used interjectionally.

128:4. *Indeed*] *Kēn* is another example of interjectional *kēn*, reinforced by *hinne*. Omit *kí*, with a number of MSS, Gr., Syr., and Hier.

† Song of Ascent.

‡ Vss. 5-6 belong to Psalm 134.

§ Song of Ascent. Of David.

|| Gloss: 2b-c *Which runs down the beard, Aaron's beard,
That flowed to the skirt of his robe.*

¶ *Life.*

5-6. These two verses have been misplaced into Psalm 128 from Psalm 134 (*q.v.*).

133:2*b-c*. This is the prosaic comment of a glossator, added originally in the margin.

B. POST-EXILIC PSALMS

1. PERSONAL PRAYERS

PSALM 25

- 1* My soul longs for thee, O Lord.
 2 O my God. . . .
 In thee do I trust, let me not be put to shame:
 Let not mine enemies triumph over me.
 3 Surely, none that wait for thee will be shamed;
 The loose and faithless, they will suffer shame.
 4 Show me thy ways, O Lord,
 Teach me thy paths.
 5 Lead me in thy truth,
 For thou art the God of my salvation:-
 For thee do I wait all the time.
 6 Think, O Lord, of thy love and compassion,
 Unfailing through the ages.
 7*a-b* Think not of the sins of my youth
 Nor of my transgressions;
 According to thy love remember thou me.
 8 Good and upright is the Lord,
 Wherefore he shows sinners the way.
 9 He leads the humble in the right path,
 He teaches them his way.
 10 All the ways of the Lord are love and truth
 For such as keep his covenant and commands.
 7*c-11* For thy goodness' sake,† O Lord, forgive mine iniquity,
 Great though it be.
 12 God shows the way to choose
 To him that reveres him—whoever he be.

* Of David.

† 11*a* For thy name's sake.

- 13 His soul will find happiness;
His offspring will inherit the land.
- 14 Converse with God is had by those that revere him:
To them alone does he reveal his covenant.
- 15 Mine eyes are ever toward the Lord,
That he loose my feet from the snare.
- 16 Look upon me and have mercy;
I am lonely and wretched.
- 17 Give my heart pause from sorrow,
Oh, deliver me from mine agonies.
- 18 Heed my misery and wretchedness,
And forgive all my sins.
- 19 Consider how many are mine enemies,
How violently they hate me.
- 20 Guard my soul and deliver me.
Let me not suffer shame: I put my trust in thee.
- 21 Let innocence and uprightness be my safeguard.
Yea, in thee I rest my hope.
- 22 Redeem thou Israel, O God, from all its troubles.

The psalm is a profound, spiritual prayer. The singer is weighed down by the consciousness of his sinfulness, but trusting in the love of God, who is ever ready to "show sinners the way," he prays for his forgiveness and guidance that he may be able to live the good life—a life in harmony with God. Though Psalm 25 does not deal with the question of retribution, indirectly it bears on it and brings out a viewpoint which shows the influence of the Job drama and Psalm 73. Note especially the lines,

God shows the way to choose
To him that reveres him—whoever he be.
His soul will find happiness,

which lend point to the lines with which the psalm concludes,

Let innocence and uprightness be my safeguard.
Yea, in thee I rest my hope.

As another evidence of this influence note the words, "Think not of the sins of my youth," which in all probability were suggested by Job 13:26, "Thou makest me suffer for the transgressions of my youth." The psalm shows relationship also to Psalm 130, while the lines,

All the ways of the Lord are love and truth
For such as keep his covenant and commands;
... Converse with God is had by those that revere him:
To them alone does he reveal his covenant,

express the same profound truth as Ps. 36B:11. They are also elucidated by Ps. 18:26-27.

Its relationship with these psalms shows that Psalm 25 is post-Exilic, and from the fact that Job and Psalm 73 had influence on the author it follows that it was written later than 400 B.C. The conclusion reached is further confirmed by the last strophe, which stamps the prayer as a product of post-Exilic atmosphere. The psalm is an alphabetic acrostic; this fact, analysis shows, proved no drawback to the poet's skill. The supernumerary pe verse with which it now ends, critics are agreed, is not original but was added later when the psalm was adopted for liturgical purposes.

2. *O my God* is all that has been left of the second stich of the aleph distich. The beth distich begins with *baḥaṭī*.

The loose Vocalize *rēqīm* which, being written defectively, was misread by the Massoretes: cf. II Chron. 13:7, 'ānāshīm *rēqīm bēnē bēliya'al*, "loose, worthless men." The reading *reqām* is meaningless.

5. Omit *wēlammēdenī* as dittography (Ewald and others).

6. *Unfailing through the ages* *Ki me'ōlām hēma* is not an independent sentence but a complementary object of *zēkor*: cf. vs. 19a, which is another such example, and also Exod. 32:25, *wayyar m. 'eth ha'am ki parū'a hēma*, "Moses saw the people had become unruly."

9. *He leads . . . teaches* *Yadrek* and *yēlammēd* are imperfects of reiterated action.

7c, 11. *For thy goodness' sake* has no point in vs. 7, being a pleonasm after "According to thy love remember thou me." Obviously it is a variant, or rather a correction, of *For thy name's sake* of vs. 11a made originally in the margin and joined, at random, to vs. 7 in the next copy.

Great though it be *Ki* functions as concessive particle.

14. *To them alone does he reveal* Neither is the text incomplete nor does it call for emendation: *lēhōdī'ām* is an emphatic infinitive, having a force similar to that of Ps. 104:21b.

17. *Give my heart pause from sorrow* Read *וַיִּרְתַּב* and join *ū* to the following word (Ewald and others).

PSALM 101

- 1* Of love and justice will I sing,
Of thee, O Lord, I will sing.
2b Oh, when wilt thou come to me?
2a I will give heed to upright conduct,
Will live in my home in innocence of heart.
3 I will not keep mine eyes on anything base;
Profligate conduct is hateful to me,
It shall not lay hold on me.
4 A crooked heart shall be far from me;
I will not know evil.

God Speaks:

- 5 I will undo the man
Who secretly maligns his neighbor.
I cannot suffer haughty looks or a proud heart.
6a Mine eye is on the faithful of the land;
They may dwell with me.
97:10a Whosoever will love God must hate evil;
101:6b He who walks in a perfect way serves me.
7 He who works deceit cannot dwell in my house,
He who tells lies cannot endure in my presence.
8 Morning by morning will I crush the wicked of the
land,
I will root out all workers of iniquity from the city of
God.

The first part of this noble psalm is another personal prayer of a highly spiritual type. Proof of this are the words,

Oh, when wilt thou come to me?

They lay bare the inmost soul of the singer—his fervid longing for a life of conscious fellowship with God. Equally significant are the lines of simple beauty which introduce the prayer:

Of love and justice will I sing,
Of thee, O Lord, I will sing.

They express the profound prophetic thought that man can know of God only through love and goodness within himself—therein does God reveal himself. Realizing this, the singer goes on to vow that he will satisfy the longing of his soul, will let God enter into his heart, by aspiring after the good life—the life divine.

The second part of the psalm, which may have been introduced by some such simple words as “God speaks,” gives God’s answer to the singer’s vow. He assures him,

Mine eye is on the faithful of the land;
They may dwell with me.
. . . He who walks in a perfect way serves me.

He also tells him that the workers of iniquity will not be tolerated in the city of God—the future perfect society.

Properly analyzed, the psalm leaves no room for the widely held view that it is “a mirror for rulers.” The words, “He . . . serves me” and “He . . . cannot endure in my presence,” admit of no other interpretation than that they are put in the mouth of God. The lines,

He who works deceit cannot dwell in my house,
He who tells lies cannot endure in my presence,

are a parallel thought to

The evil man dare not seek refuge with thee,
The impious cannot endure thy presence,

of Ps. 5:5-6; and, like these verses, they are elucidated by Job 13:14; 27:7-10; 31:2-3, and also by Ps. 73:17-20, in which the truth common to both passages is treated in great fulness. The line 97:10a, which is a foreign element in that psalm, fits so well in Psalm 101 that it may be concluded that it was misplaced from it into Psalm 97 in the course of transmission.

6a. *They may dwell*] *Lashebeth* is an emphatic infinitive similar to that of Ps. 25:14.

97:10a. *will love . . . must hate*] Read, with some MSS and Syr., **וְיִשְׂכְּנוּ** : both participles have potential force.

PSALM 26

- 1 * Give me justice, O Lord,
For I walk in uprightness,
And I trust in God steadfastly.
- 2 Try me, O Lord, and test me,
Prove my heart and mind.
- 3 Thy love is ever present before mine eyes,
And I walk in thy truth.
- 4 I do not sit in the company of false men,
Nor associate with hypocrites.
- 5 I hate the society of evildoers,
And hold aloof from the wicked.
- 6 I will wash my hands in innocence:
So will I walk round thy altar,
7 Proclaiming thanksgiving
And telling all thy wondrous works.
- 8 I love, O Lord, the house where thou dwellest,
The place where thy glory resides.
- 9 Gather not my soul with sinners,
Nor take my life with men of bloodguilt,
- 10 Whose hands reek with wickedness,
Whose right hand is full of craft.
- 11 But I will walk in uprightness.
Redeem me and be gracious unto me.
- 12 May my foot be planted on level ground.
In the assembly will I praise the Lord.

Though the ideas uttered in the psalm are sound, there is something vital lacking. It has neither the fervor of the two preceding prayers nor does it even ring so true as they. It leaves one cold: one doubts whether the author deeply felt all that he said. To illustrate by one example, note the difference in feeling between

Try me, O Lord, and test me,
Prove my heart and mind,

* Of David.

and the similar plea in Psalm 17,

Shouldst thou try my heart,
Shouldst thou search me in the night,
Probe my conduct as a man,
Thou wilt not find me scheming evil.

12. *May my foot be planted*] 'Amēda is precative perfect, as the imperatives which precede show.

on level ground] The expression *bēmishōr* is altogether distinct from *lamerḥab* and *bamerḥab* of Pss. 18:20; 31:9; and 118:5: for its explanation see p. 598.

PSALM 41

*

- 2 Blessed the man who is mindful of the poor.
In the day of evil the Lord will deliver him;
- 3a He will watch over him and keep him alive,
- 3c And he will not abandon him to the desire of his enemies:
- 3b Happiness is assured to him on earth.
- 4 The Lord will sustain him on his sickbed,
He will restore him to health.
- 5 I speak, O Lord, have mercy upon me,
Heal me, though I have sinned against thee.
- 6 Mine enemies wish me ill, saying,
When will he die and his name perish?
- 7 When one of them comes to see me, he feigns sympathy,
While in his heart he stores up evil,
And departing, calls it down upon me.
- 8 Mine adversaries curse me, one and all,
They scheme for my ruin:
- 9 They invoke a miserable end upon me,
And say, Now that he is stricken may he rise nevermore.
- 10 Even my friend in whom I trusted,
Who ate bread with me,
Has lifted up his heel against me.
- 11 Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me,
And raise me up that I may requite them.

* 1. For the Hymnal. A Psalm of David.

- 12 When mine enemy can no longer triumph over me,
I shall know that thou delightest in me.
13 Uphold me in mine innocence,
And let me stand in thy presence forever.

DOXOLOGY OF THE FIRST BOOK

- 14 Praised be the Lord, the God of Israel, through all the ages!
Amen! Amen!

It seems to me doubtful that verses 2-4 are prefatory to verses 5-13, the prayer proper, and constitute a whole with it. I rather think that originally they were a separate psalm, a didactic poem on the reward of charity, which was combined with the prayer by later editors, because it expresses the view that a man who has sympathy with his fellow-men in distress may rely on God's compassion when he is stricken with sickness.

In verses 5-13 a dangerously sick man prays for recovery. The important feature of the prayer is the story interwoven with it of what this man in his affliction has to suffer at the hand of his fellow-men—including his bosom friend. To understand the cruel story one must remember that in those days, as the Job drama tells us, disease or other human calamity was looked upon as a sure sign of God's wrath incurred by the sufferer for grave sin. Job, who had been revered far and wide as a paragon of righteousness, when stricken by a terrible disease was universally regarded as a guilty outcast, singled out by God for punishment. He was loathed and reviled by friend and foe alike, his intimate friends of old vying with the rabble in maligning him and wishing him a miserable end. The author of Psalm 41 has not obtained the spiritual insight which enabled the hero of the Job drama to dissociate prosperity and adversity from righteous and unrighteous living, respectively; accordingly he prays that God vindicate him by restoring him to health and so make him triumph over his enemies.

Of the lines,

While in his heart he stores up evil,
And departing, calls it down upon me,

which have been generally misinterpreted, the first is elucidated by a Babylonian magic text of the Maklu series, which reads:

Who art thou, sorceress, who in her heart stores up against
me an evil word,
Upon whose tongue my ruin has been hatched;²⁹⁶

while the significance of the second is made clear by the importance attributed to the actual pronouncing of the charm or curse. It was universally thought in those days that the mere wishing a person evil in one's mind was comparatively harmless, that vocal utterance was necessary before a charm or malediction could take effect. Note that this notion is illustrated also by the second line of the Babylonian magic text quoted above. It also explains the language of

They invoke a miserable end upon me—

another line which has generally been misunderstood. The meaning "They invoke" of *yaṣūqū*, as the text originally read, instead of the singular of the verb, is established by the phrase *ṣāqūn laḥash*, "They utter an incantation" (Isa. 26:16), inasmuch as this phrase points to the conclusion that, used with "incantation" or kindred expressions as its object, *ṣūq* was a ritualistic term—a suitable one indeed. For since it was thought that a charm, in order to take effect, had to be pronounced, it may readily be seen that this requisite came to be conceived of as a veritable pouring-out of the benediction or malediction upon the person at whom it was directed.

I have purposely left for the last to comment on "My adversaries curse me, one and all" (vs. 8a). In this line *hithlaḥash* is used with its primary meaning, which, like that of *Qal* or *Pi'el*, is "to charm," "utter a charm" (Ps. 58:6), or "utter an incantation" (Isa. 26:16), "execrate." Since it was common practice to utter an incantation in a whispering voice,²⁹⁷ *hithlaḥash* in due course received the additional meaning "whisper." It follows from the parallel stich, "They scheme for my ruin," that

²⁹⁶ Cf. M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonians und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1905-12), I, 309, where this text is quoted.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 297 and 306.

the meaning "whisper" is precluded here and that the term is used in its primary sense.

There is no clue to determine whether the prayer antedates the Job drama or was composed later. The didactic verses 1-4 may, of course, have been written at any time.

3a, c, b. Transpose *yē'ushshar ba'areš* after *'ōyēbaw*.

he will not abandon him] Read, with Gr., Sym., Hier., and Syr., 'י (Buhl-Kittel).

4. *He will restore him to health* renders, true to meaning, the Hebrew idiom *kol mishkabō haphak bēholyō*, the Syr. being authority for the reading ܚܦܟܐ instead of *haphakta*.

7, 8. *calls it down upon me*] The prevailing construction of the second *'alai* of vs. 8 with *yahshēbū ra'a lī* is grammatically untenable; the fact of the matter is that it is not an integral part of 8b but stood originally at the end of vs. 7 as the required objective of *yēdabber*. Authority for this reading is the Sah., which in vs. 8 does not have the second *'alai* but reads it at the end of vs. 7: *efzaže eroi*; and ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, which some codd. of Gr. have joined to vs. 7 and others to vs. 8, is—*nota bene*—absent in Sah. This reading doubtless presents that of the original Gr., that of the present Gr. being Hexaplaric, for note that the *Leipz. Papyrus-fragmenta der Psalmen* (ed. Heinrici, in *Beiträge z. Gesch. u. Erklär. d. N. T.* [Leipzig, 1903]) also reads κατ' ἐμοῦ at the end of vs. 7, and that S does not read the second *'alai* in vs. 8.

9. *They invoke . . . upon me*] Read, with Gr., יִצְוֶקוּ בִי; the plur. of the verb is attested also by Hier. and Syr.: *yasūqū* evidently was written defectively, without the final *ū*.

a miserable end] Cf. Ps. 18:5, *nahālē bēliya'al*, "infernal torrents," used as a parallel expression to *mishbērē maweth*, "the waves of death"; also note that Gr. repeatedly renders *bēliya'al* λοιμός in the sense of "pestilent": cf. I Sam. 1:16; 2:12; 10:27; 25:17; 29:10.

PSALM 91

ODE ON TRUST IN GOD

- 1a He will be taken into the shelter of the Most High,
 2a, 9a He who declares, Thou, O Lord, art my refuge and my
 fortress,
 2b My God in whom I trust:
 1b He will live under the shadow of the Almighty.
 9b If thou makest the Most High thy stronghold,
 3 Verily, he will deliver thee from the snare of the fowler
 And from the deadly pestilence.
 4 He will spread out his pinions for thee,

- Under his wings thou wilt find safety.
His faithfulness will protect thee like a shield.
- 5 Thou needst not fear the terror of the night,
Nor the arrow that flies by day,
- 6 Nor the pestilence that stalks in darkness,
Nor the plague that rages at noontide.
- 7 Though a thousand fall at thy side,
And ten thousand at thy right hand,
The scourge will pass thee by.*
- 10 No evil will befall thee,
Nor will calamity visit thy tent,
- 11 For he will intrust thee to his angels,
To guard thee in all thy ways.
- 12 They will carry thee in their hands,
That thy foot may not strike against a stone.
- 13 Thou shalt step on the viper and the adder,
The lion and dragon shalt thou trample underfoot.
- 14 Because he cares for me, I will deliver him;
I will set him on high, for he knows my name.
- 15 When he calls unto me, I will answer him;
I will be with him in time of trouble:
I will deliver and honor him.
- 16 With long life will I satisfy him,
And show him my salvation.

Though the ode might have been composed in any age, on analysis it will be seen to be a typical product of the spiritual milieu of post-Exilic Israel. It sings of the same implicit trust in God amid any circumstances of life as runs through psalm after psalm of those dark post-Exilic centuries. This motive, however, is not developed as it might have been but is cut short by the introduction of another idea foreign to it—the shallow belief in material retribution, which was current at the time.

The ode has an unusual wealth of imagery which lends vividness to the lines and heightens their poetic effect. Conspicuous

* Vs. 8 belongs to Psalm 92.

is the personification of dreaded disease as "the terror of the night" and "the arrow that flies by day," more fully elaborated in the following lines as "the pestilence that stalks in darkness" and "the plague that rages at noontide," which are but two figures for one and the same thing. Note that in Hab. 3:5 intense heat rays are described as bringing pestilence and that in Deut. 32:23-24 they are, in addition, called Yahweh's arrows, as similarly in Greek literature the heat rays are termed Apollo's missiles and thought to carry pestilence; further, that also in Babylonian mythology Nergal is conceived of as god of the hot sun of midsummer and midday which brings death and pestilence²⁹⁸ and, as god of pestilence, is said to "go about at night, penetrating locked doors."²⁹⁹

Verse 8 marks a break in thought. Since the retribution of the wicked is not the subject matter of the ode, it is plain that the verse cannot be an original part of it. It has been misplaced into the ode from Psalm 92, where it fits excellently as the continuation of verse 12. Verse 9 is not in its original place. As to the first stich, the case is as follows. The words *ki 'atta 'ādōnai* are a correction of *l'ādōnai* of verse 2, which, with the directly following word *maḥsī* added to it as a cue, was put into the margin, whence in the next copy it was, with the cue, taken into the text at random. The second stich, *gḇ*, stood originally at the beginning of verse 3, forming its protasis. In translating verses 1-2, with *ga*, I have departed from their order in the original in order to make the translation read more smoothly.

1a. *He will be taken*] Vocalize *yēsheb*, in accordance with *yithlōnan* of the parallel stich (Grimme and Buhl-Kittel).

2a, 9a. *He who declares, Thou*] Vocalize *'ōmer* (Grimme and Buhl-Kittel); *ki* is recitative *ki*, introducing the direct speech.

gḇ, 3. *thy stronghold*] Read *בִּצְרֹן* (Olshausen and others); cf. Ps. 90:1.

Verily] *Ki* is emphatic *ki*, used in the apodosis, as in Gen. 31:42 and 43:10; Num. 22:29; Isa. 7:9.

4. *His faithfulness will protect thee like a shield*] Read, with Gr. *κυκλώσει σε*, סִחְרִיתָךְ: cf. Ezek. 27:21, *sōḥārē yadek*, "thy supporters," which, as Zimmern has pointed out (Ges.-Buhl [14th ed.], s.v. *saḥar*) is the Hebrew

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

²⁹⁹ Cf. J. Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 26 and 30.

parallel of Assyrian *idā saḥāru*, "to take sides with a person, to support him."
Šinna is an accusative of comparison.

7. *Though*] Vs. 7*a* is a concessive clause.

13. *the viper*] Read, with Gr. and Syr., 𐤀𐤓𐤕 (Duhm and others).

2. PUBLIC PRAYERS

PSALM 106

- 1 Praise the Lord!
 Give thanks unto the Lord: He is good,
 His love is everlasting.
- 2 Who can recount the mighty deeds of the Lord,
 Can sound his praises?
- 3 Blessed are they that cherish justice,
 That practice righteousness at all times.
- 4 Remember us, O Lord, true to the favor that thou bear-
 est to thy people,
 Bestow graciously thy salvation on us,
- 5 That we may see prosperity come to thy chosen people,
 That we may delight in the joy of thy nation,
 That we and thy heritage may glory alike.
- 6 We have sinned like our fathers,
 We have done evil, have acted wickedly.
- 7 Our fathers in Egypt heeded not thy wonders,
 They forgot thy boundless love,
 Yea, they rebelled against the Most High at the Red
 Sea.
- 8 Yet he delivered them for his name's sake,
 To reveal his might.
- 9 He rebuked the Red Sea, and it was dried up.
 He led them through the deep as through the heath.
- 10 He saved them from the hand of the foe,
 Delivered them from the power of the enemy,
- 11 And the sea engulfed their adversaries;
 Not one of them escaped.
- 12 Then they believed his words,
 They sang his praise.

- 13 But they soon forgot what he had done:
Too faithless to await his purpose,
14 They gave way to their craving for food in the desert,
And tempted God in the wilderness.
15 He gave them what they desired,
But he let disease play havoc with them.
16 Because they were envious of Moses in the camp in the
wilderness,
And of Aaron, consecrated to the Lord,
17 The earth opened and swallowed up Dathan,
It entombed the followers of Abiram;
18 Fire consumed their party,
Flames enveloped the wicked.
- 19 They made a calf at Horeb,
Worshipped a molten image.
20 They bartered the glory of God
For the image of an ox that eats grass.
21 They forgot God their Saviour,
Who had done great things in Egypt,
22 Wondrous works in the land of Ham,
Awesome deeds at the Red Sea:
23 Wherefore he would have destroyed them,
Had not Moses, his chosen servant, stepped into the
breach*
To avert his wrath that he might not deal the blow.
- 24 Yea, they despised the pleasant land;
They had no faith in his word,
25 But murmured in their tents
And listened not to the voice of God.
26 Then vowed he with hand uplifted
That he would let them perish in the desert,
27 And disperse their descendants among the nations,
And scatter them over many lands.
28 They joined themselves unto Baal-peor,

*faced him

- And ate sacrifices offered to the dead.
29 They incensed the Lord with their wicked doings,
Wherefore the plague broke out among them.
30 But Phinehas rose to intervene,
And the plague was stayed.
31 For that act he has been counted as righteous
Throughout the ages.
32 They aroused his anger also at the waters of Meriba,
When on their account it fared ill with Moses;
33 Because they defied his authority
He uttered unseemly words.
- 34 They did not destroy the peoples,
As the Lord had commanded them,
35 But mingled with the nations
And learned their practices
36 And worshipped their idols,
Which became a snare to them.
37 Yea, they sacrificed their sons and daughters to demons,
38a And shed innocent blood,†
38c So that the land was polluted with blood.
39 Because they defiled themselves by their practices
And went a-whoring in their doings,
40 The wrath of the Lord was kindled against his people.
He abhorred his heritage,
41 And gave them into the hand of the nations,
To be ruled by those who hated them.
42 Their enemies oppressed them,
They beat them into submission.
43 No matter how often he delivered them,
They defied his will,
So that they wasted away through their iniquity.
- 44 Still he heeded their distress
When he heard their cry.

† 38b *The blood of their sons and daughters,
Whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan.*

- 45 For their sake he remembered his covenant,
And relented in his boundless love;
46 And he caused their captors to show compassion unto
them.
- 47 Deliver us, O Lord our God,
And gather us from among the nations,
That we may give thanks to thy holy name
And glory in thy praise.

DOXOLOGY OF THE FOURTH BOOK

- 48 Praised be the Lord, the God of Israel,
From everlasting even to everlasting:
And let all the people say,
Amen, Hallelujah.

The psalm is a penitential prayer—a confession of sins composed for the post-Exilic community. The object of the review of the past is to make the people realize that their history has been one long record of rebelliousness against God. Beginning in the very hour of the deliverance from Egypt, it grew ever worse during their stay in the wilderness and has persisted throughout the centuries of their abode in Canaan. Because of their obstinate refusal to obey him, God cast them off and suffered their enemies to rule over them. Taking a different turn, the prayer then goes on to declare that, their persistent faithlessness notwithstanding, God “relented in his boundless love, And he caused their captors to show compassion unto them.” This declaration is a clear reference to the return from the Captivity. Consistent with it, the psalm concludes with the petition that God complete their restoration by gathering the rest of the people from the countries to which they had been scattered—a petition which the psalm has in common with such other post-Exilic products as Ps. 147:2, Isa. 11:11 ff.; 56:8; 60:4, 9; Mic. 7:12. Though differently framed, this entreaty is only a repetition of the prayer with which the psalm begins—that God remember them and bestow upon them his salvation so that at last they may see glory and prosperity come to them. Inasmuch as this shows that the expression of this prayer is the

real object of the psalm, toward which everything else converges, the confession of sin, though looming large, may be seen now in the right perspective. The author of the psalm evidently reasoned, similarly to the writer of Isa. 59:2, that the people's sins were a barrier between them and God, but being, unlike him, a religious formalist, he considered their lip confession sufficient to remove the barrier.

From the fact that verses 1 and 47 are quoted in I Chron. 16:34-35 it follows that the psalm was composed earlier than the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.—the approximate date of Chronicles. Since with these verses also the doxology of the fourth book is quoted, it follows further that the psalm must have figured as the last of one of the collections of psalms existing at the time. Whether this collection was identical with the present fourth book of the Psalter we have no means to ascertain. Nor is it possible to say at what time between 538-325 B.C. Psalm 106 was composed.

3. *That practice*] Read, with some MSS and the Versions, plur. of the participle, 'ōsē (Baethgen and others).

4. *Remember us . . . Bestow . . . on us*] Read, with two MSS, Gr., Aq., Sym., and Theod., זָכֹר, instead of the sing. suffixes (Graetz and others).

7. *thy . . . love*] Read, with Gr., Aq., Hier., and Syr., sing. ḥasdeka (Baethgen and others).

the Most High] In accordance with Ps. 78:17, 56, read עֲלִיּוֹן instead of al-yam (Dyserinck and others).

12. *They sang his praise*] The song Exodus, chapter 15, is in all probability referred to.

20. *the glory of God*] Read, with a number of Lucianic texts, כְּבוֹד אֱלֹהִים—a reading attested also by Rom. 1:23; the present reading *kēbōdām* is a *Tiqqun Sopherim*, as stated in *Okla we-Okla*, § 168.

23. *Lēphanāw* is a variant of *bappereš*.

27. *And disperse*] The verse is, except for the substitution of *zar'am* for 'ōthām, a verbatim quotation from Ezek. 20:23, in accordance with which read זָרַע, which is also supported by Syr.; the present reading is due to dittography of *lēhappil* of vs. 26b (Baethgen and others).

28. *And ate sacrifices offered to the dead*] By *the dead* the heathen gods are meant in contrast to the living God of Israel, as may be seen from Wisd. of Sol. 13:10, "They who call the handiwork of men gods are to be pitied: They place their hope in dead things," and also from *ibid.*, 15:17.

29. *They incensed the Lord*] Read, with some MSS, Gr., Hier., and Syr., סִרְרוּ (Duhm and others).

38. Vs. 38*b*, as many interpreters hold, is a later prosaic comment on "innocent blood" of vs. 38*a*, made originally in the margin.

43. *his will*] Read, חָיָה (Halévy and others).

So that they wasted away] Read וַיִּבְקַע: cf. Lev. 26:39; Ezek. 4:17; 24:23; 33:10 (Olshausen and others).

45. *his . . . love*] The Kethib *hasdō* is correct.

PSALM 115

- 1 Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us,
But unto thy name give glory
For thy love and thy truth's sake.
- 2 Why should the heathen say,
Where is their God?
- 3 Our God is in heaven,
Whatsoever he wills he does.
- 4 But the idols of the heathen are silver and gold,
The handiwork of men.
- 5 They have mouths, but speak not,
Eyes, but see not.
- 6 They have ears, but hear not,
Noses, but smell not.
- 7 With their hands they cannot feel,
With their feet they cannot walk,
With their throats they can utter no sound.
- 8 They that make them are themselves like them,
As is everyone who trusts in them.
- 9 Israel trusts in the Lord;
He is their help and their shield.
- 10 The house of Aaron trusts in the Lord;
He is their help and their shield.
- 11 They that fear the Lord trust in the Lord;
He is their help and their shield.
- 12 May the Lord remember us, may he bless us,
May he bless the house of Israel, bless the house of
Aaron;
- 13 May he bless them that fear the Lord,
The lowly and the great alike.

- 14 May the Lord increase you more and more,
You and your children.
- 15 Blessed be ye of the Lord,
Who made heaven and earth.
- 16 The heavens are God's heavens,
But the earth has he given to man.
- 17 It is not the dead that praise the Lord,
Nor they that are gone to the land of silence.
- 18 But it is we who praise the Lord*
Now and for evermore.
Praise ye the Lord.

Praying in their distress for help, the people urge that God act for his own sake, the sake of his glory, that the taunt of the heathen,

Where is their God?

may be hushed. This plea shows the influence of Ezekiel, who repeatedly emphasizes in his prophecies that for his name's sake God will have mercy upon faithless Israel to redeem them.³⁰⁰ After ridiculing the worship of lifeless idols, the people affirm their trust in God and his limitless power, then pray for his blessing. The post-Exilic origin of the prayer is established by the fact that in verses 11 and 13, "They that fear the Lord," that is, the proselytes, are spoken of as a component of the community of Israel.³⁰¹

4. *the idols of the heathen*] Read, with Gr., Hier., and Syr., **בְּיָהוּיִם** (Schlögler and others).

7. *With their hands . . . their feet*] *Yēdēhēm* and *raglēhēm* are accusative of means: by their anteposition and their being joined by *wē* to the rest of the sentence emphasis is lent to them; other constructions of the kind are Gen. 40:9; I Kings 13:31; and Prov. 24:27.

9, 10, 11. *trusts . . . trust*] Instead of imperatives, read, with Gr., Hier., and Syr., perfects: *baʾaḥ* in vss. 9 and 10 and *baʾēḥū* in vs. 11; this reading is borne out also by the suffix of the third plur. of the parallel stichs (Duhm and others).

17. *to the land of silence*] Cf. the note on Ps. 94:17.

* Or *G But we who live praise the Lord.*

³⁰⁰ Cf., e.g., Ezek. 36:16-36.

³⁰¹ See pp. 698-702.

PSALM 125

- 1 * They that trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion,
Immovable and abiding forever.
2 As hills shelter Jerusalem,
So shelters the Lord his people now and for evermore.
3 He will not suffer the wicked scepter to rule the land
allotted the righteous,
Lest the righteous take to evil themselves.
4 O Lord, make glad the good,
Them that are upright of heart.
5 May the Lord cast adrift the evildoers,
Those who follow crooked ways.
May peace come to Israel.

The prayer serves a twofold purpose. Seeing that many of the people were yielding to despair because of the persistence for generation after generation of their untoward conditions, the psalmist seeks to fill their hearts with faith in God. He tells them that, if they but trust in God, they will be firmly grounded, sustained by the hope that ere long he will put an end to the wicked rule of the world-power. Whereupon he goes on to implore God to cast adrift their oppressors and to bring peace to Israel. It follows from the line, "He will not suffer the wicked scepter to rule the land allotted the righteous," that, as in many other post-Exilic psalms, the foreign oppressors are meant by "the evildoers" of verse 5 (cf. pp. 431 f.). It is the general situation of the pre-Maccabaeen post-Exilic centuries which is portrayed in the prayer, but, since there is no distinct historical event reflected in it, it is not possible to say at what juncture during these centuries it was composed.

PSALM 28

- 1 † I call unto thee, O Lord, my rock;
Be not silent unto me:
Lest, if thou be silent,

* Song of Ascent.

† Of David.

- I should be like those that have gone down to the grave.
2 Hear my prayer when I cry unto thee,
When I lift my hands toward thy holy shrine.
3 Do not reckon me among the wicked, among the workers
of iniquity,
Who speak friendly words with their neighbors,
While evil lurks in their hearts.
4 Reward them for their dealings and wicked doings,
Give them their desert for the deeds of their hands,
Pay them their due,
5 For they give no thought to what God does,
Nor to the works of his hand.
May he break them down, not build them up.
6 Praised be the Lord! He will surely hear my prayer.
7 The Lord is my strength and my shield:
My heart trusts in him.
Help will come for me,
And my heart will shout for joy;
With my song shall I thank him.
8 The Lord is the strength of his people,
A stronghold of salvation to his anointed.
9 Save thy people, bless thy heritage,
Shepherd and carry them forever.

The concluding verses 8–9 of the psalm show that it is the community personified that is praying in the lines which precede. I have drawn attention before to the words, “Lest . . . I be like those that have gone down to the grave,” as a verbatim quotation from Ps. 143:7—a typical case of plagiarism. For neither are the words cogent as a continuation of the lines that precede nor are they congruous with the rest of the psalm, which contains no suggestion that the nation was threatened with destruction. Rather, from the prayer which follows the opening lines it seems that the immediate occasion of the psalm was not a national crisis but distress of another nature from which oppressors and oppressed suffered alike: the people urge that God shall not class them with those wicked that cannot

be trusted, in whose "hearts evil lurks," and pray that, giving them their desert, he will break down these workers of iniquity. Then they go on to express their faith that God will grant their prayer and help them. Color is lent to the declaration of faith by the employment of prophetic perfects. Of the concluding verses, the first forms a part of this affirmation of faith, while in the second the people pray once again that God will save and shepherd the nation: thus the conclusion is clearly proved an integral part of the psalm.

Had we only verse 3 to go by, it might seem that by "the wicked" and "workers of iniquity" godless opponents within the ranks of the nation are meant. However, the concluding verses leave no doubt that here as elsewhere foreign oppressors are described by these terms. The comment with regard to them,

They give no thought to what God does,
Nor to the works of his hand,

is similar to that, "Who ignore God" and "Who regard not God," made in Psalm 14 and Psalm 54, respectively, with regard to the nation's foreign oppressors. All that can be said about the date is that the prayer must have been composed later than 343 B.C., since Psalm 143, from which a line in verse 1 is copied, dates from that year. By "his anointed" of verse 8 the people are meant, as again in Hab. 3:13, where the sentence structure is so translucent that there cannot be any doubt as to this meaning of the term. The parallel in Habakkuk reads: "Thou wilt go forth to help thy people, to help thine anointed." Compare also Ps. 105:15, where the term is applied to the patriarchs.

2. *When I lift my hands toward thy holy shrine*] Cf. the discussion on Ps. 5:8, p. 407.

3. *Do not reckon me among the wicked*] Considering the various meanings of *mashak* and Arab. *masaka*, one fails to see how 'al *timshēkenī* could possibly mean "carry me not off," as customarily rendered, especially since there is no other example of this meaning: in Ezek. 32:20, it is now commonly held, the text originally read, as Gr. shows, *shikēbū*. This being the case, it may be concluded from Syr.'s rendering *temnēnī* either that originally the text read *timnēnī* (cf. Isa. 53:12, 'eth *pōshē'im nimnā*, "He was reckoned among the transgressors") or, what is more likely, that *timshēkenī* is used with this meaning.

5. *what God does*] Vocalize, with ten MSS and Aq., sing. *pe'ullath* (Baethgen and others).

the works] Read, with two MSS, Gr., Sym., Sex., and Targ., *...*.

7. Omit the connective *wē* of *ne'ēzartī* (Buhl-Kittel).

8. *of his people*] The present reading, as eight MSS, Gr., and Syr. show, is the result of the phonetic spelling of *lē'ammō*, which the Massoretes failed to recognize (Olshausen and others).

salvation] *Yēshū'ōth* is either intensive plural or, more likely, the abstract formed with the ending *ōth*.

9. *Shepherd*] Omit, with Targ., the connective *u* of *rē'ēm*.

PSALM 86

- 1* Incline thine ear, O Lord,
Hear me. I am poor and wretched.
- 2 Preserve my soul, for I am pious;
O my God, save thy servant that trusts in thee.
- 3 Have mercy on me, O Lord,
For to thee do I cry all the day.
- 4 Gladden the heart of thy servant,
For I lift my soul unto thee, O God.
- 5 Surely, thou O Lord, art good and ready to forgive:
And thou hast plenteous love for all that invoke thee.
- 6 Listen, O Lord, to my prayer, heed my supplication.
- 7 In the hour of need I cry unto thee to hear me.
- 8, 9aβ There is none like unto thee among the gods, O Lord,
Nor are there any works like unto the works thou doest.
- 9aa, b Let all the nations come to thee, O Lord,
To worship thee and to glorify thy name;
- 10 For thou art great and doest wondrous things:
Thou alone art God.
- 11 Teach me thy way, O Lord,
That I may walk in thy truth.
Let my heart crave but one thing—to revere thee.
- 12 I will praise thee, O Lord my God, with my whole heart,
I will glorify thy name forever,

* A Prayer of David.

- 13 For great is the love thou hast shown me.
Oh, save my soul from She'ol below.
- 14 O God, despots have risen against me,
A host of oppressors that regards not God is seeking my
life.
- 15 But thou, O Lord, art a God full of compassion and
mercy,
Thou art slow to anger,
A God of boundless love and truth.
- 16 Oh, turn to me and have pity on me,
Grant thy protection to thy servant,
And save the son of thy handmaid.
- 17 Show me a token of hope:
Let mine enemies be put to shame,
Let them see that thou, O Lord, dost help and comfort
me.

The psalm has a number of lines copied from other psalms—not so many, however, as is generally thought. Some of the supposed quotations—like “Incline thine ear” and “poor and wretched” of verse 1; “Listen . . . to my prayer, heed my supplication” of verse 6; “In the hour of need” of verse 7; and “Save my soul” of verse 13—occur so often in the Psalms and other writings, being such expressions as might be common to any two writers, that they cannot be considered as copied. As to the quotation of the words from Exod. 34:6–7 in verse 13, it is no indication of lack of resourcefulness, for as I have pointed out before (p. 652), these words were so popular that writers of those days often quoted them. As to *’ōsē niphlē’ōth* of verse 9, it should be noted that, inasmuch as this phrase occurs in the doxology at the close of the second book but not in Psalm 72, the obvious conclusion is that the writer of the doxology copied from Psalm 86.

What the author of Psalm 86 has appropriated from others is limited to (1) *shamēra naphshī*, “Preserve my soul” (vs. 2); *’elēka ’ādōnai naphshī ’essā*, “I lift my soul unto thee, O God”

(vs. 4); *pěně 'elai wěhannenī*, "Oh, turn to me and have pity on me" (vs. 16); all three copied from Ps. 25:20, 1, 16; (2) *ki ḥasīd 'anī*, "for I am pious" (vs. 2), copied from Jer. 3:12, where, however, these words are represented as spoken by God, and *ḥasīd* denotes "merciful"; (3) *hōrēnī 'ādōnai darkeka*, "Teach me thy way, O Lord" (vs. 11), copied from Ps. 27:11; (4) verse 14 copied from Ps. 54:5 except for the change of *zārīm* to *zēdīm* and of *'arīšīm* to *'ādath 'arīšīm*. To these *'āhallel ba'āmitteka* may have to be added as copied from *hithhalakti ba'āmitteka* of Ps. 26:3, but, the date of Psalm 26 being unknown, one cannot be certain regarding to whom priority is to be assigned for use of the phrase.

As the critics have misjudged Psalm 86 in regard to the amount of copied lines, so have they misjudged its literary worth in general. I cannot agree with them that it shows lack of coherence and sequence but find that it is a harmonious whole and reads well, though it is only a second-class poem. It was evidently written as a public prayer in troublous times. As proof of this note, first, the hope expressed in verse 9 that all nations may be united in worshipping God. In a prayer for personal deliverance there would be no room for such a wish. Even more conclusive are the lines,

O God, despots have risen against me,
A host of oppressors that regards not God is seeking my life,

which show that the author speaks of an attack made not on him personally but on the nation. Also the general drift of the psalm shows that it is a public prayer. As to the date, all that can be said is that the quotations from Psalms 27 and 25 show that the prayer must be of later origin than either of these psalms.

8, *gaß, gaa, b. like unto the works thou doest*] Transpose *'āsher 'athīsa* from vs. 9 to the end of vs. 8 (Gunkel, Buhl-Kittel): as support cf. Deut. 3:24.

come to thee] *Ləphanēka* is to be construed also with *yabō'ū*, being a case of brachylogy: cf. Ps. 65A:3, *'adēka . . . yabō'ū*.

13. *Oh, save*] *Hiššalta* is a precative perfect, as vss. 14-16 show; omit the connective *wě*.

14. *despots*] Cf. Isa. 13:11, where, as here, *zēdīm* is a synonym of *'arīšīm*.

PSALM 144A

VERSES 1-11

- 1* Praised be the Lord, my rock,
Who trains my hands for war,
My fingers for the fight;
- 2 My strength and my fortress,
My high tower and my deliverer,
My shield, my refuge,
Who will bring nations under my power.
- 3 O Lord, what is man that thou mindest him,
The mortal that thou thinkest of him?
- 4 Man is like a breath,
His days are like a shadow that flits past.
- 5 O Lord, lower the sky and come down,
Touch the mountains that they may smoke.
- 6 Hurl thunderbolts to scatter them;
Shoot thy arrows to rout them.
- 7a Reach down from heaven,
7bβ Draw me out of the raging waters,
7ba, 10c, 11aa, Save me from the dangerous sword,
7c, 11aβ And deliver me from the hand of aliens,
8 (11b-c) Whose mouth speaks falsehood,
Whose right hand is the right hand of lies.
- 9 I will sing a new song unto thee, O God,
To the music of the ten-stringed lute will I sing
praises unto thee,
- 10a-b Who givest victory unto kings,
And who wilt deliver thy servant David.

Psalm 144A is the worthless composition of a typical plagiarist without any literary talent. It is made up of phrases and sentences taken piecemeal from other psalms and strung together regardless of fitness. Verses 1a, 1b-c, 2a-c, 2d, 5a, 6, 7a, bβ, and 7c, 11aβ are copied from Ps. 18:47a, 35a, 2-3, 48b, 10a,

* Of David.

15, 17, and 18*a*, 45*b*; verse 3 is copied from Ps. 8:5; verse 4*a* from Ps. 39:6, 12; and verse 5*b* from Ps. 104:32*b*. The compilation does not seem to have been occasioned by any occurrence in the life of the nation or to have been made for any public function. Its spiritual value being nil, there is no need for discussing it further.

2. *My strength*] Instead of *ḥasdī* the text in all probability read *ḥizqī*: cf. Ps. 18:2.

nations] Read, with many MSS, Aq., Hier., Syr., and Targ., '*ammim*', which was written abbreviated (Wellhausen and others).

7*a*. *Reach down*] Read, with many MSS and the Versions, sing. *yadēka* (Bickell and others).

7*bβ*. *Draw me out*] The verb which went originally with *mimmayim rab-bim* was doubtless *וַיִּשְׁׁנֵי*: cf. Ps. 18:17 (Duhm and others).

7*ba*, 10*c*, 11*aa*, 7*c*, 11*aβ*, 8 (11*b-c*). In the course of transmission, as Ols-hausen has observed, the words *meḥereb ra'a* of vs. 10*c* and *miyyad bēnē nekar* were omitted from 7*b* before *pēšēnī* and after *ḥaššilenī*, respectively. They were put in the blank space at the end of the psalm not only together with *pēšēnī* and *wēḥaššilenī* but also with the following verse added to them as a clue. In the next copy the omitted phrases with their cues were mechanically joined to the last verse.

PSALM 144B

VERSES 12-15

- 12 May our sons be like plants
 That grow fast while young.
 May our daughters be like corner pillars
 Carved for a palace.
- 13 May our garners be filled to overflowing
 With all sort of produce.
 May our sheep in our pastures
 Multiply by thousands and ten thousands.
- 14 May our oxen be heavily laden.
 May there be no ruinous defeat nor march to battle,
 Nor may any cry of alarm be heard in our streets.
- 15 Happy the people that fares like this,
 Happy the people whose God is the Lord.

Verses 12-15 of Psalm 144 differ radically from verses 1-11 in content as well as in diction so that it is obvious that originally

they formed a separate psalm. They are a public prayer for material blessings without any religious note whatever. With the exception of the last verse the prayer consists of nominal clauses expressing a wish. The particle *'ăsher* is to be omitted as dittography of *'ăsher* of the last distich of 144A. The psalm may be pre-Exilic.

3. LITURGICAL HYMNS

PSALM 33

- 1 Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous.
Songs of praise become the upright.
- 2 Sing praises unto the Lord to the strains of the lyre,
Sing unto him to the music of the ten-stringed harp.
- 3 Sing unto him a new song,
Play skilfully amid shouts of gladness.
- 4 For the promise of the Lord is true,
His every deed is trustworthy.
- 5 He loves justice and righteousness,
The earth is full of the goodness of God.
- 6 By the word of the Lord the heavens were made,
And all their host by the breath of his mouth.
- 7 He holds the waters of the sea as in a water skin,
Keeps the oceans in their basins.
- 8 Let all the earth fear the Lord,
Let the inhabitants of the earth stand in awe of him,
- 9 For he spoke, and it was,
He commanded, and it existed.
- 10 The Lord brings the counsel of nations to naught,
He frustrates the designs of peoples.
- 11 The purpose of the Lord stands forever,
The thoughts of his mind endure through the ages.
- 12 Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord,
The people whom he has chosen for his heritage.
- 13 The Lord looks down from heaven,
He sees all the sons of men;

- 14 From the place of his dwelling
He beholds all the inhabitants of the earth—
15 He who fashions the minds of them all,
Who heeds all their doings.
- 16 Kings are not saved by large armies,
Nor is a warrior delivered by mere strength.
17 Horses do not insure victory,
Nor do numerous chariots give protection.
18 God's eye is upon them that fear him,
Upon them that rest their hope in his love,
19 To deliver them from death
And keep them alive in famine.
- 20 Our soul waits for the Lord;
He is our helper and our shield:
21 Yea, our heart rejoices in him,
We trust in his holy name.
22 Let thy love watch over us,
As our hope is in thee.

The view of some interpreters that the psalm was occasioned by some national deliverance rests entirely on their interpreting verse 10 as referring to a past occurrence. However, the verbs of this verse have not the force of a past tense but of the present, expressing a general truth, as others, including the Authorized and Revised Versions, have taken them. The psalm is a song of praise of universalistic tendency. It glorifies God as the Creator and ruler of the universe and bids all men revere him as the God who "loves justice and righteousness," of whose "goodness the earth is full." Then it urges them to realize that he who has endowed man with mind heeds the doings of all of them—as to the use to which they put their minds, it follows by implication—that armies and military prowess cannot avail men; that to be safe they must rest their hope in the love of God and have faith that there is a divine purpose at the root of human destiny. The hymn closes with the declaration that God is the Savior and hope of Israel.

All that can be said about the date is that the social atmosphere of post-Exilic times breathes through the hymn and that, also, its universalistic tendency and the similarity between verses 13-14 and Pss. 11:4*b-d* and 14:2 and between verse 15 and Ps. 94:10 point to post-Exilic origin.

4. *is trustworthy*] *Bē* is *bē essentiae*, used with the nominal predicate.

7. *as in a water skin*] Vocalize, with the Versions, *kannō'd* (Olshausen and others).

in their basins] By *'ōṣarōth*, which in Ps. 135:7 and Job 38:22 denotes celestial "reservoirs" or "storehouses" of the wind or of the snow and hail, ocean *basins* is meant here.

16-17. *Kings . . . Horses*] The article of both *melek* and *sūs* is the generic article, used with names of class and species; both substantives are to be rendered by the plural.

Nor do . . . chariots give protection] On the strength of Syr. *rākbeh*, omit *hēlō* as dittography and read רַכֵּב (cf. Ps. 20:8); with Gr. and Targ., vocalize *yimmāled*.

PSALM 34

*

- 2 I will extol the Lord at all times,
My mouth shall ever sound with his praise.
- 3 My soul glories in the Lord;
The humble will rejoice when they hear.
- 4 Oh, magnify the Lord with me,
Let us exalt his name.
- 5 I sought the Lord, and he answered me,
He delivered me from all my fears.
- 6 Look to him and be radiant,
Ye shall never be ashamed.
- 7 Behold, a poor man prayed,
And God heard him and delivered him from trouble.
- 8 The angel of the Lord encamps
Round about them that fear him and saves them.
- 9 Perceive and see that the Lord is good:
Blessed is the man who trusts in him.
- 10 Oh, fear the Lord, ye his saints;

* 1. Of David. When he feigned madness before Abimelek and was driven away, and he departed.

- They that fear him will suffer no want.
11 Lions may hunger and famish,
But they that seek the Lord will not want any good thing.
- 12 Come, children, listen to me,
I will teach you fear of the Lord.
13 Dost thou desire to live?
Dost thou love to live long and know happiness?
14 Guard thy tongue against uttering evil,
Thy lips against speaking guile;
15 Shun evil and do good;
Seek peace and pursue it.
- 17 The Lord sets his face against evildoers,
To root out their memory from the earth.
16 The eyes of the Lord are turned toward the righteous,
And his ear is open to hear their prayer.
18 When they cry, the Lord hears,
And delivers them from all their troubles.
19 The Lord is nigh to them that are brokenhearted,
And he saves them that are crushed in spirit.
20 Many are the afflictions of the righteous man,
But the Lord delivers him out of them all.
21 He guards all his bones
That none be broken.
22 Evil will undo the wicked;
They that hate the righteous man will be condemned.
- 23 The Lord redeems the soul of his servants,
Whosoever takes refuge in him will not be condemned.

Psalm 34 is another song of praise, interlaced with the singer's personal experience, by which he wishes others to profit. His experience has taught him that the good life is the true life, holding out safety and happiness for man. Fear of the Lord he defines with the words,

Shun evil and do good;
Seek peace and pursue it.

Though this definition is all-inclusive, yet knowing the evil doings of the malicious, treacherous tongue, called a "scourge" in Job 5:21, he sets down this specific caution:

Guard thy tongue against uttering evil,
Thy lips against speaking guile.

His definition of fear of God recalls the description given of Job in the prologue of the Job drama as "a man pious and upright, God-fearing, and shunning evil," as well as the lines with which the dramatic debate between Job and his friends originally closed:³⁰²

The fear of God, that is wisdom,
And to shun evil is understanding.

There is also other evidence of the influence of the drama upon the singer. His idea of retribution is not the shallow, orthodox doctrine of material retribution, as it might seem at first sight, but is notably modified by Job's view of retribution of a spiritual nature. Though he declares that

God heard him and delivered him from trouble,

and later on generalizes the declaration and even asks

Dost thou love to live long?

yet he lays stress on the spiritual effect of righteous or unrighteous living. He knows that

Many are the afflictions of the righteous man,

but his comfort is that "The Lord is nigh to the brokenhearted and the crushed in spirit" (vs. 19). And by "Evil will undo the wicked" he says in four words what is expressed at length in Ps. 73:18-20, 27, and Job 31:2-3. Note that verse 19 is also dependent on Isa. 57:15. Another noteworthy feature of the song is that by adding to "Shun evil and do good" the words, "Seek peace and pursue it," the author makes the point that peace is the crown and end of the good life. This thought runs through the entire pre-Exilic as well as Exilic and post-Exilic

³⁰² See above, pp. 543 (n. 158) and 658.

prophetic literature, and Deutero-Isaiah also expressed it excellently in one of his Exilic psalms:

Love and truth shall meet,
Righteousness and peace shall kiss each other [85:11].

From its dependence on Isa. 57:15 and upon Job and Psalm 73 it follows that the song is post-Exilic and was composed later than 400 B.C.

Since the psalm is an alphabetic acrostic, it is clear that it ended originally with verse 22, which has *taw* for its initial letter, and that the supernumerary *pe* verse 23 is a later addition. It was doubtless added for the purpose of conforming with the superstition "not to end with words of evil import." There are many examples of similar additions. For interesting cases note that at the end of Isaiah, Malachi, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes the Massoretes have repeated the second last verse of each of these books.

6. *Look . . . and be radiant*] With eight MSS, Aq., Syr., and Hier. in the one case, and with Gr., Aq., Syr., and Hier. in the other, read imperatives: *habbîṭū . . . ūnēharū* (Ewald and others).

Ye shall] Read, with Gr., and Syr., *ūpēnēkēm* (Ewald and others).

7. *Behold*] *Zē* is interjectional *zē*, of which we have had other examples before: see the note on Ps. 68B:9c.

9. *Perceive*] Cf. Prov. 31:18, where *ṭa'am* has again this meaning, also note that the substantive *ṭa'am* may denote "intelligence, discretion."

21. *That none be broken*] Vs. 21b is a final clause.

PSALM 92

*

- 2 It is meet to give thanks to the Lord,
And to sing thy praises, O Most High,
- 3 To proclaim thy goodness in the morning,
And to sing of thy faithfulness by night
- 4 To the music of the ten-stringed harp
And the strains of the lyre.
- 5 Gladden me, O Lord, by thine acts
That I may burst into song over the works of thy hand.

* 1. A Psalm. A Song for the Sabbath Day.

- 6 Great indeed are thy works, O Lord,
Thy designs are most deep.
7 The ignorant man does not know it,
Nor does the fool understand this.
8 Though the wicked spring up like grass,
And the evildoers flourish,
Yet shall they be destroyed in the end;
9 And thou, O Lord, wilt be extolled forever.
10 Yea, thine enemies will perish,
All evildoers will be routed.
11 But my horn will be exalted like that of the wild ox;
My old body will be freshened as if anointed with oil,
12 And mine eyes will feast on mine enemies' plight.

When evildoers rise up against me,
The words ring in mine ears:

- 91:8 Verily, with thine eyes thou wilt behold and see
The reward of the wicked.
92:13 The righteous will flourish like the palm tree,
They will grow like a cedar of Lebanon.
14 Planted in the house of the Lord,
They will flourish in the courts of our God.
15 Still in old age will they bear fruit,
Will they be robust and blooming,
16 To show that the Lord is just.
He is my rock, there is no wrong in him.

The hymn is not what it pretends to be, a praise of God's just rule, but a blind defense of the doctrine of material retribution. Like the friends of Job and the writer of Psalm 37, the author regards this doctrine as positive truth. Like them, he maintains that the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the righteous are but temporary: in the end justice will be meted out. Therefore he delights to think of the time when the wicked will perish and the righteous flourish forever. This he calls the profundity of God's designs, which "The ignorant man does not know, nor the fool understand." He showed his own lack of understanding still more if, as it seems, he copied

"The ignorant man does not know" (*'ish ba'ar lō' yēda'*) from verse 22 of Psalm 73—a psalm which was beyond his grasp. It should be added, however, that the hymn ranks high poetically. It is hardly necessary to mention that verse 8 of Psalm 91, which in that psalm marks a break in thought, fits excellently after verse 12, furnishing the required object of *tishma'na 'aznai*.

The view of a number of interpreters that the psalm was occasioned by some great national deliverance—some even think that it was the return from the Captivity—has no basis in fact, resting as it does on their misinterpreting the perfect of verse 5*a* as a statement of past occurrence, whereas in reality it is a precative perfect, as the imperfect of the parallel stich shows. As often, the precative perfect is introduced by emphatic *ki*. If verse 7*a* is copied from Psalm 73, the hymn was composed after 400 B.C.

8. *Though*] Cf. Pss. 46:3 and 31:22*c*.

shall they be destroyed] *Lēhishshamēddām* is a nice example of the emphatic infinitive.

9. *will be extolled*] Read, with Gr., בִּירוּמִים, which was written abbreviated and consequently misread.

10. Omit, with three MSS and several codd. of Gr., vs. 10*a* as dittography (Bickell and others).

11. *will be exalted*] Read, with Gr., and Hier., יָרָם.

My old body] Vocalize, with Gr., Sym., and Hier., *bēlōthī* (Baethgen and others).

will be freshened] *Ra'anān* is the predicate of *bēlōthī*, not an attributive of *shemen*: cf. vs. 15, where the word is again applied to persons who are "blooming."

as if anointed with oil] Read, with Sym. *ōs*, בֶּשֶׁ.

12. *will feast on mine enemies' plight*] Read, with the Versions, בְּשׂוֹרְרֵי and note that *wattabeḥ bē* has the same meaning as *ra'ā bē*.

14. *Planted in the house of the Lord and They will flourish in the courts of our God* are figurative expressions, their subject being "The righteous," as vs. 15 shows: cf. Pss. 84:3 and 11; 52:10.

PSALM 111

Praise ye the Lord!

- 1 With my whole heart will I praise the Lord
In the assembly of the upright and the congregation.
- 2 Great are the works of the Lord,

- Worthy of study by all who delight in them.
- 3 His work is glorious and majestic,
And his righteousness endures forever.
- 4 He has erected himself a memorial by his wonderful
works.
The Lord is gracious and merciful.
- 5 He gives food unto them that fear him.
He is ever mindful of his covenant.
- 6 He manifested his mighty works unto his people
In giving them the heritage of the nations.
- 7 Truth and justice are the works of his hand.
All his precepts are sure,
- 8 Established forever and ever,
Devised in truth and uprightness.
- 9 He has brought redemption to his people;
He has ordained that his covenant shall stand forever.
Holy and august is his name.
- 10 The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom;
They that practice it show good judgment.
His glory endures forever.

Analysis of the hymn is hardly possible because of its lack of rigid unity. The author has loosely strung together whatever suggested itself to his mind as proper to the praise of God. Further, his style is poor, now and then even faulty, as is apparent in the style of the zayin line and in the predication of *hōd wehadar* as qualities of *po'ōlō*. From all this it would appear that the psalm is a late composition. Psalm 112 is evidently by the same author, but being didactic it is better to treat it with the next group of psalms.

2. *Worthy of study*] *Dērūshim* is a potential participle.

PSALM 134

+ 135:2; 118:26; 128:5-6

- 1a* Praise the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord
1b (= 135:2a) Who in the night stand in the house of the Lord,

* Song of Ascent.

- 135:2*b* In the courts of the house of our God:
 134:2*a* Lift up your hands toward the sanctuary,
 2*b*, 3*b* And praise the Lord who made heaven and
 earth.
- 118:26 Blessed be he who comes in the name of the
 Lord:
 We bless you out of the house of the Lord.
 134:3*a* May the Lord bless thee out of Zion,
 (= 128:5*a*)
 128:5*b* That all the days of thy life thou mayest see
 prosperity restored to Jerusalem,†
 6*b* Peace come to Israel.

Of the lines restored to Psalm 134 from other psalms, 135:2*b* is established as an original part of it, first, by the identity of 135:2*a* with 134:1*b*, which was repeated as a cue when 135:2*b* was omitted after 134:1*b*, that is, after *ha'ōmēdīm bēhēth 'ādōnai*, "Who stand in the house of the Lord," and put in the margin; second, by the fact that the Greek reads 135:2*b* in Ps. 134:1*b*.³⁰³ (The present Greek text of 135:2 is doubtless Hexaplaric or possibly due to harmonization of the Greek with the Hebrew undertaken prior to Origenes' revision of the Greek.) External evidence that 128:5–6 is another omission from Psalm 134 may be seen in the identity of 128:5*a* with 134:3*a*, which is to be explained in the same way as the identity of 135:2*a* with 134:1*b*. In the case of 118:26 we have only internal evidence to go by—the fact that the lines fit well in Psalm 134, whereas in Psalm 118 they are a foreign element.

The psalm is a liturgical hymn of the type of Psalm 100. It was sung antiphonally, the lines 134:1*a–b*, 135:2*b*, 134:2, 3*b*, by the lay worshipers as they arrived at the Temple in the morning and saluted the priests, and the lines 118:26, 134:3*a*, 128:5*b*, 6*b*, by the priests responding and blessing the worshipers. The words,

Who in the night stand in the house of the Lord,
 In the courts of the house of our God,

† 6*a* *That thou mayest see thy sons' sons.*

³⁰³ See Rahlfs' edition.

are elucidated by what Josephus³⁰⁴ records from Hecataeus of Abdera: "Here [in the Temple] priests pass their nights and days, performing certain rites of purification." The wish expressed in the hymn that prosperity be restored to Jerusalem, and peace come to Israel, shows that it is post-Exilic and ante-Maccabaeen, for it was these blessings for which the people longed throughout those dark pre-Maccabaeen centuries.

1a. *Hinne*, introducing the worshippers' salute, is a nice example of recitative *hinne*.

1b, 135:2b. It follows from the cue words, 135:2a, that *bēḥaṣrōth bēth 'ēlōhēnū* originally followed *ha'ōmēdīm bēbēth 'ādōnai* and that the distich ended with *ballēlōth*. It reads:

ha'ōmēdīm bēbēth 'ādōnai bēḥaṣrōth bēth 'ēlōhēnū ballēlōth

Additional proof of this order of the words may be seen in both Gr. and Hier., in which *ballēlōth* has erroneously been joined to vs. 3.

2b, 3b. Aside from the cue 128:5a, it may be deduced from Pss. 115:15; 121:2; 124:8—three other examples in which the adjective clause *'ōsē shamayīm wa'areṣ* qualifies *'ādōnai*—that vs. 3b originally followed vs. 2b.

128:6b. The stich is a gloss added originally in the margin.

PSALM 135

- 1 Praise the Lord!
Praise the name of the Lord,
Praise him, O ye servants of the Lord.*
- 3 Praise the Lord, for the Lord is good.
Sing praises unto his name, as it befits you;
- 4 For the Lord has chosen Jacob as his own,
Israel as his prized possession.
- 5 Truly, I know that the Lord is great,
And that our Lord is supreme over all the gods.
- 6 Whatever he wills the Lord does,
Whether in heaven or on earth,
In the seas or in all ocean deeps.
- 7 He makes mists rise the world over,
Lets lightning flash in the pouring rain,
And brings forth the wind from his storehouses.

³⁰⁴ C. Apion. i. 199.

* Vs. 2 belongs in Psalm 134.

- 8 He smote the firstborn of Egypt,
Of man and beast alike.
- 9 He sent signs and portents† against Pharaoh and his
subjects.
- 10 He smote great nations
And slew mighty kings,
- 11 Sihon, the king of the Amorites,
Og, the king of Bashan,
And all the kingdoms of Canaan.
- 12 And he gave their land for a heritage,
For a heritage unto Israel his people.
- 13 Thy name, O Lord, endures forever,
Thy fame abides through the ages.
- 14 For the Lord will render justice to his people;
He will have compassion on his servants.
- 15 The idols of the nations are silver and gold,
The handiwork of men.
- 16 They have mouths, but speak not,
Eyes, but see not.
- 17 They have ears, but hear not,
Neither is there any breath in their mouths.
- 18 They that make them are themselves like them,
As is everyone who trusts in them.
- 19 Praise the Lord, O house of Israel;
Praise the Lord, O house of Aaron;
- 20 Praise the Lord, O house of Levi;
Ye that fear the Lord, praise the Lord.
- 21 Praised be the Lord out of Zion,
Who dwells at Jerusalem.
Praise the Lord!

The psalm is largely pieced together by verbatim quotations from other psalms and other writings. Verse 1 is identical with Ps. 113:1, except that the two stichs are transposed, and verse 6a with Ps. 115:3b. Verse 7 is copied practically verbatim from

† Into the midst of thee, O Egypt.

Jer. 10:13 (= 51:16). Verses 10–12 are copied from Ps. 136: 17–22, some slight changes and the words, “And all the kingdoms of Canaan,” excepted. Verse 13^b and verse 14 are copied verbatim from Ps. 102:13 and Deut. 32:36, respectively. Verses 15–17^a and 18 are copied verbatim from Ps. 115:4–8, except for the change ‘ašabbēhēm to ‘āšabbē haggōyīm and of yishma‘u to ya‘azīnū, and so are verses 19–20, except for the change of “trust” to “praise” and the mention of the “house of Levi” as another component of the post-Exilic community. Needless to say, a composition like this is poetically worthless. It must date from a time of literary decadence.

5. *is supreme*] *Gadōl* is predicate of both ‘āḏōnai and ‘āḏōnēnū.

7. *the world over*] Cf. Isa. 42:10.

in the pouring rain] The preposition *lē* denotes that lightning and rain are simultaneous phenomena. To the people of ancient times it seemed wonderful how lightning, which they took for “flaming fire” (cf. Ps. 104:4), could flash through the sky in pouring rain and not be extinguished.

PSALM 145

- 1* I will extol thee my God who art King,
And praise thy name forever.
- 2 Day by day will I praise thee,
And glorify thy name forever and ever.
- 3 Great is the Lord and highly to be praised;
And his greatness is unsearchable.
- 4 Let generation after generation praise thy works
And declare thy mighty acts.
- 5 Let them speak of the glorious splendor of thy majesty
And reflect on thy wondrous works;
- 6 Let them talk of the might of thy awesome acts
And declare thy greatness;
- 7 Let them herald the story of thy boundless goodness
And sing of thy righteousness.
- 8 The Lord is gracious and full of compassion,
He is slow to anger and rich in love.

* A Hymn of David.

- 9 The Lord is good to all:
 His tender mercy embraces all his creatures.
- 10 Let all thy creatures give thanks unto thee;
 Thy faithful servants praise thee.
- 11 They will tell of the glory of thy kingdom
 And speak of thy power,
- 12 To reveal to the sons of man thy might
 And the glorious majesty of thy kingdom.
- 13 Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom,
 Thy dominion endures through all generations.
- 14 The Lord upholds all that totter,
 And lifts up all that are bowed down.
- 15 The eyes of all are turned to thee,
 And thou givest them bread in season.
- 16 Thou openest thy hand,
 And satisfiest the desire of every living being.
- 17 The Lord is just in all his ways,
 And loving in all his dealings.
- 18 The Lord is nigh to all that call upon him,
 To all that call upon him in truth.
- 19 He will fulfil the desire of them that revere him.
 He will hear their prayer and will save them.
- 20 The Lord will preserve all them that love him,
 But the wicked he will destroy.
- 21 Let my mouth proclaim the glory of God,
 That all flesh may praise his holy name forever and ever.

The theme of the hymn is the universal Kingdom of God. God is glorified as the supreme ruler of the world, who in his boundless love provides for the needs of all living beings and satisfies their desires, who is the comfort and support of "all that are bowed down," and who "is nigh to all that call upon him in truth." The hymn is marked by a broad universalism which, aside from everything else, shows that it is post-Exilic. It was composed for public worship, the speaker being the post-

Exilic community. Poetically the hymn is worthless. It appears to be a product of the time of literary decadence.

1. *who art King*] By *hammelek*, which is in apposition to 'ēlōhai, the writer means to emphasize that Israel's God is the one and only King—the ruler of the universe.

forever] Omit *wa'ed* as dittography of *wa'ed* of the following verse (Baethgen and others).

5. *Let them speak*] Instead of *wēdibēre*, read, with Gr., and Syr., יִדְבְּרוּ (Bickell and others).

And reflect on] Read, with Gr. and Syr., יִשְׁיחוּ and רָגַ' (Halévy and others).

6. *And declare*] Read, with Gr. and Targ., יִסְפְּרוּ (Gunkel).

12. *thy might . . . of thy kingdom*] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Hier., יִרְחַק and יִרְחַק (Graetz and others).

14. *that totter*] *Hannōphēlīm* is potential participle, meaning "that are in danger of falling."

PSALM 146

- 1 Praise ye the Lord!
Praise the Lord, O my soul!
- 2 I will praise the Lord as long as I live;
I will sing praises unto God as long as I exist.
- 3 Put not your trust in princes,
In a mere mortal who cannot help.
- 4 When his breath passes out,
He returns unto dust:
Presently his projects come to naught.
- 5 Blessed the man whose help is the God of Jacob,
Whose hope is the Lord his God;
- 6 Who made heaven and earth,
The sea and all that stirs in it,
Who keeps faith forever.
- 7 He will right the oppressed,
And give bread to the hungry.
- 8 The Lord looses the prisoners;
The Lord opens the eyes of the blind;
The Lord lifts up those who are bowed down.
The Lord loves the righteous;

- 9 The Lord protects the stranger.
He upholds the fatherless and the widow,
But thwarts the way of the wicked.
- 10 The Lord will reign forever,
Thy God, O Zion, through all ages.
Praise ye the Lord.

Though the psalm begins in the style of a hymn

Praise the Lord, O my soul!
I will praise the Lord as long as I live,

in content it is didactic. The people are warned not to put their trust in mortal men, who enjoy but ephemeral existence, however powerful they may be for the time being, but to rest their hope in God—the true helper of man.

5. *whose help*] *Bē* of *bē'ezrō* is *bē essentiae*, used with the nominal predicate.

4. DIDACTIC PSALMS

PSALM I

- 1 Blessed the man who walks not in the counsel of the
wicked,
Who treads not the path of sinners,
Nor sits in the company of scoffers;
- 2 But who delights in the law of the Lord,
And meditates on his law night and day.
- 3 He is like a tree planted by running waters,
That brings forth its fruit in season,
Whose leaf also does not wither.
Whatsoever he does he brings to success.
- 4 Not so is it with the wicked, not so:
They are like chaff blown about by the wind.
- 5 Wherefore the wicked cannot maintain themselves in
time of judgment,
Nor sinners exist within the body of the righteous.
- 6 Verily, God looks after the way of the righteous,
But the way of the wicked leads to destruction.

A twofold subject is treated in this didactic psalm—the religious ideal of the later post-Exilic centuries as understood by Ezra and his followers and, bound up with it, retributive justice as it was first defined by Ezekiel. For the author religion consists in minute observance of the law—moral and ceremonial alike. In his opinion, conformity to this ideal requires constant study of the law. It is the same barren view as is expressed in the rabbinic dictum, “The common, ignorant man (*am-ha'ares*) cannot be pious.”³⁰⁵ What a contrast to that inward religion as portrayed in one of the confessions which Jeremiah wrote after he had fled into hiding to escape execution!³⁰⁶ To refer to this confession is in point for another reason. Ps. 1:3*a* is copied from Jer. 17:8, and verse 3*b* states positively what in this verse of Jeremiah is said negatively; on the other hand, 3*c* says negatively what in Jeremiah is put positively. Now, a number of interpreters not only have made the similarity between the two appear more far-reaching than it really is but, ignoring the contrast between them, have maintained that 17:5–8 of Jeremiah’s confession is dependent upon Psalm 1.

Speaking from the fulness of his spiritual experience, Jeremiah declares in this confession that neither material nor intellectual things are of avail, only spiritual things—to know and understand God, to know that God works love, justice, and righteousness in the world, and that it is in these things that he delights. Then he goes on to say man is cursed if he relies on material power and human strength and in his heart has turned from God. Living in a barren land, he will be unable to weather the storms of life. But blessed is the man who trusts in God. Being firmly rooted, like a tree planted by the side of water, he can defy every evil crisis.³⁰⁷

Such inner experience is foreign to the author of Psalm 1. He stresses instead the material reward assured to the righteous man.

Whatever he does he brings to success

³⁰⁵ *Pirkē Abōth* ii. 5.

³⁰⁶ Jer. 9:22–23; 17:5–8; 10:23; 17:9–10; 10:24; 16:19; 17:14–18.

³⁰⁷ See my *The Prophets* . . . , pp. 104–15.

is the climax to which he works up by the simile he employs in verse 3. Or as he also puts it,

Verily, God looks after the way of the righteous.

Just as certain is he that destruction is in store for the wicked. There is no eschatological notion associated with the words, "The wicked cannot maintain themselves in time of judgment." They have no reference to the last judgment, the Day of Yahweh, as described in Zeph. 1:7-18 or Joel 4:9-17 (as the Targum and many interpreters have taken it). Rather the writer thinks of each and every occasion when existing wrongs will be redressed and God's just rule of the world be manifested.

There has been much speculation as to why the psalm was placed at the head of the Psalter. However, the question is irrelevant to the interpretation. If editors of the Psalter purposely assigned it this place, to serve (as has been thought) as a sort of preface or motto, they showed poor judgment, giving evidence of a lack of understanding rather than of a judicial estimate of the Psalms.

1. *walks not, etc.*] The perfects express a mental state.

3. *brings forth . . . in season, etc.*] The verbs are imperfects of reiterated action.

4. *Not so is it . . . not so*] Read, with Gr., *lō' kēn* twice, before and after *rēsha'im*.

5. *Nor sinners exist*] *Yaqūmū* is a case of zeugma; it is to be construed also with *ḥalṭā'im*.

within the body of the righteous] Cf. the note on '*ādath lē'ummim*' of Ps. 7:8. The phrase cannot connote the messianic community of righteous Israel, as it has widely been interpreted to do.

6. *Verily*] *Ki* is emphatic *ki*.

looks after] This meaning of *yada'* follows from *tōbed* of the antithetic second clause; of other examples of this frequent meaning of *yada'*, cf. Ps. 37:18; Hos. 13:5; Amos 3:2; Nah. 1:7.

PSALM 19B

VERSES 8-15

- 8 The law of the Lord is perfect, restoring the soul,
 The Book of the Lord is trustworthy, making wise the simple.

- 9 The precepts of the Lord are right, they make glad the heart;
 The commandment of the Lord is clear—a light to the eyes.
- 10 The fear of the Lord is real, enduring forever.
 The statutes of the Lord are true, righteous altogether.
- 11 More precious are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold;
 Sweeter also than honey, than honey from the comb.
- 12 Thy servant is truly guided by them:
 There is rich reward in keeping them.
- 13 But who can discern his errings?
 Cleanse me of unwitting sins.
- 14 Above all, keep thy servant away from wilful sins,
 Let them have no sway over me:
 Then will I be sound, proof against transgression.
- 15 May the words of my mouth
 And the meditation of my heart be acceptable to thee,
 O Lord, my rock and my Redeemer.

This psalm has been commonly overrated.³⁰⁸ It is not the majesty of the moral law that is treated in it but law reduced to a code, in particular, the law of Moses. The subterms—the precepts, the commandments, the statutes, which the psalm has in common with Deut. 4:1-8; 5:28; 6:1-3, 20-23—show this. As for the Deuteronomist, so for the author of Psalm 19 this law was the work of supernatural revelation—perfect and infallible.

8. *The Book of the Lord*] *‘Ēdūth* is used as a synonym of *tōrath*, as again in *lūhōth ha’ēdūth*, “the law tablets” (Exod. 31:18; 32:15; 34:29), or *ha’ēdūth*, “the Law” simply (*ibid.*, 25:16, 21; 40:20).

10. *is real*] Cf. Ps. 12:7 (belonging to Psalm 18), where *ṭahōr* means “genuine.”

PSALM 37

- 1* Fret not because of the evildoers,
 Become not excited over the workers of iniquity;

³⁰⁸ See the analysis, pp. 170 f.

* Of David.

- 2 For soon they will wither like grass,
They will fade like green herbs.
- 3 Trust in the Lord and do good;
Stay in the land and be loyal.
- 4 Find delight in the Lord,
And he will grant thee thy heart's desire.
- 5 Commit thy way unto the Lord,
And trust in him to act:
- 6 He will make thy righteousness to rise like the sun,
Thy cause to shine bright as noon.
- 7 Rest in God, and wait patiently for him;
Fret not because of him that prospers in his under-
taking,
Because of the man who succeeds through craftiness.
- 8 Calm thy anger, cease thy wrath—
It can only bring harm.
- 9 Surely, the evildoers will be rooted out,
But they that put their hope in the Lord will inherit
the land.
- 10 Yet a little while, and the wicked man will cease to
be;
Diligently though you may search for his place,
It will be gone.
- 11 But the meek will inherit the land,
And rejoice in great prosperity.
- 12 When a wicked man plots against a righteous one,
And gnashes his teeth at him,
- 13 The Lord laughs at him,
For he sees his day approaching.
- 14 When the wicked unsheath their swords and brace
their bows,
To lay low the poor and needy, to murder the up-
right in heart,
- 15 Their sword will pierce their own hearts,
And their bows will be broken.

- 16 Better is the mite of a righteous man
 Than the great wealth of the wicked,
 17 For the arm of the wicked will be crushed,
 But the Lord upholds the righteous.
 18 God looks after the way of the upright,
 And their heritage will last forever.
 19 In time of evil they will not be put to shame,
 And in days of famine they will have plenty.
 20 Yea, the wicked will perish:
 The enemies of the Lord are as the beauty of the
 meadows,
 As evanescent as smoke:
 22 For those who are blessed of him will possess the
 land,
 But those who are cursed of him will be uprooted.
- 21a If a wicked man borrows, he does not repay,
 26a But the righteous man is ever ready to lend gener-
 ously.†
- 23 God directs the steps of the man
 In whose way he delights.
 24 Though he fall, he will not be prostrate,
 For God will support his hand.
 25 I was young once, and am now grown old,
 But I have never seen a righteous man forsaken,
 Or his children begging bread.‡
- 27 Shun evil and do good,
 So shalt thou abide forever;
 28a-b For the Lord loves justice,
 He will not forsake his faithful servants.
- 28c-d, 38 The wrongdoers and sinners will all be destroyed,
 The race§ of the wicked will be wiped out.
 29 The righteous will possess the land,
 And dwell in it forever.

† 21b *He gives generously.*

‡ 26b *And his children are a blessing.*

§ *The posterity*

- 30 The mouth of a just man utters wisdom,
His tongue pleads for the right.
- 31 The law of the Lord is in his heart,
His footsteps do not falter.
- 32 If a wicked man lies in wait for a righteous man
And seeks to kill him,
- 33 The Lord will not surrender the righteous one into his
hand,
Nor suffer him to be convicted in court.
- 34 Wait for the Lord and keep his way,
And he will exalt thee that thou mayest possess the
land;
Thine eyes shall feast on the destruction of the
wicked.
- 35 I have seen many a wicked man triumph
And flourish like the cedars of Lebanon,
- 36 But when I passed by again, he was no more,
When I looked for him, he was not to be found.
- 37 Cling to integrity, hold fast to uprightness,
For there is a future for the peace-loving man.
- 39 The triumph of the righteous comes from God,
Their stronghold in time of trouble.
- 40 He will help them and deliver them,
He will deliver them from the wicked,
And save them, because they trust in him.

The psalm is an exposition of the belief in material retribution, which the author regards as positive truth. Why fret, seeing the wicked prosper? Soon they will be no more, he declares from the outset. Unable to ignore real life altogether, he maintains, like the friends in the Job drama or the writer of Psalm 92, that the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked are but temporary, that in the end justice will be established—the righteous will be vindicated and the wicked be destroyed. Accordingly he counsels his oppressed people to have patience and to trust in God to act. Soon, he

tells them, God will destroy their oppressors so that they may regain possession of the land. As in many other psalms, by "the wicked," foreign oppressors are meant, not godless compatriots. On the advice which the author gives his fellow-citizens, "Stay in the land and be loyal," light is thrown by the record from Hecataeus of Abdera, referred to above (pp. 372 f.), that because of the untoward conditions existing in the country many people migrated to Egypt and Phoenicia in the time before as well as after Alexander the Great.

There is still another side to retribution as understood by the author of this psalm and many people of his age. It is not only for the nation as a whole but also for each and every individual that he holds out the consolation that all will be well in the end. Thus he declares in verse 25 that in all of his long life he had never seen a righteous man permanently forsaken by God, or his children reduced to penury. And in verses 12-13, 32-33, he goes so far as to maintain that a wicked person's designs against a righteous man will be frustrated by God. Conversely he tells in verses 35-36 that he had seen "many a wicked man triumph and flourish like the cedars of Lebanon," but that suddenly he was gone without a trace.

Note that verses 35-36 express in different language what Eliphaz says in Job 5:3 ff. Note, further, that verse 1 is found verbatim also in Prov. 24:19; verse 20c in Ps. 102:4a; verse 27a in Ps. 34:15a; and verse 13a in Ps. 2:4; and that the literary character of the psalm makes it highly plausible that its author copied all four. Since the post-Exilic origin of Psalms 102, 34, and 2 is established, it follows, then, that Psalm 37 must be post-Exilic. This date is further confirmed by the social conditions reflected in the psalm.

8. *cease thy wrath—It can only bring harm*] Omit 'al tithhar as dittography; lēhare'a is an emphatic infinitive.

13. *his day approaching*] See the note on Ps. 137:7.

14. *in heart*] Read, with eighteen MSS and Gr., לֵב instead of derek.

16. *the great wealth*] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Hier., רַב (Welhausen and others).

18. *looks after the way*] Read, with Gr., רָרַךְ (Graetz and others).

20. *As evanescent as smoke*] Bē needs no emendation, being, as in Ps.

102:4, *bē essentiae*; by the repetition of *kalū* the author means to emphasize that the disappearance of the wicked will be complete. The words are supplementary to the comparison, *as the beauty of the meadows*, both being figures for the short-lived power and glory of the wicked. To show the force of the comparison, Tristram aptly remarks:

Let a traveller ride over the downs of Bethlehem in February, one spangled carpet of brilliant flowers, and again in May, when all traces of verdure are gone; or let him push his horse through the deep solid growth of clovers and grasses in the valley of the Jordan in the early spring, and then return and gallop across the brown, half-baked, gaping plain in June, . . . and the Scriptural imagery will come home to him with tenfold power.³⁰⁹

Yet many interpreters have attempted to obliterate this effective comparison by emending it.

22, 21a, 26a, 21b. It is obvious that vs. 22 must originally have followed vs. 20; further, that vs. 26a must originally have been the complementary stich to vs. 21a; and that vs. 21b is a glossator's addition to vs. 26a, made originally in the margin.

21a, 26a. *If . . . borrows . . . is ever ready to lend generously*] *Hōnen* does not function as a separate verb but is complementary to *malwē* (as is also *hōnen* of vs. 21b); *hōnen ūmalwē* are potential participles, and so is *lōwē*, used to form the protasis of a conditional sentence.

23. *God directs, literally are directed by God*] This, not "ordered" or "established" is the meaning of *kōnanū*: cf. Pss. 11:2 and 21:13 and Isa. 51:13, in all of which *kōnen* means "aim" or "take aim."

26b is a gloss on vs. 25c, made originally in the margin.

28c-d, 38. That the text of 28c is not in order may be seen first of all from the fact that as it reads now, the ayin strophe is missing. Instead of *lē'ōlām nishmarū*, the text originally read עוֹלָיִם נִשְׁמְדוּ, as a great many codd. of Gr. show (see critical apparatus of Rahlfs' edition). By this reading the ayin strophe is restored. The rendering of *lē'ōlām nishmarū* of the present Gr. is, to my mind, Hexaplaric. That *pōshē'im* and *yaḥdaw* of 38a are another part of 28c, omitted from it in the course of transmission, may be deduced (1) from *yaḥdaw*, which shows that *pōshē'im* must originally have been preceded by a synonym, and (2) from 38b, which is a variant of 28d. When *pōshē'im* and *yaḥdaw* were omitted from 28c before and after *nishmēdū*, respectively, and put in the margin, *nishmēdū* was added to them as a cue. Vss. 28c and 38a, as reconstructed, read: *'awwālim ūpōshē'im nishmēdū yaḥdaw*.

35. *triumph*] Cf. Jer. 20:11, where *'arīš* is found again with this meaning.

And flourish like the cedars of Lebanon] Read, with Gr., וַיִּתְעַלְעֵל כְּאֲרֵי הַלְבָּנוֹן: cf. Ps. 92:13 (Perles and others).

But when I passed by again] Read, with Gr., Syr., and Hier., וְאָ (Hitzig and others).

37. *integrity . . . uprightness*] Vocalize, with the Versions, *tom* and *yosher* (Graetz and others).

³⁰⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 455.

39. *The triumph*] Omit, with some MSS, Syr., and Hier., the connective *û* of *tšhû'ath*, with which the *taw* strophe begins.

40. *He will help them and deliver them*] Note the imperfects with *waw consecutivum* used to denote future, this is correct usage and must not be emended.

PSALM 112

- 1 Praise ye the Lord!
Blessed the man who fears the Lord
And delights in his commandments.
 - 2 His offspring will be mighty on earth:
The tribe of the upright will be blessed.
 - 3 Wealth and riches will be in his house,
His righteousness endures forever.
 - 4 He shines like a light for the upright amid darkness,
Being gracious, merciful, and just.
 - 5 It goes well with a generous man who lends out his
money,
And conducts his affairs with justice:
 - 6 Surely he will never be shaken.
- The righteous man will always be remembered.
- 7 He fears not evil tidings,
His heart is strong, trusting in the Lord.
 - 8 His heart is steadfast, without fear.
In the end he will gloat over his enemies.
 - 9 Lavishly he gives to the poor:
His righteousness endures forever.
His horn will be exalted in honor.
 - 10 When the wicked man sees it, he will be vexed;
He will gnash his teeth and be consumed with envy.
The hope of the wicked will come to naught.

Psalm 112 is another exposition of the belief in material or individual retribution. Only once, by the phrase "in the end" of verse 8, does the author indicate that the righteous man may not all his life enjoy such material prosperity as he declares will be meted out to him for his virtuous conduct. The psalm is a

companion piece to Psalm 111, written by the same author. It is supplementary to the lines,

The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom;
They that practice it show good judgment,

with which Psalm 111 concludes in that it shows how that man fares who lives up to this principle. Certain statements made in Psalm 111 with regard to God are in Psalm 112 made about the God-fearing man. Conspicuous among these are "His righteousness endures forever" (111:3*b*; 112:3*b*), and "The Lord is gracious and merciful" (111:4), "Being gracious, merciful, and just" (112:4*b*).

8. *In the end*] As often, 'ad is used as an adverb.

9. *Lavishly he gives*] *Pizzar* is a complementary verb to *nathan*.

10. *The hope*] Read תִּקְוָה, in accordance with Prov. 10:28*b*, which the psalmist has copied verbatim (Hupfeld and others).

PSALM 119

ALEPH

- 1 Blessed are they whose conduct is upright,
Who walk in the law of the Lord.
- 2 Blessed are they that keep his commandments,
That seek him with their whole heart.
- 3 They are safe from wrongdoing,
As they walk in his ways.
- 4 Thou hast commanded us
To keep thy precepts diligently.
- 5 Oh, that I might lead a steadfast life
And heed thy statutes.
- 6 Then shall I not feel ashamed
When I think of thy behests,
- 7 But I shall thank thee with a sincere heart,
Because I observe thy righteous laws.
- 8 I will keep thy statutes diligently.
Oh, forsake me not!

BETH

- 9 How can a young man lead a clean life?
Only by heeding thy word.
- 10 I seek thee with my whole heart:
Oh, let me not stray from thy commandments.
- 11 I treasure thy word in my heart
That I may not sin against thee.
- 12 Praised be thou, O Lord:
Teach me thy statutes
- 13 That with my lips I may declare
All the ordinances of thy mouth.
- 14 More than in all riches
Do I delight in the way of thy commandments.
- 15 I consider thy precepts,
And pay heed to thy ways,
- 16 I find joy in thy statutes,
I do not forget thy word.

GIMEL

- 17 Deal bountifully with thy servant
That I may live and heed thy word.
- 18 Open thou my eyes
That I may behold the wonders of thy law.
- 19 I am but a sojourner on earth,
Hide not thy commandments from me.
- 20 At all times my soul hungrily yearns for thy laws.
- 21 Thou dost rebuke the arrogant;
Cursed are they that stray from thy commandments.
- 22 Sweep away contumely and insult from me,
For I do keep thy commands.
- 23 Though princes meet to conspire against me,*
Thy servant is mindful of thy statutes.
- 24 Truly, thy commandments are my delight,
They are my counselors.

* Or *To oppose me.*

DALETH

- 25 I am groveling in the dust,
Revive me according to thy promise
26 I recount my plight
That thou mayest answer me:
Teach me thy statutes.
27 Make me understand the scope of thy precepts
That I may ponder thy wondrous works.
28 My soul is heavy with weariness,
Uphold me by thy word.
29 Keep me far from the way of falsehood,
And grace me with thy law.
30 I have chosen the way of truth,
I cherish thy ordinances.
31 I hold fast to thy commandments:
O Lord, put me not to shame.
32 When I follow the way of thy laws,
Verily, thou swellest my heart.

HĒ

- 33 Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes
That I may follow it to the end.
34 Give me understanding that I may keep thy law,
Yea, heed it with all my heart.
35 Lead me in the path of thy commandments,
For therein I delight.
36 Incline my heart to thy laws,
And not to gain.
37 Turn mine eyes from looking after vanities,
Sustain me in thy way.
38 Fulfil thy promise to thy servant
.....
39a Take away my shame which alarms me,
40b Revive me in thy righteousness.
40a Verily, I long for thy precepts,
39b For thy laws are good.

WAW

- 41 Let thy love embrace me and thy salvation, O Lord,
According to thy promise.
42 Then shall I have an answer for him that reviles me:
I trust in thy word.
43 Take not the word of truth out of my mouth,
For I await thy judgment.
44 I will keep thy law continually, forever and ever.
45 Oh, that I might walk on free soil!
For I am mindful of thy precepts,
46 And am not ashamed to speak of thy commandments
before kings.
47 I find delight in thy precepts,
Which are dear to me.
48 I lift up my hands to thee,
And meditate on thy statutes.

ZAYIN

- 49 Remember the promise unto thy servant
On which I rest my hope.
50 It is my comfort in my misery:
Verily, thy promise keeps me alive.
51 Though the proud scoff at me bitterly,
Yet I do not swerve from thy law.
53 I am seized with hot indignation
At the wicked that forsake thy law.
54 Thy statutes have been my song
In the house of my pilgrimage.
55 Through the night I think of thy name
And cherish thy law:
52 As I think of thy eternal statutes, O Lord,
I am comforted.
56 I have had this comfort,
Because I keep thy precepts.

HETH

- 57 The Lord is my portion:
I have vowed to heed thy words.
58 With my whole heart I entreat thy favor,
Be gracious unto me according to thy promise.
59 I consider thy ways,
And direct my steps to thy commandments.
60 I make haste and delay not to observe thy precepts.
61 Though the snares of the wicked entrap me,
I forget not thy law.
62 At midnight I rise to give thanks unto thee
Because of thy righteous laws.
63 I am the companion of all that fear thee
And keep thy precepts.
64 The world is full of thy goodness:
Teach me thy statutes.

TETH

- 65 Deal kindly with thy servant, O Lord,
According to thy promise.
66 Teach me judgment and knowledge,
For I believe in thy commandments.
67 Before I was humbled, I went astray,
But now I heed thy bidding.
68 Thou art good and doest good:
Teach me thy statutes.
69 Though the arrogant weave lies about me,
I keep thy precepts with my whole heart.
70 Their minds are gross as fat,
But I find joy in thy law.
71 It is good for me to have been humbled
So that now I follow thy statutes.
72 The law of thy mouth is more precious to me
Than thousands of gold and silver pieces.

YOD

- 73 Thy hands have made and fashioned me;
Give me understanding that I may follow thy command-
ments.
- 74 They that fear thee shall see me and be glad
That I rest my hope in thy word.
- 75 I know, O Lord, that thy judgment is just
And that in faithfulness thou hast humbled me.
- 76 Let thy love comfort me,
According to thy promise to thy servant.
- 77 Let thy mercy embrace me that I may live,
For thy law is my delight.
- 78 Let the insolent be put to shame,
Who unjustly oppress me:
I am mindful of thy precepts.
- 79 Oh, that they may turn to me
That fear thee and know thy laws.
- 80 With my whole heart let me cling to thy statutes
That I may not be put to shame.

KAPH

- 81 I yearn for thy deliverance,
Hopefully I look for thy word.
- 82 Mine eyes are grown dim awaiting thy promise:
When wilt thou comfort me?
- 83 Though I am become unsightly like a wineskin from
smoke,
I have not forgotten thy statutes.
- 84 How many are the days of thy servant?
When wilt thou administer judgment to them that per-
secute me?
- 85 The arrogant, who disobey thy law,
Have dug pitfalls for me.
- 86 All thy commandments are true;
They persecute me wrongfully: Oh, help me!

- 87 They have nearly destroyed me in the land,
Though I have not forsaken thy precepts.
88 Keep me alive in thy love
That I may keep the law of thy mouth.

LAMED

- 89 Through eternity, O Lord, thy word stands fast in
heaven,
90 Thy faithfulness endures through the ages:
Thou hast established the earth to abide.
91 By obedience to thy laws† the world abides:
All things are thy servants.
92 Had not thy law been my delight,
I should have perished in my misery.
93 I will never forget thy precepts:
By them thou hast kept me alive.
94 I am thine, save me.
I follow thy precepts.
95 The wicked lie in wait to destroy me,
Yet I consider thy commandments.
96 I have seen that there is a limit to perfection,
But thy law is boundless.

MEM

- 97 I love thy law above everything,
I ponder on it all the time.
98 Thy commandment has made me wiser than my ene-
mies,
It is ever with me.
99 I have more understanding than all my teachers,
For thy laws fill my mind.
100 I know more than the aged,
For I keep thy precepts.
101 Heeding thy word,
I have held back my feet from every evil path.
102 I have not departed from thy ordinances,

† Or *Controlled by thy laws.*

For thou hast been my teacher.

- 103 Delightful are thy words to me—
More delicious than honey to my mouth.
104 Thy precepts have taught me understanding,
Wherefore I hate dishonest ways.

NUN

- 105 Thy word is a lamp to my feet,
A light on my path.
106 I have vowed—and I shall keep my vow—
To obey thy righteous laws.
107 I am sore afflicted,
Revive me, O Lord, according to thy promise.
108 Graciously, O Lord, accept the offerings of my mouth,
And teach me thy ordinances.
109 Though I ever carry my life in my hand,
Yet I forget not thy law,
110 Though the wicked lay traps for me,
Yet I stray not from thy precepts.
111 Thy commandments are ever my heritage,
Yea, they are the joy of my heart.
12 My heart is disposed to carry out thy statutes
Forever, even unto the end.

SAMEK

- 113 I hate them that are double-minded,
But I love thy law.
114 Thou art my shield and my shelter,
I rest my hope in thy word.
115 Depart from me, ye evildoers,
That I may keep the commandments of my God.
116 Uphold me according to thy promise
That I may live,
And let me not be ashamed of my hope.
117 Sustain me, and I shall be safe,
And shall ever delight in thy statutes.
118 Thou spurnest all that swerve from thy statutes,

Fruitless is their guile.

- 119 Thou regardest the wicked of the earth as dross:
Therefore I love thy commandments.
120 My flesh shudders in fear of thee,
I stand in awe of thy judgments.

‘AYIN

- 121 I practice justice and righteousness,
Abandon me not to my oppressors.
122 Promise to comfort thy servant,
Let not the arrogant oppress me.
123 Mine eyes are grown dim
Awaiting thy salvation, the fulfilment of thy righteous
word.
124 Deal with thy servant according to thy love,
And teach me thy statutes.
125 I am thy servant, give me understanding
That I may know thy commandments.
126 It is time for the Lord to act,
They have made void thy law:
127 I love thy commands above everything,
More than gold, more than fine gold:
128 Therefore I declare all thy precepts to be good,
I hate dishonest ways.

PĒ

- 129 Thy commandments are wondrous,
Therefore, my soul heeds them.
130 The revelation of thy word gives light,
It gives understanding to the simple.
131 I open my mouth wide, I gape,
I yearn for thy commandments.
132 Oh, look upon me and have mercy upon me:
I ask by the right of those that love thy name.
133 Direct my steps in the way of thy word,
And let not evil have sway over me.
134 Deliver me from the oppression of men,

- So will I observe thy precepts.
135 Let thy face shine upon thy servant,
And teach me thy statutes.
136 Tears stream down my eyes,
Because men observe not thy law.

SADE

- 137 Righteous art thou, O Lord,
And just are thy laws.
138 Thou hast issued thy commandments in righteousness
And in all faithfulness.
139 Rage consumes me,
Because my enemies forget thy word.
140 Thy word has been tested true
And thy servant loves it.
141 I am lowly and despised,
But I forget not thy precepts.
142 Thy righteousness is eternal
And thy law is truth.
143 Trouble and anguish beset me,
Yet thy precepts are my delight.
144 Thy commandments are righteous for ever,
Give me understanding, and I shall live.

QOPH

- 145 I call with all my heart; answer me, O Lord.
I will keep thy statutes.
146 I cry unto thee; save me.
I will observe thy commandments.
147 I rise at dawn to pray,
I rest my hope in thy word.
148 I stay awake through the watches of the night
To reflect upon thy word.
149 In thy love, O Lord, hear my cry,
Revive me in thy righteousness.
150 They that persecute me in malice draw nigh;
They are far from thy law.

- 151 Thou art near, O Lord,
And all thy commandments are truth.
152 Long ago I learned from thy laws
That thou hast made them forever.

RESH

- 153 Heed my misery and deliver me,
For I have not forgotten thy law.
154 Plead thou my cause and redeem me,
Revive me according to thy promise.
155 Salvation is far from the wicked,
For they follow not thy statutes.
156 Boundless is thy mercy, O Lord,
Revive me in thy righteousness.
157 Many are my enemies and persecutors,
Yet have I not swerved from thy commandments.
158 When I see the faithless, I loathe them,
Because they heed not thy word.
159 Consider how I cherish thy precepts,
Revive me, O Lord, in thy love.
160 The sum of thy word is truth,
And thy righteous laws endure forever.

SHIN

- 161 Though princes persecute me without cause,
Yet my heart stands in awe of thy word.
162 I delight in thy word
As one delights in rich spoil.
163 I hate and abhor untruth,
I love thy law.
164 Seven times daily I praise thee
For thy righteous laws.
165 They that love thy law enjoy great peace,
They will not stumble.
166 I hope for thy salvation,
And do thy bidding.
167 My soul heeds thy commandments,

I love them dearly.

- 168 I heed thy precepts and commandments,
All my ways are open to thee.

TAW

- 169 Let my cry reach thee,
Give me understanding, according to thy word.
170 Let my prayer reach thee,
Deliver me, according to thy word.
171 Let my lips utter praise,
Because thou teachest me thy statutes.
172 Let my mouth sing of thy word,
For all thy laws are righteous.
173 Let thy hand be raised to help me,
For I have chosen thy precepts.
174 I long for thy salvation, O Lord,
And thy law is my delight.
175 May I live to praise thee,
And may thy judgments support me.
176 I have gone astray like a lost sheep,
Seek thou thy servant,
For I have not forgotten thy commandments.

Biased by the high regard in which Psalm 119 was held in the past by church and synagogue alike, some interpreters still consider it a great, profound psalm. Yet it is anything but this, being void of the essential qualities of literary creation—spontaneity and originality. There could not be either in anything as artificial as this psalm—an eightfold acrostic, each letter of the alphabet being repeated eight times in succession. It is by this external bond that the lines are held together, not by logical connection or progress of thought. Another conspicuous defect is constant repetition. The author does not tire of declaring again and again that he loves God's law and delights in it, or of asking God to teach him his law. And this law is not to him anything as simple as it is, for example, for the author of Psalm 34—who defines it by five words: "Shun evil and do good"—

but a complicated system of laws, precepts, commandments, statutes, and ordinances. It is with regard to each of these conventional categories that he repeatedly asserts that they are his delight, or that he begs God to instruct him. These two examples are fairly illustrative of the repetition which runs through the psalm from beginning to end, and which makes systematic analysis hardly possible.

To give a few further illustrations of the author's literary inability—note that, reiterating in different language the thought expressed in "More than in all riches do I delight in the way of thy commandments" (vs. 14), he says, "The law of thy mouth is more precious to me than thousands of gold and silver pieces" (vs. 72), which is an anticlimax. Copying "The world is full of thy goodness" (vs. 64) from Ps. 33:5, he follows it with "Teach me thy statutes," though there is no logical connection between the two. The well-known phrase *'asim naphshi b'ekappai*, "I take my life in my hand," which invariably signifies "I risk my life,"³¹⁰ he wrongly uses (omitting *'asim*) with the meaning "My life is in jeopardy" (vs. 109). Another such example is *qiddēmū 'ēnai* (vs. 148), used wrongly with the meaning "I stay awake" and followed by "through the watches of the night." The fact that Ben Sira abounds in such faulty use of words or phrases,³¹¹ points to the conclusion that Psalm 119 is a product of literary decadence and makes it, besides, highly plausible that the psalm was written around the second half of the third century, when the Hebrew language had entered on a stage of rapid decadence. Note, in addition, that from "I am groveling in the dust" (vs. 25), which is copied from Ps. 44:26, it follows that the psalm was composed after 312 B.C., the date of Psalm 44.

Though the "I" of the psalm is largely personal, in a number of verses it is collective, the psalmist voicing the experience of the nation. These are verses 23 and 161, 45, 67 and 176, 71 and 75-78, 84-88, 92-95, and probably also 49-56 and 141. Their interesting feature is that they are the outstanding verses

³¹⁰ Cf. Judg. 12:3; I Sam. 28:21; 19:5; and Job 13:14.

³¹¹ See "The 'Maccabaeen' Psalms," pp. 12-14.

of the psalm. They show that Israel's condition had undergone no change when the psalm was written.

7. *Because I observe*] Cf. Isa. 2:4 and 26:9-10, where *lamad* denotes "practice."

8. *diligently*] Transpose '*ad mē'ōd* after '*eshmor* (Buhl-Kittel). Kimchi, centuries ago, probably following a tradition, treated '*ad mē'ōd* in this way.

14. *More than in all riches*] Read, with Syr., *בְּעֵל*: cf. vss. 72 and 127 (Wellhausen and others).

18. *of thy law*] *Min* is explicative *min*: cf. p. 228, n. 16.

20. *yearns*] So the Versions have taken *garša*.

hungrily] *Lētha'āba* intensifies *garša*: cf. p. 500 (n. on 27.5).

22. *Sweep away*] Vocalize, with the Versions, *gol* (Ewald and others).

23. *Though*] As in Ps. 95:9, *gam* functions as concessive conjunction.

28. *by thy word*] Read, with some MSS, *בְּרַ* (Baethgen and others).

30. *I cherish*] Read, with Syr., *אֲרִירִי*: cf. Ps. 132:13 (Baethgen and others).

32. *Verily*] As in Ps. 91:3, *ki* is emphatic *ki* used in the apodosis.

39a, 40b, 40a, 39b. This must have been the original order of the two verses.

43a. Omit, with Syr., '*ad mē'ōd* (Bickell and others).

45. *on free soil*] Cf. Pss. 18:20, 31:9, and 118:5.

48. *to thee, And meditate*] Omit *mišwōthēka 'āsher 'ahabti* as dittography and read *אֵלֶיךָ* (D. H. Müller and others).

49-51, 53-55, 52, 56. Note that in the present order of the verses *zō'th* of vs. 56 has no antecedent and that it is supplied when vs. 52 is transposed before vs. 56; further, that vs. 53 is the logical continuation of vs. 51.

49. *On which I rest my hope*] Omit the suffix *nī* and read first person *yihāliti*; *yihāl* is invariably intransitive (Lambert³¹² and others).

59. *thy ways*] Read, with Gr., *יֵיךְ* (Bickell and others).

71. *So that now*] *Lēma'an* denotes the effect or the result of the action. *I follow*] Cf. the note on vs. 7.

90. *to abide*] *Watta'āmod* is a final clause.

91. *the world abides*] That is, society and nature alike, as the second stich shows.

96. *thy law*] *Mišwā* is used as equivalent to *tōra*, as again in Prov. 6:23 and 19:16.

97. *above everything*] Cf. the notes on Pss. 31:20 and 104:24.

98. *commandment*] Read, with one MS, sing. *mišwathēka*—a reading borne out also by the predicate *lēhakkēmeni* and by *hī'* of the second stich.

101. *Heeding thy word*] Cf. the note on vs. 71.

103. *Delightful*] Cf. the note on vs. 97.

thy words] Read, with three MSS, Gr., and Syr., plur. *'imrōthēka* (Hitzig and others).

117. *I . . . shall delight*] Read, with the Versions and as in vss. 16, 47, etc., *wē'eshta'āsha'*.

³¹² *Revue des études juives*, XLII (1901), 265.

119. *Thou regardest*] Read, with three MSS, Aq., Sym., and Hier., חֲשַׁבְתָּ (Graetz and others).

127. *above everything*] Instead of *ken* read כֹּל (Duhm and others).

128. *I declare all thy precepts to be good*] With Gr. and Hier., join *k* of the second *kol* as suffix to *piqqūdē* and transpose *l* to the head of the first *kol*, reading לְכָל פְּקוּדֶיךָ. Pi'el *yishshartī* has declarative force, and, as often, the direct object is construed with *lē*.

139. *Rage*] Cf. Job 5:2, where *qin'ā* is used again with this meaning. *thy word*] Read, with many MSS and Syr., sing. *dēbarēka*.

149. *In thy love . . . in thy righteousness*] Read, with some MSS and Syr., *bēḥasdeka* and *bēmishpatēka*.

160. *Thy righteous laws*] Read, with some MSS, Gr., Syr., and Targ., *mishpēṭē* (Graetz and others).

PSALM 150

DOXOLOGY TO THE WHOLE PSALTER

- 1 Praise ye the Lord!
Praise God in his sanctuary,
Praise him in the sky of his glory,
- 2 Praise him for his mighty deeds,
Praise him according to his excellent greatness,
- 3 Praise him with trumpet blasts,
Praise him with the harp and the lyre,
- 4 Praise him with the tambourine and dance,
Praise him with strings and the pipe,
- 5 Praise him with clanging cymbals,
Praise him with the clash of cymbals.
- 6 Let everything that breathes praise the Lord.
Praise ye the Lord!

These lines are by exegetes regarded as a proper psalm. Actually they were appended by the final editors at the end of the fifth book to serve as a doxology par excellence to the complete Psalter. The briefer doxologies, similarly added to the first four books, have been noted in their place.

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